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WORKS OF THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

THE WORKS

OF

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A New Edition

EDITED BY HIS SON

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D. LL.D.

VOL. II.

LIFE OF ANDREW MELVILLE

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
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LIFE

OF

ANDREW MELVILLE

CONTAINING ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITERARY HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE SIXTEENTH AND BEGINNING
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

WITH

AN APPENDIX

CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS

BY

THOMAS M'CRIE, D.D.

A NEW EDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

THE LIFE OF ANDREW MELVILLE first appeared in November 1819, in two volumes, octavo. It was intended as a continuation of the Life of John Knox. In the closing sentence of the Life, the Author states "the chief reason which induced him to undertake this Work, and to devote so much time and labour to its execution." "If," says he, "the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than ANDREW MELVILLE."

The Work was reviewed more or less favourably by most of the literary and religious periodicals of the day, with the exception of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews.* The talented Editor of the former of these Reviews is said to have excused himself for the omission, on the ground that it would require some years' reading to qualify himself for the task of reviewing such a work. Melville's sentiments on Church Polity, with which his Biographer has so thoroughly identified himself, and the active share which he had in opposing the introduction of Prelacy into Scotland, exposed the work

to some severe criticism from the organs of High Church views; among which the *British Critic* distinguished itself by being the only periodical, so far as I am aware, which indulged in personal abuse against the Author. Other reviewers, not excepting those who dissented from the Author's ecclesiastical opinions, expressed the highest admiration of the work, and of the manner in which he has executed his task. One of these writers has remarked, that "if Melville and James will not take hold of the feelings like Knox and Mary, and if the struggles which established and overthrew the Presbyterian polity will not bear comparison, in point of importance, with the events of the Reformation, the book still falls but little below its learned author's Life of Knox with regard to its capability of yielding pleasure and profit."—*Blackwood's Magazine,* Sept. 1824.

The Second Edition of the Life of Melville appeared in December 1823. I have reason to know that the greatest labour was bestowed on the emendation and improvement of this Edition. The style was polished, the arrangement of sentences was altered, inaccuracies in the statement of facts were corrected, and in some instances, new facts and authorities were introduced. But the chief alteration consisted in throwing that portion which referred to the state of literature in Scotland, and which had formerly been interspersed through the body of the work, into two separate chapters at the close of the Life, properly so called. I have always held this arrangement to have been an unhappy one, and still think the Life of Melville would have possessed more unity, and might have been rendered more popularly attractive, had the materials which now hang rather ungracefully upon the Work, been transferred to the Notes, under separate heads, in place of

some other documents less needful and important. But there can be no doubt it was an improvement on the method adopted in the First Edition, where the recurrence of these literary details presented frequent interruptions to the mere reader of the Life.

It may gratify the curiosity of some readers to know the character of the amendments which the Author has made on the Second Edition. A specimen of these is given in the Editorial Notes at the end of the work.

Though, from the nature of the subject, and the want of the dramatic incident which renders the Life of John Knox so attractive, this work has not been so general a favourite with the public, it has been preferred by several critics as the more interesting of the two. The vast amount of new and important information which it furnishes in illustration of the religious and literary history of the period, has often elicited admiration; the light which it sheds on our Presbyterian constitution is invaluable; and the spirit of strict fidelity and high independence which breathes throughout, must ever be appreciated by the friends of civil and religious freedom.

"We do not profess," says one writer, "to decide the question, whether the Life of Knox or that of Melville be the most interesting narrative; but we frankly acknowledge, for our part, that we have found our attention most strongly arrested by the latter publication. Speaking of the two productions merely as works of interest to the reader, we conceive the preference to belong to the Life of Melville. The two Memoirs have been appropriately denominated the Iliad and Odyssey of the Scottish Church."—*Christian Instructor*, vol. xxxiii. p. 773.

The Life of Andrew Melville has only passed through these two Editions. The present Edition is a faithful and unmutilated reprint from the last. Instead of the various autographs of the persons mentioned in the work which were prefixed to the former Editions, the present is enriched by the fac-simile of a Letter written by Andrew Melville from Sedan, the place of his banishment, addressed to James Pringle, the ancestor of Alexander Pringle, Esq. of Whytbank, who has kindly furnished the Publishers with the original in his possession, from which the copy is taken. The Letter will be found printed in the Editorial Notes at the end of the volume, along with some interesting notices of Melville's correspondent.

THOMAS M'CRIE.

EDINBURGH, *September* 1855.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The following Work may be viewed as a continuation of the account of ecclesiastical transactions in Scotland, which I some years ago laid before the public in the Life of John Knox.

The period which it embraces, though not distinguished by any event so splendid as the Reformation, is by no means destitute of interest. It produced men who, in point of natural abilities, were scarcely inferior, and in respect of acquired talents were decidedly superior, to those who had been instrumental in bringing about the great religious revolution. The dangers to which the reformed religion and the liberties of the nation were exposed during the early administration of a youthful prince—the contests which the Church maintained with the Court in behalf of her rights—the establishment of the presbyterian polity—and its overthrow after a long and eager struggle—are events important in themselves, and in the influence which they had on the future affairs of Scotland and of Britain.

In one respect the present work will be found to differ considerably from that which I formerly published. As Andrew Melville, besides the active part which he took in the ecclesiastical transactions of his time, was successively at the head of two of our principal colleges, I have entered much more fully into the state

of education, and the progress of literature, than I felt myself warranted to do in writing the Life of the Reformer.

James Melville, a nephew of the subject of this memoir, left behind him a Diary, or history of his own life and times, extending from 1555 to 1600, in which he has embodied much interesting information concerning his uncle. Several copies of this work are extant in manuscript. I quote the original copy, which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, fairly written with the author's own hand. In the same library is another manuscript, entitled, "History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland," which I am satisfied was also composed by James Melville, and brings down the history of his times from 1600 to 1610. This, with the "Apologetical Narration," written by William Scot, minister of Cupar, furnishes ample information respecting the conduct of Melville when called up to London, along with some of his brethren, before the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland.

The greater part of James Melville's Diary has been engrossed by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Wodrow in his Lives. I have seldom, if ever, referred to the two last of these writers as authorities when it appeared to me that they merely quoted from the first. It may be proper to mention, that, in the first part of this Life, the references are to the copy of Calderwood's MS. belonging to the Church of Scotland; but from page 76 of the second volume[1] I refer to the copy in the Advocates' Library, which it was more convenient for me to consult at the time.

The epistolary correspondence which passed between Melville and his nephew from 1608 to 1613, has been preserved in the

[1] The original edition of this work was in two volumes, and page 76 of the second volume, here referred to, corresponds with page 227 of the present edition.—EDITOR.

Library of the College of Edinburgh; and in the Advocates' Library is a series of letters written by Melville, to a friend at Leyden, from 1612 to 1616. Both these collections are of great value, as throwing light on his character, and on some of the most interesting events of his life.

In giving an account of ecclesiastical transactions, I have, in addition to other sources of intelligence, availed myself of various registers of provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, which contain many facts curious in themselves, and illustrative of the internal history of the Church. Several of these ancient records have been deposited in our public libraries; and I was allowed the readiest access to such of them as are in the possession of the courts to which they originally belonged.

My best acknowledgments are due to Thomas Thomson, Esq. for the facilities which he politely afforded me in consulting the public records; and to Sir William Hamilton, Bart., for pointing out to me various documents of great utility.

My inquiries relative to the state of education have in every instance been met with the utmost liberality by the Learned Bodies to which I applied. The account which I have given of the University of St Andrews is chiefly taken from copies of papers and notes kindly furnished me by Dr Lee, Professor of Church History and Divinity in the College of which Melville was formerly Principal. In acknowledging the great obligations I am under to Dr Lee, I cannot refrain from expressing my earnest wish that he would favour the public with a history of the literature of Scotland, or at least of the university to which he belongs, for either of which tasks he is eminently qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the subject, and his habits of patient and dis-

criminating research. Could I have obtained assurance of his engaging in such a work, I would have felt little difficulty in resisting a temptation which has proved too powerful for me, and has led me into literary details, particularly in the first volume,[1] which may appear but remotely connected with the immediate object of my undertaking.

To make room for more important matter, I have been obliged to omit one or two papers referred to in the course of the work as to be inserted in the Appendix. For the same reason several letters and unpublished poems of Melville, which I intended to add, have been kept back. Prefixed to the work is a Plate, containing fac-similes of the handwriting of Melville, and some of the principal persons referred to in his Life.

EDINBURGH, *November* 2, 1819.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing this Work for a second Edition, I have corrected such inaccuracies in the language and in the statement of facts as occurred to me. But the chief alteration which has been made is on the arrangement. The accounts of the state of literature in Scotland, which were formerly interspersed through the work, are now collected and placed in two chapters at the close, with the exception of those facts which could not well be separated from the narrative of Melville's studies and academical employments. This, it is hoped, will be found an improvement, by enabling the reader to peruse the Life without interruption.

EDINBURGH, *December* 29, 1823.

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[1] Corresponding with the first six chapters of the present edition.—EDITOR.

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LIFE

OF

ANDREW MELVILLE.

CHAPTER I.

1545—1574.

MELVILLE or MALEVILLE was the name of a family which is said to have come originally from Normandy, and had settled in Scotland as early as the twelfth century. It spread into numerous branches, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, flourished in the shires of Kincardine, Angus, Fife, and the Lothians. The principal of these were the Melvilles of Melville, in Mid-Lothian; the Melvilles of Carnbee; and the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary sheriffs of Kincardine.[1] Though none of them were raised to the peerage until a late period, they had long held a distinguished place among the gentlemen or lesser barons; they were allied by intermarriages to the principal families in the kingdom, and accustomed to claim affinity to the royal house.

Richard Melville, the father of the subject of this memoir, was brother-german to John Melville of Dysart, a cadet of the house of Glenbervie.[2] He was proprietor of Baldovy, an estate pleasantly situated on the banks of the South Esk, about a mile to the south-west of the town of Montrose, and which continued in the possession of his descendants until the beginning of the eighteenth century.[3] By his wife, Giles Abercrombie, daughter of Thomas Abercrombie, a burgess of Montrose, and descendant of the house of Murthlie, he had nine sons. Richard, the eldest, succeeded to the family estate, and, after the establishment of the Reformation, officiated as minister of the neighbouring parish of Marytoun:[4] Thomas, an accomplished scholar, and improved

[1] See Note A.

[2] James Melville's Diary, MS., p. 26.

[3] See Note B.

[4] "Richard Melvill" was declared "apt and able to minyster" by the first General Assembly, 1560. Keith, 498—9. "Richard Melvill, minister of Inchbraock and Maritoun," was a member of the General Assembly which met in June 1562. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 4.

by travelling, rose to be Secretary-depute of Scotland: Walter settled in Montrose, and frequently discharged the office of a magistrate in that town. Roger, a man of great natural talents, became a burgess of Dundee, where he was held in great respect by his fellow-citizens.[1] James and John devoted themselves to the ministry in the reformed church; the former in Arbroath,[2] and the latter at Crail.[3] Robert and David, after being kept for some time at school, chose mechanical professions.[4]

Andrew, the youngest of the family, was born at Baldovy on the 1st of August 1545. When only two years old he was bereaved of his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, along with the principal gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, fighting in the vanguard of the Scottish army, under their chief the Earl of Angus. The death of his mother, which followed soon after, left him an orphan.[5]

The disaster at Pinkie, with the events that followed upon it, proved ruinous to many families of rank and opulence. And as the estate of Baldovy was small, as the family was numerous, and several of the sons were yet unprovided for, the sudden and premature death of his parents threatened to be an irreparable loss to young Melville. It was, however, greatly alleviated by the dutiful conduct of his eldest brother, who kept him in his house, and acted in every respect the part of a father to him. The kind intentions of Richard Melville might have been of little benefit, had they not been zealously seconded by the exertions of the excellent woman whom he had married, and who took as great an interest in her young relation as in her own children. This kindness was not thrown away; for Andrew continued always to cherish the memory of his sister-in-law with the warmest gratitude, and after he came to manhood, took pleasure in mentioning the endearing marks of affection which he recollected to have received from her when he was a boy.[6]

[1] William Christison, minister of Dundee, and Robert Bruce of Edinburgh, were among his intimate acquaintances; and the latter used to say, that if Roger Melville had enjoyed the education of his brother Andrew, "he would have been the most singular man in Europe." Melville's Diary, p. 27.

[2] He was made Bachelor of Arts at St Andrews in the year 1555. Records of the University.—April 27, 1591, Thomas Ramsay in Kirkton bound himself "to pay to the richt worchipfull Mr James Melvill, minister of Aberbrothock, 4 bolls beir wt. ane peck to the boll, and twa bolls ait maill wt. the cheritie, guid and sufficient stuff—the mail to be for the st. Mr James awin acting, all guid and fyne as ony gentill man sall eat in the countrie adjacent about him—or failzeing deliverie to pay for every boll 4 lib. of money." Register of Contracts of the Commissariat of St Andrews. He was alive in March 1596, when he obtained decreet against John Richardson "for the few farme of the kirk lands of Aberbrothock, assigned to him by the Lords of Counsel; viz. 2 bolls wheat, 28 bolls bear, and 20 bolls ait meal."

[3] "Johanne Malwyll, minister of Crystis kirk in Crayll" is mentioned in the Register of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, October 8, 1561. Comp. Keith, Hist. p. 553.

[4] Melville's Diary, p. 27.

[5] Ibid. pp. 26, 27.

[6] "I have often heard Mr Andrew say, that he, being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her; embracing him, and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne take me to his rest.' Now she had two lads before me, whereof the eldest was dead, and between him and the second she bare three lasses; so in the end, God gave her one, who, would to God he were as like Mr Andrew in gifts of mind, as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed but takes me for Mr Andrew's brother." James Melville's Diary, p. 4.

There is something peculiarly interesting, though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But, without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that the kind offices which it dictates, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer, and more enthusiastic, than that which is merely filial — a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor.

Perceiving that his youngest brother was of a weakly habit of body, and that he evinced at an early age a capacity and a taste for learning, Richard Melville resolved to gratify his inclinations, by giving him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar-school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, who, at a subsequent period, became minister of that parish. Though his learning was slender, Anderson was esteemed one of the best teachers of his time; and under his tuition young Melville acquired the principles of the Latin language, in which he afterwards became so great a proficient.[1] It was the custom in the schools of that period to combine bodily exercises with the improvement of the mind. By means of these, joined to the attention paid to him at home, Andrew recovered from his early debility, and gradually attained that sound health which he enjoyed with little interruption to an advanced age.

The slightest hints respecting the state of education in Scotland, during the infancy of learning, are interesting. In this view the curious reader may wish to peruse the particulars inserted in the notes.[2] They relate to the plan of instruction pursued in the schools of Logie and Montrose, when James Melville, a nephew of Andrew, attended them. This was ten years posterior to the time of which we are now writing. But, with the exception of what regarded religion, it is probable that very little change took place in the management of schools during that interval; and we will not materially err in supposing, that the education of the uncle and the nephew was conducted in the same manner, at least as to the elementary books which they used, and the exercises to which they were trained in the house and in the fields.

Some of the most distinguished masters of schools were at this time secretly attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, and upon its esta-

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 27. Comp. p. 10.

[2] See Note C.

blishment became ministers of the church. As Anderson was one of these, it may be presumed that Melville was indebted to him for instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of secular learning. But he had a more able instructor in his pious and intelligent brother, who for many years had been a convert to the Protestant faith.

We have been accustomed to suppose that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear that the opinions of Wickliffe had a powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the Protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wickliffe to the days of George Wishart; and in Fife they were so numerous as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force on the day of his execution.[1]

It has been observed by a celebrated historian, and the observation is commonly received as correct, that the reformed preachers in Scotland "gained credit, as happens generally on the promulgation of every new religion, chiefly among persons in the lower and middle ranks of life."[2] This sentiment does not appear to be well founded. It rests not upon proper evidence, but on inferences from what happened at the first promulgation of Christianity, and from the manner in which certain sects have arisen in modern times. The fact of the first preachers of the Christian religion, and the early converts to their doctrine, being found chiefly among the lower and middle ranks of society, is connected with its miraculous propagation. And we are not entitled to infer from this, either that it would have spread in this way if it had been left to the operation of natural causes, or that Providence would always follow the same plan in its subsequent extension. The divine authority and truth of Christianity having been once completely established, it was fit that external means of a more ordinary kind should be employed to facilitate its future diffusion, and that these should be varied according to the circumstances of the people among whom it was to be introduced or restored. Accordingly, the reformation of religion was preceded by the revival of letters throughout Europe: the principal reformers were men of superior talents and education; and their cause was espoused and essentially promoted by persons who possessed secular authority and influence. We are extremely apt, if not on our guard against the bias of our thoughts, to form an opinion of a former period according to ideas borrowed from our own, without adverting duly to the points of differ-

[1] See Note D.

[2] Robertson's History of Scotland.

ence between them. If we attend to the state of society in Scotland at that time—to the almost unbounded power of the barons,—the vassalage of the people,—the ignorance which reigned among the lower, and the rarity of education among the middle ranks, with other peculiar hindrances to the communication of knowledge, we shall be convinced that the Reformation, humanly speaking, and without a miracle, could not have spread as it did—the truth could not have obtained a fair hearing, nor have come to the knowledge of the common people, if it had not been embraced and patronised by persons of superior rank and means of information. The fact exactly corresponds to this view. The opinions of Wickliffe were preserved in some of the most respectable families both in the western and eastern corners of the kingdom; Hamilton and Wishart were of honourable descent; and the sermons of the latter were attended by the principal persons in Ayrshire, the Lothians, Fife, and Angus.

The Melvilles of Fife were among the early adherents of the Protestant doctrine; and the family of Baldovy had embraced it before the birth of Andrew Melville. His eldest brother, Richard, having received a learned education, and being trained by his father to the knowledge of country affairs, was chosen to accompany John Erskine of Dun on his travels to the Continent. It is probable that the young baron and his tutor had been initiated into the Protestant doctrine before leaving home; for they repaired to Wittemberg, and prosecuted their studies during two years under that distinguished reformer and scholar, Philip Melancthon. They also visited Denmark, and attended the lectures of their countryman John Maccabæus, who had been recently admitted Professor of Divinity in the university of Copenhagen.[1] On their return to Scotland, they exerted themselves in diffusing the knowledge which they had acquired. With George Wishart they cultivated the most intimate acquaintance; and the houses of Dun and Baldovy became the resort of the friends of religion and letters.[2] Andrew Melville was eleven years old in 1556, when Knox paid a visit to Dun, and when the sermons which he preached there were attended by most of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood.[3]

I have elsewhere mentioned the important service which John Erskine of Dun rendered to the literature of Scotland by establishing a Greek school in Montrose.[4] Pierre de Marsiliers, a native of France, taught in it, when Melville had finished his course of Latin at the grammar-school. This was an opportunity not to be neglected by one who was passionately fond of knowledge. Instead of going to the university, as was usual for young men of his age and progress, he put himself under the care of this learned Frenchman, and prosecuted the study of Greek during two years with great avidity.[5] From Marsiliers he had also the opportunity of acquiring a more perfect acquaintance with the French

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 2, 3. [2] Ibid. p. 3. [3] Life of John Knox, p. 86—88.
[4] Ibid. p. 3. [5] Melville's Diary, p. 27.

language, the first principles of which were at that time commonly taught to young men along with Latin grammar.[1]

In the year 1559 he went to the university of St Andrews, and entered the College of St Mary, or, as it was sometimes called, the New College.[2] The writings of Aristotle were then the only text-book, in all the sciences taught in our colleges; and the lectures given were properly comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics. But the professors were unacquainted with the original language of their oracle, and read and commented upon his works in a Latin translation. Melville, however, made use of the Greek text in his studies—a circumstance which excited astonishment in the university.[3] But it should be recorded to the praise of his teachers, that, though they could not fail to be mortified under a sense of their own inferiority to their pupil, they indulged no mean jealousy of his superior acquirements; testified no desire to eclipse his reputation; threw no obstacles in the way of his advancement; but, on the contrary, loaded him with commendations, and did everything in their power to encourage a youth who, they fondly hoped, would prove a credit and an ornament to his country. When he first came to St Andrews, the admiration at his proficiency in learning was increased by his small stature and slender frame of body, which gave him a very boyish appearance. John Douglas, who was provost of St Mary's College and rector of the university, distinguished him by marks of the kindest and most condescending approbation. He used to invite him to his chamber, take him between his knees, propose questions to him on the subject of his studies, and, delighted with his replies, to exclaim, "My silly, fatherless, and motherless boy, it's ill to witt what God may make of thee yet!"[4]

In the College of St Mary, Melville had for his class-fellows two persons of excellent talents; Thomas Maitland, the brother of the celebrated secretary of Queen Mary, and James Lawson, the colleague and successor of Knox, with whom he continued afterwards to maintain an intimate friendship. It does not appear who was the tutor, or regent, as he was called, that carried them through their course of philosophy.[5] A view of the state of education at St Andrews will be given in a subsequent part of this work. It may be sufficient at present to notice, that the means of instruction in St Mary's were more ample than in

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 5. [2] See Note E.

[3] "Our Regent (says James Melville) told me of my uncle Mr Andrew Melville, whom he knew in the time of his course in the New College to use the Greek logicks of Aristotle, which was a wonder to them, that he was so fine a scholar, and of such expectation."—"All that was taught of Aristotle he learned and studyed it out of the Greek text, which his masters understood not." Melville's Diary, pp. 18, 28.

William Colless, or Collace, was James Melville's Regent. He was of St Leonard's College, and was incorporated into the university at the same time with Andrew Melville.

[4] Melville's Diary, p. 28.

[5] Dempster mentions Alexander Ramsay as the preceptor to Melville. "Alexander Ramsayus vir doctissimus in patrio Sanctandreano Gymnasio præclaram famam ab eruditione accepit, *Andreæ Melvini præceptor.* Scripsit Panegyricos Latinos: Castigationem Veterum Dionysii Halicarnassæi Interpretum Latinorum: Notas in D. Paulini Opera." Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 16. p. 563. I have not met with the name of Alexander Ramsay as a teacher at St Andrews; perhaps he taught at Paris while Melville was there.

either of the two other colleges. It had separate classes for grammar and rhetoric; and, besides, a teacher of law, to whose lectures the students of philosophy had access before they commenced masters of arts.[1]

Having finished the usual course of study, Melville left the university of St Andrews with the character of "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land."[2]

While Melville was engaged in his academical education, Buchanan returned to his native country. It is much to be regretted that we have such scanty information respecting the manner in which that great scholar was employed from 1561 to 1567, when he became Principal of St Leonard's College. As it is, we are left to suppose that he spent the time in teaching the queen Latin, and in preparing his poems for the press. In a copy of verses addressed to him on his recovery from a dangerous illness, Melville calls him his *Master*.[3] In the absence of all other information, we are not perhaps warranted to take this expression literally as implying that he had been under his tuition. But considering the zeal with which Buchanan patronised literature, and the affability with which he received young men of promising talents, it is highly probable that Melville was at this early period admitted to his society, and profited at least by his private instructions, during the visits which he appears to have paid to St Andrews.[4] The fame which his illustrious countryman had acquired, and the perusal of his poems, must have roused the youthful fancy of Melville, and led him to devote himself to a species of composition in which he afterwards attained to great excellence. To this, however, his mind had been attracted at a still earlier period. His brother was an admirer of the Latin poetry of the Italians, who had recently cultivated the ancient language of their country with uncommon ardour and the most wonderful success. Palingenius, in particular, was a favourite with Richard Melville, on account of the purity of his moral sentiments, as well as the elegant dress in which they were clothed; and he was wont to repeat passages from his *Zodiacus Vitæ* to the youth of his family, and to make them commit the poem to memory.[5]

While Melville was yet at the university of St Andrews, his talents had attracted the notice of learned foreigners who visited Scotland.

[1] Fundatio et Erectio Novii Collegii, Anno 1553. Melville's Diary, p. 16.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 28. See also Note E.

[3] "Andreas Melvinus Geo. Buchanano Præceptori suo & Musarum parenti." Testimonia prefix. Oper. Buchanani, p. 21. Edit. Ruddim. It may be remarked, that Sir Thomas Randolph, the well-known ambassador from Elizabeth to Scotland, when he mentions Buchanan, uses the expression "my Master," both in letters to him and to others. Buchanani Epistolæ, pp. 18, 19. Ruddiman, in his Notes on Buchanan's Life, says, that Randolph was taught humanity by Buchanan—"a Buchanano humanioribus literis eruditus." The writer of Randolph's Life in the Biographia Britannica (vol. v. p. 3490) understands this as meaning that he had Buchanan for "his schoolmaster," before he entered the university of Oxford. This is a mistake; and I have no doubt that Randolph studied under Buchanan in the university of Paris, when he fled from England into France to escape the persecution of Queen Mary. This was in 1553. Biogr. Brit. *ut supra*. Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, by Bliss, vol. i. p. 567. In the course of that year Buchanan taught at Paris as a regent in the College of Boncourt. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 90. 2d edit.

[4] Epist. Dedic. in Franciscanos.

[5] Melville's Diary, p. 8.

Among these was Petrus Bizzarus, a poet of Italy, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed religion. After spending some time at the court of London, he came to Scotland, where he was honourably received by Queen Mary, and by the Earl of Moray, who had then the chief direction of the government.[1] Melville was introduced to Bizzari, who expressed his warm regard for him in a copy of verses inserted in a work which was soon after published.[2] This was a flattering compliment to so young a man, especially as he was the only scholar in his native country who shared this honour with Buchanan.

Having acquired all the branches of learning which his native country afforded, Andrew Melville resolved to complete his education on the Continent. In autumn, 1564, being nineteen years of age, he set out for France, having previously obtained the consent of his brothers to the journey. His voyage was both tedious and dangerous. Through stress of weather he was obliged to land in England, and afterwards to go to Bordeaux, from which he returned by sea to Dieppe. Having reached Paris, he immediately commenced his studies in the renowned university of that city.

We may in general form a correct estimate of the progress which a young man of talents and thirst for knowledge will make, from the state of education, and the character of the teachers, in the seminary which he attends. The university of Paris had long enjoyed a pre-eminent reputation among the great schools of Europe, founded on its antiquity, the number of its colleges, the extent of its revenues, and the venerated names which stood enrolled in its registers as professors and graduates. Attracted by these considerations, a multitude of young men from all the surrounding countries flocked to it annually, and were admitted citizens of one or other of the four nations into which that learned corporation was divided.[3]

[1] Bizzarus informs us that Mary presented him with a chain of gold, and he has addressed one of his treatises to that princess. Varia Opuscula, f. 28, a. In a poem inscribed "Ad Jacobum Stuardum Scotum," he celebrates the victory which that nobleman gained over the Earl of Huntly, in such terms as to warrant the conclusion, that he was then in Scotland. (Ibid. f. 92, a.) The battle of Corrichie, in which Huntly fell, was fought in 1562.

[2] The following are the lines referred to :—

Ad Andream Melvinum Scotum.
Nvlla apis Hyblæis legit de floribus unquam,
Deq ; vilis herbis dulcia mella magis ;
Dulcia vina magis nunquam de dulcibus vuis
Vlla dedit vitis quolibet axe poli :
Quam mihi dulcis ades, dulci sermone, tuisq ;
Mellitis verbis, moribus, ingenio.
Sincerum pectus, fidei constantia vere,
Veraq ; sincera cum pietate, fides ;
Me tibi sic vinclo dudum obstrinxere tenaci,
Meluine, vt possit soluere nulla dies.
Nulla dies soluet, distantia nulla locorum,
Imminuet, firmum sed mihi semper erit.

Petri Bizzari Varia Opvscvla, f. 109, b. Venetiis, 1565, 12mo.

For pointing out to me this rare book, and for other valuble notices, I am indebted to Dr Irving, the learned biographer of Buchanan.—Some of Bizzari's poems were afterwards reprinted in Delitiæ Poetarum Italorum. The one just quoted is there inscribed "Ad Andream Miluinum," (tom. i. p. 437). Bizzari is also the author of a history of the war in Hungary, from 1564 to 1568, written in Italian, and a history of Persia, in Latin. A letter from him to Lord Burleigh, written from the Turkish dominions, Aug. 18, 1575, is inserted in Murden's State Papers, p. 287.

[3] The four nations were those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany or England, in which last Scotland and Ireland were included. In 1513, there were ninety regents belonging to the nation of France alone. Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. vi. p. 59. In the twelfth century, the number of members of the university nearly equalled that of the citizens of Paris, and included students from every part of Christendom. Epist. Diogillensis ad Abælardum, apud Bulæi Hist. tom. ii. p. 663. About the

But whatever was its popular celebrity, the university of Paris was indebted for its real eminence to the Royal Trilingual College, founded in 1529 by Francis I. at the recommendation of Budæus. That great scholar[1] had long lamented the inefficiency of the university for promoting the interests of literature, and despaired of introducing a tolerable reform into colleges founded in unenlightened times, and governed by laws and usages which were as deeply rooted in inveterate prejudice as they were irreconcilable to the principles of liberal science. The new institution was formed on the model of the Buslidian College at Louvaine, which had been so zealously patronised by Erasmus.[2] It was the intention of Budæus to have had that distinguished scholar placed at its head; but he declined an honour which he foresaw would involve him in those troublesome and unsafe disputes from which it was his uniform object to escape. The Royal Trilingual College was originally intended, as its name imports, for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; although it was some time before a teacher of Latin was appointed, owing to the opposition made by the members of the university, which led Erasmus, in one of his letters, to call them *bilingual* pedants. The friends of learning obtained from Francis I. and his successors, the endowment of additional classes in the new establishment; and when Melville came to Paris, there were royal professors in all the branches of science, except civil law and divinity. Previous to the erection of the Royal College, there was no provision in the university for instructing young men in the learned languages; the professors, in the different faculties, occupied themselves in commenting on barbarous and monkish authors, and in the discussion of frivolous and intricate questions; the exercises of the students consisted of noisy and captious disputations; and degrees were conferred in a manner which would be reckoned disgraceful by those universities which are at present most lavish in the distribution of their nominal literary honours.[3] But a change to the better might now be observed in every branch of education. The court had the right of presentation to the chairs in the new college, and as it was become fashionable for the kings of France to act as the patrons of learning, men of talents and erudition were usually appointed to fill them. In addition to the direct influence of their instructions, they contributed indirectly but powerfully to reform the university. They excited strong hostility, indeed, but they at the same time produced emulation. They occasioned fierce disputes by provoking the resentment of illiterate sophists and bigoted theologues, but they also broke the slumber which these literary drones had hitherto indulged

beginning of the sixteenth century, there were 10,000 persons in it engaged in different branches of study. Pontanus de Obedientia, lib. 5. cap. 6. apud Gratiarum Act. pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia, p. 14. Paris, 1601. Joseph Scaliger says, that, when he attended the university (which was only a few years before Melville entered it), there were *thirty thousand* students. Des Maizeaux, Scaligerana, &c. tom. ii. p. 490.

[1] "Nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus." Scaligerana Secunda.

[2] J. Frid. Burscher, Spicilegia Autogr. Epist. ad Erasmum, Spicileg. iv. 6, 7. Lips. 1802.

[3] Bulæi Hist. tom. vi. pp. ii. 915. Gratiarum Actio, p. 14, *ut supra*.

in their cells, and roused them to exertions which otherwise they never would have made. The professors in the old colleges perceived that they were in danger of being eclipsed by their more learned and active rivals, and were reduced to the alternative of exerting themselves, and adopting the new improvements, if they did not wish to see their lessons contemned, their classes deserted, and their emoluments alarmingly reduced.

When Melville entered the university of Paris, it was in its most prosperous state. The late improvements had produced their salutary fruit, and they had not yet felt the blasting influence of the spirit of faction and fanaticism engendered by the infamous League, which, within a short time, destroyed the labours of many years, and reduced that flourishing seminary to its original barbarism.[1] The nation was enjoying a respite during the interval between the first civil war which ended in 1563, and the second which broke out in 1567; and several of the professors, who, as well as the students, had been involved in the public confusions, had returned to Paris, and were restored to the charges which they had left, or from which they had been driven by the violence of the times.[2]

Among the professors whose lectures were attended by Melville, we find the names of those who held a distinguished rank in their several professions, and to whom letters and philosophy are under the greatest obligations. The Greek chair in the Royal College was still filled by Turnebus, who had formerly been the colleague of Buchanan in that university, and who united an elegant taste with the highest critical attainments. Melville had the happiness to attend the last course of lectures delivered by that learned man in the year in which he died.[3] Mercerus and Quinquarboreus were conjunct royal professors of Hebrew and Chaldee. By his oral instructions, the elementary treatises which he published, and his translations from Hebrew and Chaldee, the former contributed more than any individual of that age to the advancement of Eastern learning. His commentaries on the Old Testament still deserve the attention of the biblical student; and Father Simon, whose judgment was sufficiently fastidious, has pronounced the highest eulogium on him, when he says, that Mercier possessed all the qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture, and that the only thing to be regretted in him is, that he suffered himself to be carried away by the novel opinions of the reformers.[4] Cinq Arbres, though destitute of the critical acumen

[1] Libellus Supplex ad August. Senatvm pro Academia Parisiensi, p. 14. Paris, 1601. Gratiarvm Actio pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia, pp. 15, 26—29. Paris, 1601.

[2] Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. vi. pp. 550, 551. Bayle, Dict., art. Ramée.

[3] He died prematurely in June 1565. Hist. Typographorum Paris. P. 47—78. Bulæus, vi. 918. It has been supposed that he was of Scotch extraction, and that his proper name was Tournebeuf or Turnbull. Dempster says he was of the same family as William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 623. Another writer says, "Ex familia Turnbullorum in Lisdalia Scotiæ provincia oriundus." D. Buchananus de Script. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Coll. Edin. And again, in the Appendix, "Hadrianus Turnebus Scoto avo natus."

[4] Simon, Histoire Critique de V. Testament, liv. iii. chap. 14. Bezæ Icones, Y. j. et Præfat. ejus in Merceri Comment. in Ecclesiasten. The first separate and formal treatise on Chaldaic grammar was "Tabulæ in Grammaticen linguæ Chaldææ, quæ et Syriaca dicitur—Johanne Mercero Hebraicarum Litera-

and extensive knowledge of his colleague, has shown that he was well acquainted with Hebrew grammar.[1] Under such able masters, Melville applied himself with great assiduity to the study of oriental languages, which he could not acquire in his native country.

We must not omit to mention here the celebrated Petrus Ramus, who excited so much notice by his bold and persevering attacks on the Aristotelian philosophy, and became the founder of a new sect which made no inconsiderable progress in the schools of Europe. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the merits of his system of logic, or its tendency to advance real science, it does not admit of a doubt that a young man of talents must have derived the greatest benefit from a teacher of such ardour and independence, if not originality of mind, and of so much eloquence, as Ramus possessed. The greatest men of that age were trained up under him;[2] and several of those who, like Scaliger, have spoken disrespectfully of his merits, were indebted to him for that acuteness and classical taste which enabled them to detect the blunders which he committed, and into which he was betrayed by precipitation and a fondness for distinguishing himself in every department of knowledge. He was at this time royal professor of Roman Eloquence, as well as principal of the College de Presle. Melville attended his lectures, and we shall afterwards have occasion to show that he introduced the plan of teaching, and the mode of philosophising, followed by his master, into the universities of Scotland.[3]

While he listened to the instructions of the royal professors, Melville

rum Professore Regio. Paris, 1560." 4to. Beautifully printed at the royal press by William Morell.

[1] "De Re Grammatica Hebræorum Opus, in gratiam Studiosorum linguæ Sanctæ, methodo facillima conscriptum, Authore Johanne Quinquarboreo Aurilacensi, linguarum Hebraicæ et Caldaicæ Regio Professore. Tertia et Postrema æditio. Parisiis apud Martinum Juvenem. 1556." Wolfius says that this work was printed at Paris in 1549, 1556, and 1582. Bibl. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 615. But it appears from the above title that there were two editions of it before 1556.

[2] Nicolaus Nancelius, referring to his having taught in 1553 under Ramus in the College de Presle, says, in a letter to Buchanan, "ubi Regii tum juvenes Stuarti vestrates discebant." Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 35. One of these was the Prior of St Andrews, afterwards the Regent Moray. It appears from a visitation of St Leonard's College, that he was on the Continent in 1551; for a cause is delayed "usque ad redditum [reditum] Dni Commendatarii Prioratus S. Andreæ—ex partibus transmarinis." Papers of St Leonard's College. And a commission by William, bishop of Aberdeen, is signed by the Prior, as a witness, at Paris, September 13, 1552. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 33. Besides the lectures of these professors, he attended also those of Duretus, Paschasius, Forcatellus, Carpentarius, and Salignacus. Louis Durat was the favourite physician of Charles IX. and Henry III. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 320, 2d Edit. Paschasius Hamelius succeeded Orontius Finæus, the first royal professor of mathematics, and died in 1565. Bulæus, vi. 651, 915, 966. Forcatellus was the author of two works on the science which he taught: "Le Troisième Livre de Arithmetique, par Pierre de Forcadel," Paris, 1557, 4to; and "Les Six Premières Livres des Eléments d'Evclide, trad. et commentez par Pierre Forcadel de Bezies," Paris, 1564, 4to. Jacobus Carpentarius (Charpentier) the great opponent of Ramus, was chosen royal professor of mathematics in 1565. Ramus opposed his admission on the ground of his ignorance of that science, and urged that, as he had taken the title of professor of philosophy and mathematics, there was reason to fear he intended to confine himself to the former branch, and to neglect the latter. Bulæus, tom. vi. p. 650—652. James Melville mentions Salinacus among the professors of mathematics. But this is a mistake. Joannes Salignacus was the favourite scholar of Vatablus, and distinguished for his acquaintance with Jewish and Rabbinical learning. He appears to have been one of the royal professors of Hebrew when Melville was at Paris. Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, p. 33—35. Calvini Epist. et Resp. p. 163. Oper. tom. ix.

took his share in the usual academical exercises; and, during the second year of his abode in the university, he excited great admiration by the ease and fluency with which he declaimed in Greek.[1]

Two circumstances relating to the university of Paris, during the time that Melville attended it, are deserving of notice. The first relates to the religious liberty that was enjoyed, and the rapid progress which the Protestant opinions were consequently making in it. A number of the professors, including several heads of colleges, avowed their attachment to these, and others were strongly suspected of the same religious bias.[2] But a few years after Melville left Paris, all those who refused to subscribe the Roman Catholic faith, including the students, were driven from the university.[3] The other circumstance alluded to is the opening of the College of Clermont at Paris by the Jesuits, with the exertions made by that intriguing order to gain admission into the university, and to insinuate themselves into the chief management of the education of youth. At the head of this new establishment was a countryman of Melville's, Edmund Hay, who had been a regent in the university of St Andrews, and left Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation, to which he was hostile.[4] The greater part of the Scots who retired to the Continent from attachment to the old religion, entered into the society of the Jesuits, in which they were sure to obtain promotion; owing to the ardour of their zeal, and a desire to allure converts from a kingdom that had made so sudden and general a defection from the Catholic Church. Hay was entitled to these honours by the respectability of his character no less than the sacrifices which he had made for the ancient faith. He afterwards became rector of the academy which the Jesuits erected at Port-a-Mousson, provincial of the brethren in France, and assistant to Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the whole order.[5]

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 33.

[2] Nicholas Charton, Principal of the College of Beauvais, Jean Dahin, Principal of Chenai, and Pierre Ramée, Principal of Presle, with others of inferior note, were in 1568 ejected from their situations, as Huguenots. Bulæus, tom. vi. p. 657—660. The other universities of France were, in proportion to their extent, still more generally infected with heresy. In Bourges eight professors were suspected of Lutheranism. Bayle, Dict., art. Dauren. The magistrates of Paris, in 1568, enforced their petition for the opening of a class of Civil Law in the capital, by urging the danger to which their sons were exposed of being infected with heresy at other universities. Bulæus, vi. 668.

[3] Bulæus, vi. 562, 583.

[4] Records of University of St Andrews. Crawfurd says he was the son of Peter Hay of Meggins, ancestor of the Earls of Kinnoul. Officers of State, p. 157. But he seems to have confounded the Jesuit with a person of the same name, who was an advocate. There is no evidence that the former ever followed the profession of law; as Crawfurd asserts. He had left Scotland in 1560, or at any rate was in France in 1564, and continued, till his death, to hold a distinguished place among the Jesuits in that country. Mr Edmund Hay, advocate, was one of the counsel for the Earl of Bothwell, on his trial for the murder of Darnley, and in the process of his divorce. Buchanan's Detection, sig. k, 2. Goodall's Examination, i. 368. And he signs a contract as a procurator, Jan. 2, 1572. Register-Book of Contracts of the Commissariot of St Andrews.—Dempster has stated, with more probability, that father Edmund Hay was descended from the family of Dalgaty, in Buchan. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 8, p. 301.

[5] Ribadeneira, Illustr. Script. Societ. Jas. Catal p. 49. Lugd. 1609. Dempster, *ut sup.* A letter from Edmund Hay ("ex Paris. idib. Feb. 1564,") in which he gives an account of the successful commencement of the college of Clermont, and the opposition it had met with, is inserted by Bulæus, Histor. Univers. Paris. tom. vi. p. 588.

The knowledge which Melville at this time obtained of the designs of the Jesuits, prompted him to exert himself afterwards in putting the universities of Scotland on such a footing as to render it unnecessary for young men to seek education abroad, where they were in the utmost danger of being seduced by these active and artful zealots of Rome.[1]

Melville also heard Francis Baldwin, the lawyer, who was allowed to read occasional or extraordinary lectures on Civil Law at Paris.[2] There was not then, nor for a considerable time after, a regular class for this science in the university of Paris, and it was not without strenuous opposition from the other learned corporations in France that its erection was obtained.[3] Melville had no intention of practising law, but he was anxious to avail himself of the opportunity which he enjoyed of going through a complete course of education. With this view he left Paris in 1566, and went to the university of Poictiers.

Such was the reputation which he had gained, that, though a stranger, and only twenty-one years of age, he was, on his arrival at Poictiers, made a regent in the college of St Marceon. There was great rivalship between it and the college of St Pivareau, the students of each endeavouring to excel those of the other in the composition of verses, and in the delivery of orations. In these literary contests the college of St Marceon carried away the palm while Melville was connected with it. In this situation he remained for three years, prosecuting at the same time the study of jurisprudence.[4] Meanwhile, the civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which was renewed in 1567, spread through the kingdom, and extended its baleful influence to the seats of learning. In 1568, Admiral Coligny, at the head of the Protestant army, laid siege to the city of Poictiers, which was vigorously defended by the young Duke of Guise. The classes in the university being broken up, Melville entered into the family of a Counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his only son. When he was making rapid improvement in his education, this promising boy was prematurely cut off. Coming into his room one day, Melville found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon-ball from the camp of the besiegers which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, during which he employed the religious instructions which he had received in comforting his afflicted parent; and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing these words in Greek, Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μϐ τετεληκα—*Master, I have finished my course.* Melville continued to retain a lively recollection of this affecting scene, to which he never could allude without tears.[5]

During the siege Melville found himself exposed to danger from

[1] In 1594, the Jesuits' Seminary had nearly depopulated the colleges in the university of Paris. Bulæus, *ut supra*, p. 847.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 33. Bayle states that Baldwin, about the period here referred to, read lectures upon parts of the Pandects, at Paris, to a large audience, and with great applause. Dict., art. Baudouin. And it would appear that, as early as 1546, he and Hottoman prelected on Civil Law in the Ecoles du Decret. Ibid., art. Hotman, (Francois), Note M.

[3] See Note F.

[4] Melville's Diary, *ut supra*.

[5] Ibid. pp. 33, 34.

another cause. He had taken no part in the political dissensions of the country, and prudently avoided giving offence to the Roman Catholics with whom he was obliged to associate. But his inclinations as to religion were not altogether unknown,[1] and any mercenary or officious informer might have deprived him of his liberty, or even his life, in a place which was under martial law. There was a small company of soldiers stationed as a guard to the Counsellor's house, and Melville had raised the suspicions of the subaltern officer who commanded them, by reading the Bible, and similar acts of devotion, which were usually regarded by the French soldiery as the discriminating marks of the Huguenots or Christaudins.[2] An alarm being one day given that the enemy intended an assault, the officer, with a stern voice, challenged him as a Huguenot, who would betray the city to the enemy, and whom he durst not trust at liberty. Melville repelled this charge with warmth, armed himself with the utmost expedition, and taking a horse from the stable, prepared to mount it, and repair to the breach. His stout averments, and the alacrity which he displayed, staggered the suspicions of the soldier, who now requested him to desist from his preparations. "No, no," answered Melville; "I will show myself this day to be as honest and as brave a man as you." Upon this the poor fellow had recourse to entreaties, begging him not to inform the master of the house of what he had done; for if the matter came to the ears of his superior officer he would lose his place for molesting so loyal and good a subject. And he ever after treated Melville with the most profound respect.

The siege being raised, Melville resolved to quit France, and repair to Geneva for the prosecution of theological studies. Great caution was necessary in carrying this purpose into execution; for it was reported that foreign troops were coming to the assistance of the admiral, and the governors of the provinces bordering on Switzerland and Germany had received strict orders from the court to suffer none to leave the kingdom without passports. Having concerted his journey with a young Frenchman who wished to accompany him, he left his books and other effects behind him, and set out on foot with a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. This was a mode of travelling to which he was partial, and the usual way in which he equipped himself for it. Being light in body, and full of spirits, he performed the journey with great ease; and when his fellow-traveller, exhausted with fatigue, had thrown himself on bed, he sallied forth, and examined whatever was worthy of being seen in the places at which they stopped. By avoiding the public roads, and fortified towns, they passed the frontiers of France without meeting with any interruption. Night had set in when they

[1] There had been a reformed church in Poictiers for several years, and its minister sat in the first National Synod of the Protestants of France. In 1560 the second National Synod was held in that city. Quick, Synodicon, i. 2, 12.

[2] The Catholics of France were accustomed at this time to apply both these names to the Protestants. Bulæus, vi. 483.

reached Geneva, and the city was strictly guarded on account of the confusions of France, and the multitude of strangers who came from it. When questioned by the guard, the Frenchman replied that they were poor scholars from France. The countenance of the soldier expressed his thoughts as significantly as if he had said aloud, "We have got too many persons of your description already." Melville, perceiving this, assured him that they had enough of money to pay for all that they required, and showing him the letters which they had for Monsieur Beza, begged to know where they would find that minister : upon which the gates were opened to them.

At their first interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, of whom he talked to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity, which happened to be then vacant in their academy. Accordingly he was put on trials within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges that he was immediately admitted. A quarter of a year's salary was paid him at his admission, which proved a very seasonable relief; for, notwithstanding his courageous language to the guard, the joint funds of the two travellers did not exceed a crown when they entered Geneva. He was now able to support himself creditably, and also to maintain his desponding companion until such time as he obtained a situation.

During the ten years which had elapsed since its erection, the University, or, as it is commonly called, the Academy of Geneva,[1] had flourished under the fostering care of the magistrates and ministers of that energetic republic. It was at this time furnished with teachers who were inferior to those of no titled university in Europe, and had attracted students from every Protestant country. The professorship which Melville had obtained was chiefly valued by him as it put it in his power to avail himself of the talents of these excellent men in the prosecution of his studies. With true literary ardour he waited on their public instructions as a scholar, at the same time that he was honoured with their friendship and admitted to their private society as a colleague.

It was at this period that he made that progress in oriental literature for which he was afterwards distinguished. Rodolph Chevalier,[2] the first professor of Hebrew in the academy, had lately left Geneva, and was succeeded by Cornelius Bertramus. The talents and erudition of Bertram were superior to those of his predecessor. His book on the Jewish Polity is still a standard work ; and his Comparison of the Hebrew and Aramean languages discovers an acquaintance with gramma-

[1] The magistrates of Geneva having applied to the King of France to obtain the privileges of a university to their academy, his majesty, after consultation, refused the request, upon this ground, that "Universities were found to be the nurseries of heresy." Senebier, Histoire Littéraire de Genève, i. 35.

[2] Antoine-Rodolphe Chevalier (Cevalerius) was Queen Elizabeth's tutor in the French language ; and at a late period of his life he appears to have taught Hebrew in England. Among the Baker MSS. vol. xiii. 36, is "Account of Cevalerius, Hebrew reader, and his issue." Biogr. Britan. vol. i. p. 524, 2d edit. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 438.

tical analogy very uncommon at that period.[1] Melville acquired from him the knowledge of Syriac, which had but recently become a subject of study among Europeans, and which is so useful to a divine from its near affinity to the original of the Old Testament, and from the ancient and valuable version of the New Testament which exists in it.

The Greek chair in the academy was then filled by Franciscus Portus, a native of the island of Candia.[2] Portus is well known to the learned by his commentaries on ancient authors. He had resided at the court of Renée, the accomplished Duchess of Ferrara, and retired to Geneva for the sake of enjoying the free exercise of the reformed religion. Enthusiastically attached to Grecian literature from patriotism as well as profession, Portus was charmed with the progress which Melville had made in it, and took great pleasure in pointing out to him the beauties of his native tongue, and in discussing with him those nicer questions in its philology about which critics were then divided. On these occasions Melville sometimes ventured to oppose the favourite opinions of his master, either from conviction, or with the view of eliciting fuller information on the subject. In a dispute as to the proper pronunciation of the language, and the power of the accents, he happened one day to push his objections rather too freely, upon which the jealous Candian grew warm, and testily exclaimed, *Vos Scoti, vos barbari, docebitis nos Græcos pronunciationem nostræ linguæ, scilicet !*—"You Scots, you barbarians, will teach us Greeks how to pronounce our own language, forsooth !"[3]

But the person to whom Melville felt the strongest attraction at Geneva, was the celebrated Theodore Beza, who performed the duty of professor of divinity in the Academy, along with that of a minister of the city. After the death of Calvin, Beza was unquestionably the brightest ornament, and the most powerful champion, of the Reformation. Equally distinguished as a divine, a poet, an orator, and a critic, no individual contributed more to enlighten and adorn the age in which he lived.[4] His editions of the Greek New Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes, whatever defects may now be discovered in them, were by far the most valuable works which had then appeared in that department of literature ; and no person who is well acquainted with the history of sacred criticism and interpretation, will allow himself to speak of them with disparagement.[5] Of his poetical productions it is

[1] Four recommendatory poems by Melville are prefixed to this work. Its title is : "Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et Aramicæ. Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo, vtriusque linguæ Professore. Apud Evstathivm Vignon. 1574." 4to. Bertram was the editor of the Polyglot Bible, published by Commelin in 3 vols. fol. ; 1586. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. part i. pp. 384, 385. edit. Masch. For his other works, Bayle, Teissier, and Colomesius (Gallia Orientalis, p. 68), may be consulted.

[2] Isaac Casaubon, the first Greek scholar of the age in which he lived, was a pupil of Portus, and has pronounced the highest eulogium on his master. "Sincera pietas, virtus excellens, et singularis doctrina, bonis omnibus venerabilem reddebant." Exercitationes ad Apparat. Annal. Baronii, p. 37. edit. 1663. See alse Vita Casauboni, pp. 4, 5. edit. Almeloveen. Several Greek poems by Portus are in the edition Bezæ Poematum, printed anno 1569.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 35.

[4] Casaubon, in one of his letters, calls Beza, Scaliger, and de Thou, "the three suns of the learned world." Epist. p. 68. edit. Almeloveen.

[5] "Quod vero ante eum (Bezam) nemo instituit, ut codices consuleret et crisin Novi

sufficient to say, that they were admired by the best judges among his contemporaries, and met with the applause of two eminent individuals, who, like himself, had courted the muse by "Siloa's brook, and Jordan's hallowed tide." On reading his poems, Flaminio exclaimed, "I see that the muses have at length crossed the Alps,"[1] and Buchanan hesitated not to pronounce him "one of the most singular poets that have been of a long time."[2] When we consider these unequivocal testimonies of approbation, we will not feel disposed to pay implicit regard to the caustic remark of the critic, that Beza, by printing his version of the Psalms along with Buchanan's, "led to a comparison which he ought not rashly to have hazarded."[3] The magnanimity which prompts a man of genius to enter into competition with his illustrious contemporaries, prevents him from being meanly mortified when he is excelled by them; and he may, at the same time, be conscious, and gratified with the consciousness, that his productions are not unworthy of being associated with those to which he willingly yields the palm of superiority. The history of letters, during the period of which we speak, affords many pleasing examples of this species of noble strife and amicable rivalship, to which honourable fame incites her votaries.

> Her Temple's everlasting doors unbarr'd,
> Desert is various, various the reward.
> No little jealousy, no ill-timed sneer,
> No envy there is found, or rival fear.

To these talents and acquirements, and to the most unquestionable piety, Beza added great politeness and affability of manners. He was well born and well educated; and having enjoyed the society of the great, as well as the learned, his conversation was both pleasing and instructive. By the inhabitants of the city to which he had devoted his services he was held in veneration; and the manner in which he uniformly received the public and flattering expressions of this feeling, contributed to set the purity of his character, and the generosity of his dispositions, in the most striking light.[4]

Besides attending the sermons and the academical prelections of this

Testamenti tractaret, id et ipsum præstitit ille, nactus quosdam codices. Sic parva quidem et tenuia, tamen initia sunt facta Critices N. T. eaque valde laudabilia." Sam. Frid. N. Mori Hermeneutica Novi Test. cura H. C. A. Eichstadt, tom. ii. p. 292. Lips. 1802.

[1] Theodori Bezæ Poemata: Item ex Georgio Buchanano aliisque poetis Excerpta. Epist. Dedic. p. 7. Henr. Steph. 1569.

[2] See the letter of Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph; printed in the Appendix.

[3] Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii. p. 128. He should have said that Beza *permitted* this; for it was Henry Stephens who first published them in the same volume. "Vides, lector, Henr. Stephanum non sine causa Bezæ Poematibus Buchanani et Flaminii ejus familiarium poemata sociavisse." Maittaire, Stephanorum Historia, p. 345.

[4] Anton. Fayus, Vita Theod. Bezæ. Bayle, Dict., art. Beze. Teissier, Eloges, iv. 484, 506. In 1570 the plague raged at Geneva, and one was chosen by lot from the company of ministers to visit those who were infected with that dreadful malady. The Council issued an order that Beza should be exempted from the lot, upon which he appeared before them, and begged that they would recall their order, as he looked upon the service as a part of his ministerial function. Accordingly his name was included among those of

eminent individual, Melville had the happiness of being admitted at all times to his private society. The learning, wit, vivacity, and candour, which Melville possessed, would of themselves have recommended him to the notice of one who was so susceptible of impressions from these qualities; but there were other circumstances which contributed to facilitate his access to the good graces of Beza. That reformer was uniformly partial to Scotsmen. He admired the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. He had long maintained an intimate friendship with two of the most illustrious individuals in that nation, Knox and Buchanan. And there was at that time in Geneva another Scotsman, a relation of Melville, with whom he had lived for many years as a colleague, and whom he revered for his talents and virtues.

This was Henry Scrimger, whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his countrymen. He was the son of Walter Scrimger of Glasswell, a branch of the honourable family of Dudhope, in which the offices of royal standard-bearer and of constable of Dundee had long been hereditary. Having finished his course of education with applause at St Andrews,[1] he went to the university of Paris, from which he removed to Bourges, to prosecute the study of civil law under Baro and Duaren. By the recommendation of the celebrated Amiot, then professor of Greek at Bourges, and afterwards raised to the highest offices, he became tutor to the children of Secretary Boucherel. In this situation he gave such satisfaction that he was chosen private secretary to the Bishop of Rennes, upon his appointment as ambassador from the court of France to different states of Italy. During a visit to Padua, he saw the noted Francis Spira, who died under great horror of mind in consequence of his recantation of the Protestant religion. This scene produced the same effect upon Scrimger's mind which it did on Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, and Gribaldi, a lawyer of Padua; and he determined to sacrifice the prospects which his present situation held out to him, and to return to Switzerland, where he might profess the reformed sentiments with safety. Being invited to Augsburg by the Fuggers, a family who had raised from the mines of Tyrol a princely fortune, which they expended in the advancement of literature,[2] Scrimger furnished the library of Ulrich Fugger with the rarest books and manuscripts. During his travels in Italy, he had collected ample materials for correcting the works of the ancients, and particularly those of Greece.[3] He published an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* of Justinian in Greek, which was prized by the first lawyers of the time; and the editions of several

his brethren. In 1572, the Churches of France requested his assistance at the National Synod of Nismes. The magistrates of Geneva did not think it safe for him to undertake the journey, and proposed that he should send them his advice in writing. Beza convinced them that this would not answer the purpose, and after a long debate they consented that he should go. Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Genève: 20 Feb. 1570; and 21 Apr. 1572. MS.

[1] See Note G.

[2] Shelhorn, Amœnitates Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, i. 719. The same author has collected various facts respecting this family in his Amœnitates Literariæ. [3] See under Note G.

of the classics published by Henry Stephens were enriched with the various readings and remarks which he liberally communicated to that learned printer. In 1563, Calvin persuaded him to come to Geneva. The magistrates conferred on him the freedom of the city; and, after he had taught for two years as professor of philosophy, they appointed him to the newly erected chair of civil law, which he filled till his death.[1]

As Melville's elder brother had been married to a sister of Scrimger, he had the readiest access to the conversation of his venerable countryman, which was highly valuable from the knowledge which he had acquired during his travels, and to his library, which was stored with the best and rarest books, both printed and in manuscript. He was a frequent visitor at his lodgings in town, and also at the Violet, a neat villa which Scrimger had built within a league of Geneva, and where he chiefly resided during the last years of his life, with his wife and an only daughter.[2]

At Geneva Melville had the happiness to become personally acquainted with several other individuals well known in the learned world, some of whom afterwards corresponded with him. Among these was Lambert Danæus, who was at that time associated with Beza in teaching theology, and afterwards discharged the same office in the university of Leyden.[3] The learned printer, Henry Stephens, took particular notice of our young countryman, and spoke of him in the most flattering terms.[4] He also obtained the friendship of Paulus Melissus, celebrated for his Latin odes, and translation of the Psalms into German verse.[5] James Lectius, equally distinguished as a politician and a scholar, whose name is associated with those of Bonnivard, Roset, and other patriots, in the history of his country, and who was permitted, by way of singular honour, to occupy at the same time a chair in the academy and the highest office in the republic, was the pupil of Melville, for whom he continued ever after to cherish the highest esteem.[6]

[1] Maittaire, Hist. Stephan. passim. Senebier, Catalogue Raisonné des Manuscrits de Genève, p. 285. From Calvin's letter, dated 27th October, 1562, it appears that Scrimger was not then at Geneva. But in another work, Senebier states (apparently from the public records) that he was admitted professor of philosophy at Geneva in 1561, and that the freedom of the city was conferred on him in the course of the same year. Histoire Littéraire, i. 497. Among the witnesses to Calvin's Testament, made 26th April 1564, we find "spectatum virum Henricum Scrimgerum professorem artium," and he is included among those called "cives Genevenses." Beza, Vita Calvini. "Henri Scrimger, professeur de droit," was elected a member of the Council of LX. "3 Janvier, 1570, à l'age de 64." Fragmens Biograph. et Hist. extraits de Registres de Genève, p, 16. Gen. 1815.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 35. James Melville mentions only his daughter; but it appears from a letter of Scrimger to Buchanan, that his wife was alive in April 1572. Buchan. Epist. p. 9. From Buchanan's letter to him, it would seem that he had lately been bereaved of some of his children. Ibid. p. 8.

[3] Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Genève. MS. p. 118. Senebier, Hist. Litt. i. 312.

[4] Casauboni Epist. p. 129, edit. Almeloveen.

[5] Adami Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum, p. 448. Among the poems of Melissus is one inscribed "Ad Andr. Melvinum Celurcanum." Melissi Schediasmatvm Poeticorvm Pars Tertia, p. 226. Lvtetiæ Parisiorum, 1586.

[6] Epistola J. Lectii, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin., M. 6. 9. Num. 31. Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 129. Senebier, Hist. Litt. ii. 54—61. A great many letters which passed between him and Casaubon are in the collection of Almeloveen.

The massacre of the Protestants, which commenced at Paris on St Bartholomew's day, 1572, and which wrought such woe to France, was the occasion of extending Melville's acquaintance with the learned men of the age. Those who escaped the dagger of the murderer took refuge in Geneva, whose gates were thrown open to receive them. One hundred and twenty French ministers were at one time in the city. The academy overflowed with students, and the magistrates were unable to provide salaries for the learned men whom they were desirous to employ, or to find situations for such as were willing to teach without receiving any remuneration.[1] Among those who obtained public appointments was Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age, and a man of real genius, although he devoted his talents chiefly to the dry study of criticism and illustration of ancient authors.[2] Melville's acquaintance with Scaliger had commenced two years before this period, during a visit which that learned man paid to Geneva.[3] All the recommendatory verses prefixed to a collection of his father's poems, which he published during his exile, proceeded from Melville's pen.[4] Among the refugees there were also two civilians, distinguished for their talents and erudition: Francis Hottoman, who had taught with high reputation at Bourges and Valence; and Edmond Bonnefoy, the colleague of the great Cujacius. The latter had run the greatest risk in the massacres, and was protected from the fanatical fury of the people by Cujacius, who esteemed him so highly as to declare that, if he were dying, and desired, like Aristotle, to choose his successor, he would name Bonnefoy.[5] A compliment not less flattering is paid him by the enlightened de Thou, who has recorded, in his history, that he was the scholar of Bonnefoy, and owed more to him than to any other man.[6] So zealous were the magistrates of Geneva to

[1] See two letters of Beza to Thomas Von Til, in Illustr. et Clar. Viror. Epistolæ Selectiores, p. 615—620. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344. Scaliger has preserved the curious fact, that the Duchess of Savoy sent 4000 florins annually for the relief of the French refugees at Geneva. Beza was the only minister acquainted with this charitable deed during the life of the Duchess. In one of Beza's letters above referred to, we find another singular fact. The city of Geneva had been grievously afflicted with the plague during the greater part of two years, but this dreadful malady disappeared upon the arrival of the persecuted fugitives.

[2] He was admitted Professor of Philosophy in October 1572, and continued to read lectures in the academy during two years. Senebier, Hist. Litter. ii. 10, and Scaligerana Secunda, art. Genève. Chauffepié and Burman, who have referred his residence at Geneva to another period, have suffered themselves to be misled by trusting to inferences from letters without dates.

[3] Scaliger has mentioned his being at Geneva in 1570. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344.

[4] Jvlii Cæsaris Scaligeri Poemata—Genevæ, 1575, 8vo. The epigrams are inscribed "Andr. Melvinvs Celurcanus." In the College Library of Edinburgh there is a copy of that work which had belonged to Melville, and has his autograph on the title page. He has transcribed some poems on the blank leaves at the beginning of the book, and written notes on the margin, consisting partly of emendations of the text, and partly of references to ancient authors whom Scaliger had imitated. To the subscription of the epigrams he has added with his pen "ad Lemannum," to intimate that he was then resident at Geneva. "Celurcanus" means *a native of Montrose.*

Nobilis urbs *rosei* jam gaudet nomine *montis*,
Quæ prius a cœlo dicta *Celurca* fuit.

—Ar. Jonstoni Poemata Omnia, p. 439. Middelb. 1642.

Two of these epigrams by Melville are republished in Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 344.

[5] Cujacii Observationes, cap. vi. Bonnefoy died at Geneva in the year 1574. Hotomanorum Epistolæ, p. 45.

[6] Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1574. Teissier, iii. 33—34.

encourage science, that, in the midst of their poverty, they allotted handsome salaries to these two civilians, only requiring that the citizens should be admitted gratis to their lectures. Hottoman lectured twice a-week on Roman Law, and Bonnefoy thrice a-week on Oriental Jurisprudence, a science of which he may be regarded as the founder, and for which he was eminently qualified by his knowledge of the languages of the East.[1]

We are expressly informed that Melville heard the lectures of Hottoman;[2] and there can be little doubt that he also availed himself of the opportunity of attending those of Bonnefoy, which were still more intimately connected with those studies to which he had now devoted his chief attention.

I have gone into these details, not merely as illustrative of the literary history of the period, but also as serving to throw light on the future conduct of Melville. We shall find him taking a deep interest in the political transactions of his native country; and the facts which we have produced tend to show that he was not unqualified by his education for judging on this subject. The studies of the learned in that age were more universal, and the common ground on which men of different professions met, was more extended than at present. Every person versant in its literary history must have been particularly struck with the union of the study of theology and law. Law, when properly viewed, is a noble, and in some sense a divine science. When, instead of being made to rest on the arbitrary dictates of mere will, whether exerted by individuals or communities, on the prescriptions of custom, or on the uncertain deductions of indeterminable expediency, the Law of Nations is founded, as it always ought to be, on the Law of Nature, and the eternal principles of equity and justice sanctioned by the Supreme Legislator, the study of it is closely allied to that of theology. And to represent them as discordant, or as incapable of affording aid to each other, is to injure both, and is as absurd as it would be to divorce and dissever the great ends which they respectively aim at,—the promoting of the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind. We meet with few of the writers of this period who excelled in one of these branches without being also well acquainted with the other. As religion is the common concern of all men, and as the public mind was then deeply interested in the controversies relating to it, we are not greatly surprised at the accounts which are given of the extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with ecclesiastical history, which was possessed by many distinguished civilians and statesmen—by such men as Hottoman, and Godefroy, and Grotius, Languet, and Mornay, and St Aldegonde. But we are not equally prepared to admit the statement, although well authenticated, that the chief divines of the

[1] Hottoman's salary was 800 florins, and Bonnefoy's 700 a-year. Recueil de diverses particularitez conc. Genève, p. 118. Hottomanorum Epistolæ, p. 45. Senebier, i. 327; ii. 7, 8.
[2] Melville's Diary, p. 35. Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, p. 58.

Reformed Church were intimately acquainted with the principles of jurisprudence, and qualified, by the course of study which they had pursued, to give their advice on questions relating to government and the administration of laws. Not to mention Calvin, Beza, and other foreign theologians, it would be easy to establish the fact by referring to not a few in our own country, as Row, Craig, Pont, Arbuthnot, and Adamson. This may be ascribed partly to the passion which those who addicted themselves to learning at that period felt to "intermeddle with all knowledge;" and partly to the superior gratification which this manly study yielded, in comparison with the dry and disgusting logic which had so long been exclusively cultivated in the schools. But it is chiefly to be traced to a new feeling, which recent events had produced, and which had for its direct object the promotion of the public good. This was the effect of the late reformation of religion; and at the same time one of the moral forces by which that mighty revolution exerted its influence upon the sentiments of mankind in favour of civil liberty and the amelioration of government. It is a favourite maxim with many in the present day, that the benefits which we owe to the Reformation are to be regarded as the ulterior and remote results of that event, rather than effects contemplated and intended by the reformers. It would be absurd to give an absolute negative to this proposition; but there is much less truth in it than those who announce it with such oracular importance imagine. Many of those actions which we are apt to impute to turbulence, or to clerical ambition and officiousness, and which we are prone to stigmatise as the offspring of bigotry and intolerance, we would, if better acquainted with the principles of the actors, and more attentive to the circumstances in which they were placed, see reason to ascribe to more enlightened and patriotic views.

It was at Geneva that Knox first felt the hallowed flame of liberty kindle in his breast; and while he breathed the free air of that republic he conceived the enterprise of breaking the fetters of religious and political bondage by which his native country was enthralled. Since his leaving it, the spirit of freedom had expanded itself, and during the two last years that Melville resided there an event occurred which enables us to ascertain its force. To assert, as some have done, that the violent and sanguinary measures to which tyrants have recourse always defeat themselves, would be only to foster delusion; for history demonstrates that they have, on the contrary, very often proved but too successful. As the same time, it is true that, under the direction of a merciful Providence, they have sometimes led to happier results. This was particularly the case as to the horrid scenes which disgraced France in the year 1572. The sensation produced by them was simultaneously felt at the most distant extremities of Europe. In Poland it excited alarm and disgust at the idea of receiving a king from a court polluted with

blood and perfidy.[1] In Scotland it crushed the hopes of a party which laboured to restore popery and arbitrary power. In the Low Countries it confirmed the inhabitants in their resolution to release themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Spain. And it disposed the Court of England to afford the assistance necessary for enabling these patriots to achieve their emancipation.

But it was at Geneva that this feeling operated with full force. In a city composed of freemen and Protestants, the conduct of the French court excited the strongest indignation, and was universally execrated. Smarting under the injuries which they had suffered, the refugees denounced the tyranny of the rulers who had inflicted them, and pointed to the only remedy by which the evil could be effectually corrected. Those who had afforded them an asylum were prepared to sympathise with their feelings and sentiments. The most important and delicate questions respecting government—the origin of power, the best mode of conveying it, its just limits, and the right of subjects to resist its abuse—became the topics of common discourse, and were discussed with a freedom and boldness which could have been tolerated only in a republican state, and exemplified only at a period when the public mind was in a state of high excitement. It was at this time that Hottoman composed his *Franco-Gallia*, a work which resembles the political treatises of Buchanan[2] and of Languet,[3] in the questions which it agitates, and the principles of freedom which it lays down and defends. At the same time, and in the same strain, did Beza compose a tract, which the magistrates of Geneva suppressed from prudential considerations, while they pronounced an approbation of the principles which it contained.[4] Peter Charpentier, a mercenary renegado, insulted the city which had formerly honoured him with an academical chair,[5] by addressing to Portus, the professor of Greek at Geneva, an apology for the massacre of St Bartholomew, in which he insidiously attempted to show that there were two classes of Protestants in France, a religious and a political, and that the late ebullition of public vengeance was directed solely against those who had made religion a cloak to their treasonable designs. Though foreign to his profession and studies,

[1] I allude particularly to a fact which appears to have been hitherto concealed in the registers of Geneva. The Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX., and afterwards Henry III. of France, having offered himself as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland, the Polish Protestants wrote, in April 1573, to the ministers of Geneva, requesting to be fully informed respecting the massacres in France, and the real authors of them, that they might take their measures accordingly in the approaching election of a new king. The ministers laid the letters before the council, who did not judge it prudent to return an answer in writing, but sent a person qualified for giving them the information which they required. Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Genève, p. 119, MS.

[2] De Jure Regni apud Scotos.

[3] Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos; published by Hubert Languet under the name of Junius Brutus.

[4] See Note H.

[5] Charpentier was for some time the colleague of Henry Scrimger, in the profession of Civil Law, at Geneva. Senebier, Hist. Litter. i. 51, 326. He was the son of James Charpentier, who is charged with having revenged his literary quarrels with Ramus, by instigating his scholars to murder that philosopher during the cannibal scenes exhibited in Paris. Bayle, art. Ramée and Charpentier.

Portus took up the pen, and in a reply, breathing keen but virtuous indignation, defended the innocence of the sufferers, and exposed the malignant falsehoods and stale sophistry of their base and unprincipled calumniator.[1]

How deeply Melville's mind was imbued with these sentiments, appears from the uniform zeal which he afterwards showed for the liberties of his country, and the firm resistance which he opposed to popery and arbitrary power. It was also displayed in the poems which he composed at this time; in which he embalmed the memory of the late martyrs, and bitterly execrated the cruelty of their persecutors.[2]

In the year 1572, Alexander Young came to Geneva with letters, from the Regent Mar and Buchanan, to his uncle, Henry Scrimger,[3] requesting his return to Scotland, and promising him the most honourable and liberal encouragement. Buchanan had before repeatedly written him to the same purpose, and the manner in which he urged his request evinced, at the same time, his own patriotism and his high esteem for Scrimger. But that venerable scholar continued to excuse himself, by pleading the confusions of his native country and his own advanced age.[4] For several years Melville had almost forgotten Scotland, in the ardour with which he applied to his studies and the discharge of his academical duty. The memory of it, and of the friends whom he had not seen for many years, was revived by the conversation of Young; and when the latter returned to Scotland, he sent letters by him to his brothers, acquainting them with his situation. As they had not heard of him for a long time, and feared he had lost his life in the troubles of France, they were overjoyed to learn that he was alive, and in great estimation at Geneva. Upon Young's paying a second visit to that city, Melville received the most affectionate letters from them, and pressing invitations to return home. Among the rest was a letter from one of his nephews, then a student at St Andrews; and the ingenious manner in which the young man described the low state of education in Scotland, and spoke of the benefit which it would derive from a person of such learning as he was told his uncle possessed, had no small influence in disposing him to think seriously of returning to Scotland.

About the same time, Alexander Campbell, a cadet of the house of Argyll, who, though a youth, had been presented to the bishopric of Brechin,[5] visited Geneva in his travels, accompanied by his tutor, Andrew Polwart. The solicitations of Polwart, with whom Melville

[1] Franc. Porti, Cretensis, Responsio ad Epistolam Petri Carpentarii. Genev. 1572.

[2] The two following epigrams may serve as a specimen of his cordial detestation of tyranny.

CLASSICUM.

Ad libertatem quid obest tibi, Gallia? Vis, fraus,
Et lupus, et lupa, cum sanguineis catulis.
Ad libertatem quid adest tibi, Gallia? Jus, fas,
Mensque manusque virum. Nunc quid abest? Animus.

TYRANNIS.

Tarquinii de stirpe truces cum terra tyrannos
Tot ferat; acri unus pectore Brutus ubi est?

[3] Alexander Young was the brother of Peter Young, Buchanan's colleague in the education of James VI. Their mother was Margaret Scrimger, sister to Henry Scrimger. Smith, Vita Petri Junii, pp. 3, 4.

[4] Buchanani Epist. p. 7—10.

[5] "Alexander Campbell of Carco, sumetime bischop of Brichen—deceisit in his place of Carco wt in the parish of Kinclevin in the moneth of Febr. 1608." Testament Testamentar, in Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh, 23 Junij, 1608.

had been acquainted at the university of St Andrews, joined to the urgent request of his own friends, determined him to return to Scotland, and to devote the knowledge which he had acquired abroad to the service of his country. This resolution he respectfully intimated to his colleagues, and to the magistrates, as patrons of the academy; requesting their permission to demit the office with which they had honoured him. His request was reluctantly granted, with expressions of their sorrow at losing him, and ample testimonials of their approbation and esteem. In a letter addressed to the General Assembly in their name, Beza, among other expressions of the same tenor, testified, that Andrew Melville was "equally distinguished by his piety and his erudition; and that the Church of Geneva could not give a stronger proof of affection to her sister Church of Scotland, than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him, that his native country might be enriched with his gifts." [1]

It was not without feelings of regret that Melville parted from Geneva, and the friends whom he had gained during his residence in that city. In the subsequent period of his life, he frequently retraced the scene in his imagination, and relieved his mind, amidst his labours and anxieties, by recollecting the happy years which he had spent there, in the peaceful pursuits of literature, and in the society of some of the greatest and best men of the age. The subject is more than once introduced in his poetical pieces, and always with tenderness and enthusiasm. In a poem to the memory of John Lindsay, one of his countrymen who died at Geneva, he pays an affectionate tribute to the most distinguished individuals whom he had known in that city. This is introduced by a deploration of the massacres so disgraceful to the neighbouring kingdom of France, which were painfully associated with the delightful recollections which the thoughts of Geneva excited in his breast. In the same poem he commemorates several of his countrymen, who, like Lindsay, had finished their days at Geneva.[2]

Melville left Geneva in spring, 1574, along with Polwart, and his pupil the Bishop of Brechin. They took the way of Lyons; and, traversing Franche Comté, descended the Loire to Orleans. During a part of their journey they were accompanied by three Frenchmen—a priest, a physician, and an officer of the army, all zealous Roman Catholics. Before they parted, Melville had made the military gentleman almost a Protestant; and, partly by argument, and partly by good-humoured raillery, he prevailed so far over the prejudices of the others, as that they had no objection to eat flesh on Friday—a practice which they at first regarded with much horror.

As the civil war was still raging in many parts of France, a vigilant eye was kept on such strangers as came to Orleans. When our travellers approached that city, the soldier on guard allowed the Bishop and Polwart, who were on foot, to pass without interruption, but stopped Melville, who, having sprained his foot, was on horseback. To the question,

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 35.

[2] See Note I.

"Whence are you?" Melville replied, "From Scotland." "O! you Scots are all Huguenots."—"Huguenots! What's that! We do not know such people in Scotland." "You have no mass," said the soldier—"*Vous n'avez pas la Messe.*"—"No *mess*, man!" replied Melville merrily; "why, our children in Scotland go to mess every day." "*Bon compagnon, allez vous*," said the soldier, smiling and beckoning to him to proceed. When he reached the house at which they had previously agreed to lodge, he found his two countrymen in great trepidation lest their papers should have been examined, and disposed to laugh heartily at the equivoque by which they had escaped detection. They had reason to congratulate themselves, if the report of their landlord was to be credited; for he assured them that several persons had of late lost their lives for as small an offence as that of having come from Geneva. On leaving Orleans next day, they were thrown anew into consternation, by unexpectedly falling in with a procession of the host, when they were again relieved from their embarrassment by the promptitude and address of Melville.[1]

At Paris they met with a great many of their countrymen, and resolved to spend some time in the French capital. At the desire of Lord Ogilvy, Melville went to the Jesuits' College, and, meeting with Father Tyrie, was involved in a public dispute with that eager polemic. The dispute was continued during several days, but the Archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of it, let fall some threatening expressions, which coming to the ears of Melville's friends, they persuaded him to leave the place as quickly as possible. Accordingly, he left Paris on the 30th of May, and proceeding with his former companions to Dieppe, sailed to Rye, and arrived safely in London. On the day that they quitted Paris, the French king, Charles IX., who had rendered himself so odious by his tyranny and cruelty, died of an issue of blood which burst from all the apertures of his body.

After remaining a short time in London our travellers purchased horses and took their journey by Berwick to Edinburgh, where Melville arrived in the beginning of July 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country.[2]

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 35, 36. [2] Ibid. p. 36.

CHAPTER II.

1574—1580.

Melville had scarcely arrived at Edinburgh, when he was waited on by George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, and Colonel James Halyburton, a favourite of the Regent Morton. They proposed that he should act as domestic instructor to the Regent, promising that he should be advanced to a situation more suited to his merits, on the first vacancy which occurred. Morton had himself no taste for letters, and was not disposed, as his predecessors were, to be liberal to learned men. But his sagacity convinced him of the influence which they exerted over the minds of others, and of the importance of attaching them to his interests. When individuals distinguished for their literary acquirements came into the kingdom, it was therefore his policy to draw them to court, to ascertain their dispositions, and on finding them pliable to his wishes, to advance them to benefices in the church. Melville was at that time a stranger to the regent's plans, but he was decidedly averse to a residence at court. He preferred an academical life : one principal object which he had in view, in returning to his native country, was to assist in the revival of its literature ; and his highest ambition was to obtain, in one of the universities, a situation similar to that of Royal Professor at Paris. He therefore respectfully declined the proposal made to him in the name of the regent, and requested permission to spend some time with his relations, from whom he had been so long absent, before he accepted of any public employment.

He went accordingly to Angus, and took up his residence with his elder brother at Baldovy, where he had spent his early years. During the following three months he amused himself with superintending the studies of one of his nephews, whom Richard Melville resigned to him as a pledge of fraternal love, and charged to "wait upon him as a son and servant." This was the young man whose letter had such influence in inducing his uncle to quit Geneva, who afterwards became his academical assistant, and his faithful adherent in all the hardships which he suffered, and to whose zealous and grateful affection we are indebted for the knowledge of the most important incidents in his life, and the most interesting traits of his character. As we shall frequently have occasion to speak of this amiable individual, it is proper to introduce him to the acquaintance of the reader.

James Melville was the son of Richard Melville and Isabel Scrimger,

and was born at Baldovy on the 25th of July 1556. His early education[1] was marred by the change of his teachers, and on entering the College of St Leonard's in 1571, he was so much mortified at finding that he was incapable of understanding the lectures, which were delivered in Latin, that he burst into tears before the whole class. This attracted the notice of his regent, William Collace, who, pleased with this trait of youthful sensibility, kindly condescended to give him instructions, and to provide him with a private assistant, until he had surmounted the difficulties under which he laboured.[2] His mind was early impressed with a deep sense of religion, and a strong desire to devote himself to the preaching of the gospel. This desire was in a great measure the effect of the sermons which he heard from John Knox at St Andrews, and it remained unabated, notwithstanding all that he witnessed of the poverty and hardships of the Protestant ministers. His father, however, intended him for the more lucrative profession of law, and had fixed on a man of business in Edinburgh with whom he should serve as an apprentice. Richard Melville was an excellent man and an affectionate father, but he had higher notions of parental authority, and kept his children in greater subjection, than are altogether consistent with the liberal notions of the age we live in. Being restrained by bashfulness, and the deference he had always been accustomed to pay to his father's will, James had recourse to an innocent stratagem to intimate his predilection for a different line of employment. He composed a sermon on a passage of Scripture, in the best manner of which he was capable, and put it carefully into one of the Commentaries which he knew his father was in the habit of consulting in his weekly preparations for the pulpit. The expedient succeeded according to his wish; for Richard Melville, having once ascertained the decided inclinations of his son, and being pleased with the juvenile specimen of his gifts, was too wise and good to persist in carrying his own plans into execution. The apprenticeship was no more talked of; but still a due regard was paid to parental dignity and the good of the young man, by keeping him for some time in suspense as to his father's intentions. The arrival of Andrew Melville put an end to this reserve. James was now told that he was at full liberty to follow his own inclinations, and, to his great joy, was delivered over to his uncle, in the manner we have already stated, instead of being bound to the barrister.[3]

Notwithstanding the striking resemblance between the uncle and nephew in stature and physiognomy, they differed in mental temperament, perhaps as widely as ever two individuals did who were united by the closest and most inviolable friendship. The talents of James Melville were respectable, without being of the same superior order as those of his uncle. Though not endowed with great liveliness or force of imagination, he possessed a sound judgment, and a heart tenderly susceptible of all the benevolent and social affections. Mild in his

[1] See above, p. 3. [2] Melville's Diary, p. 22. [3] Ibid. p. 21—31.

temper, and courteous in his manners, he was capable of exerting great authority over others, because he had the complete command of himself. To these amiable qualities were united a guileless uprightness, and an unshaken constancy in maintaining the friendships which he contracted, and adhering to the cause which his convictions led him to espouse. He was accordingly fitted for becoming a most useful companion to his uncle, who did not uniformly study the *molliter in verbis*, and was apt to be involved in difficulties by an impetuosity of temper which he was not always able to command, and was sometimes unwilling to restrain.

James Melville had lately finished his course of philosophy at the university of St Andrews, and, though a modest youth, flattered himself that he was capable of professing those liberal arts of which he had been declared a master by the first literary authority in the land. But a few hours' conversation with his new instructor dispelled this pleasing dream, and convinced him that he needed yet to begin his studies. There is something interesting in the artless manner in which he relates what he felt on making this discovery, and describes, from his first impressions, the eminent qualifications which his uncle possessed for a task in which he spent the greater part of his life.[1]

Melville was not permitted long to enjoy his retirement at Baldovy. Beza's letter to the General Assembly, and the report of his countrymen who had come from Geneva, spread the fame of his erudition through Scotland. At the Assembly which met in August he was much talked of, and applications for his services were made from different quarters. The commissioners of the Synod of Fife were instructed to request that he might be granted to them, with the view of his being appointed Provost of St Mary's College, St Andrews, in the room of Archbishop Douglas, who had just died.[2] A similar application was made in behalf of the university of Glasgow; and Archbishop Boyd, and Andrew Hay, commissioner of the West, urged so strongly the ruined state into which that seminary had fallen, that it was preferred to St Andrews, and the Assembly recommended it to Melville to yield to its claims. To secure their object, they prevailed upon such of his relations as were present to use their influence, on their return, to induce him to comply with this recommendation.[3] Though he had not yet been introduced to them, the Assembly conferred a mark of their approbation on him, by inserting his name in a committee appointed to examine a poetical work previous to its publication.[4] It deserves notice that this Assembly recognised the

[1] See Note K.

[2] Douglas died on the last day of July, 1574. Act Buik of the Commissariot of St Andrews, 19th Feb. 1574. When admitted to the bishopric, Douglas promised to resign the offices of rector of the university, and provost of St Mary's College; and complaints were at different times made against him at the General Assembly for continuing to retain them. Calderwood, MS. Hist. vol. ii. p. 344—428.

[3] Melville's Diary, pp. 29, 30.

[4] "For revewing and sighting of the history of Job, compiled be Mr Patrick Adamsone in Latine verse, the present Assembly hath willed their loved brethren and the right honourable Mr George Buchanan, keeper of the privy seal, Mr Peter Young, Pedagogue to our Soveraign Lord, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, to take travell in perusing of the said book, and if the same be found be thame agreeable to the truth of God's word to authorize the samine with

doctor, or interpreter of Scripture, as a distinct functionary of the church, and petitioned the regent to appoint competent salaries for such learned men as were willing to discharge this office in the universities.[1]

In consequence of a pressing invitation from the patrons of the university, Melville paid a visit to Glasgow; and, after making the necessary inquiries, and arranging certain alterations, he agreed to return, and undertake the office of Principal. Accordingly, in the end of October, he took leave of his affectionate brother (who died soon after[2]) and set out for Glasgow, attended by James Melville. By the way he stopped two days at Stirling, where he was introduced to the young king, who had entered the ninth year of his age,—"the switest sight in Europe that day for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and language!" says James Melville, who was admitted to see him along with his uncle: "I hard him discourse (continues he), walking up and down in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knawlege and ignorance, to my grait marvell and astonishment." No doubt this astonishment was heightened by the reflection that the young philosopher was a king; but the truth is, that James did at this time exhibit symptoms of more than ordinary talents, and his teachers were highly gratified at the proficiency which he made under their tuition. At Stirling, Melville found Buchanan engaged, at leisure hours, in writing his *History of Scotland;* and, having taken his advice on the plan of education which he intended to follow, proceeded to Glasgow. Thomas Buchanan, the nephew of the poet, went along with him, to be present at his installation.[3]

The literary history of the University of Glasgow properly commences with Melville, though the seminary had subsisted for upwards of a century before he was connected with it. From its first erection it was provided with professors in all the liberal arts and sciences then taught; but those of the higher faculties—theology, and law, civil and canon—lectured merely *pro forma*, or occasionally as it suited their own convenience and the caprice of their beneficed auditors.[4] The number of regular students who attended it appears never to have been great, and among these are to be found few names of eminence.[5] Its funds, originally small, were wasted and reduced by alienations during the confusions which attended the great change of religion. Through the zealous exertions of individuals friendly to the interests of literature, gifts in its favour were procured from the Crown and from the magistrates of the city.[6] But with the help of these only two regents could be maintained. The consequence was, that it languished for a few years, until, on the death of John Davidson, who held the situation of Principal, the students dispersed, and the college was literally shut up."[7]

testimony of their hand writ and subscription." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 465.

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 60, b.

[2] Richard Melville died in June 1575. Diary, pp. 14, 41.

[3] Diary, p. 39.

[4] See Note L.

[5] See Note M.

[6] See Note N.

[7] Records of the University of Glasgow; Memorial for Dr Trail, and Answers for Dr Leechman, in 1771. Stat. Acc. Scot. vol. xxi.

The prospect was sufficiently discouraging, and an ordinary person would have despaired of being able to restore the suspended animation of the university. But such was Melville's zeal for the advancement of letters, and the confidence which he felt in his own resources, that he entered on the task he had undertaken without hesitation, and with the confident hope of raising the seminary over which he presided to a rank which no university in his native country had yet attained. His reputation secured the attendance of as many young men as were necessary for the opening of the classes. It would have been easy for him to have discharged the duties which were considered as belonging to the office of Principal, and to have left the education of the students to be conducted in the ordinary way, by such regents as should be placed under him. The patrons of the university had already procured a person of this description from St Andrews. Allowing him to proceed in the manner to which he had been trained, and devolving on him the management of the slender revenues of the college, Melville set himself, with incredible labour, to the execution of a plan, in the formation of which he had availed himself of the most approved practices which he had witnessed in foreign academies. One great object which he had in view, was to train up a number of individuals who should be qualified for acting as assistants to him, and for following out his mode of instruction. For this purpose he commenced with a select class of young men well grounded in the Latin language, and determined to conduct them himself through a regular and complete course of study.

He began by initiating them into the principles of Greek grammar. He then introduced them to the study of logic and rhetoric; using, as his text-books, the Dialectics of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the Rhetoric of Talæus.[1] While they were engaged in these studies he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins, and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates, among the Greeks; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of logic and rhetoric. Proceeding to mathematics and geography, he taught the Elements of Euclid, with the Arithmetic and Geometry of Ramus, and the Geography of Dionysius; and, agreeably to his plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the Phænomena of Aratus, and the Cosmographia of Honter.[2] Moral philosophy formed the next branch of study; and

[1] Audomarus Talæus, or Talon, was the scholar, and afterwards the colleague and warm defender, of Ramus. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. vi. 389. His Rhetorica was approved of and used by many who were strongly prejudiced against the Ramean school of philosophy.

[2] Ἀρατου Σολεως Φαινομενα; first printed in the collection of Ancient Geographers by Aldus, at Venice, in 1499, and frequently republished. This poem was greatly esteemed by the ancients, is said to have been translated into Latin verse by Cicero, and is quoted by the apostle Paul (who was a countryman of the author) in Acts xvii. 28. Aratus, who was both a poet and an astronomer, flourished about the year 270 A. C.

The Cosmographia of John Honter was written in Latin verse, and accompanied with maps. He was a celebrated teacher in Transylvania, his native country. David Chytræus visited his academy during his travels in 1569, and speaks in terms of high commendation of his talents, and the utility of his writings. Chytræi Orat., p. 411. Hanov. 1614.

The attempts to facilitate the study of the

on this he read Cicero's Offices, Paradoxes, and Tusculan Questions, the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, and certain dialogues of Plato. In natural philosophy, he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of universal history, with chronology, and the progress of the art of writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first more cursorily, by going over the elementary work of Martinius, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac, reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version. He also went through all the common heads of divinity, according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, and gave lectures on the different books of Scripture.[1]

This course of study was completed in six years. From the variety of subjects which it embraced, and the number of books read and commented on, some idea may be formed of the extent of his erudition, and the greatness of his labours. On the second year his nephew, James Melville, began a class, which he instructed in Greek, logic, and rhetoric, and on the following year taught them mathematics and moral philosophy. He was the first regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors with his class in the original language. A sufficient number of regents being obtained, Melville introduced a new regulation as to their mode of teaching. It was the established and invariable practice, in all the universities at that time, for the regent who began a class to continue with it, and to conduct his students through the whole course of studies, until he had prepared them for laureation at the end of four years. Melville was under the necessity of adhering to this practice at his first coming to Glasgow, but he was fully convinced of its tendency to obstruct the advancement of learning, and embraced the first opportunity of abolishing it. Accordingly, in the year 1577, Blaise Laurie was established permanent teacher of Greek and of Roman eloquence; James Melville of mathematics, logic, and moral philosophy; and Peter Blackburn of physics and astronomy; while the Principal confined himself to divinity and oriental languages. About the time that Melville left Glasgow the Principal was relieved from a part of his extensive duty by the appointment of a separate teacher of Hebrew.[2] The advantages arising from the introduction of the division of labour into the teaching of the sciences are so apparent, and are now so generally recognised, that it is quite unnecessary to state them.

sciences by the aid of poetry have been numerous. There is a curious specimen of this kind in a Greek poem on Law, written in the middle ages: Συνοψις των νομων; seu Michaelis Pselli Compendium Legum, versibus Iambis et Politicis; published by Francis Bosquet, in 1632, with a Latin translation.— With the same view, Francesco Berlinghieri composed his Geografia, published with maps at Florence, in 1480. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 112.

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 39, 40.

[2] Annales Fac. Art. Glas. Melville's Diary, p. 44.

Enthusiastically attached to the profession which he had chosen, and eager to raise the literary character of his native country to the same rank with that of other nations, Melville soon infused a portion of his ardour into the breasts of his scholars. By the time that he finished his second session his fame had spread through the kingdom; students came from all quarters to hear his lectures, and numbers who had taken their degrees at St Andrews matriculated at Glasgow; so that the class-rooms, which had so lately been empty, could not contain those who sought for admission. "I dare say there was no place in Europe (says James Melville) comparable to Glasgow for good letters, during these years—for a plentiful and good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences." [1]

A number of individuals who afterwards distinguished themselves were educated under Melville during the short period of his residence at Glasgow. Among these were Patrick Melville, one of his nephews, who became Professor of Hebrew, first at Glasgow, and afterwards at St Andrews; Andrew Knox, who was successively Bishop of the Isles, and of Raphoe in Ireland; Duncan Nairn, who was selected as the best qualified for being the first professor in the College of Edinburgh under Principal Rollock; Archbishop Spotswood; Sir Edward Drummond, Sir Gideon Murray, and Sir James Fullerton, who became courtiers to James VI.; and Sir Adam Newton, who, after teaching in his native country and abroad, was appointed tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales.[2]

In the year 1577, Melville obtained from the Regent a valuable benefaction to the university. This was the living of Govan, in the vicinity of Glasgow, valued at twenty-four chalders of victual annually, although only a small portion of this could be realised for a number of years. Along with this donation, a new foundation, commonly called the *Nova Erectio*, was given to the college by royal charter. It is unnecessary to specify its enactments, as it sanctioned all the arrangements which Melville had already introduced, as to the branches of learning to be taught, and the division of them among the several professors. The number of persons now entitled to maintenance from the funds was twelve, including masters and bursars. The other students either paid for their board at the college-table, or lodged at their own expense in the town. In consequence of the new foundation it became the duty of the Principal to preach on Sabbath at the Church of Govan.[3]

It was not by his public instructions only that Melville promoted the cause of literature. He was of a communicative disposition, and equally qualified and disposed for imparting knowledge by private conversation.

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 39.

[2] "Patricius Melvin," and "Edwardᵘˢ Dromond" were laureated in 1578; "Andræas Knox" in 1579; "Duncanus Nairn" in 1580; "Gedeon Murray, Johannes Spotswood, Jacobus Fullertoun" in 1581; and "Adamᵘˢ Newtoun" in 1582. Annales Fac. Art. Glasg.

[3] Melville's Diary, pp. 43, 44. The Nova Erectio is printed in Memorial for Dr Trail, anno 1771.

This appeared in his intercourse with his colleagues, and at the college-table, to which such individuals of education as resided in Glasgow and its neighbourhood frequently resorted to partake of a frugal meal, that they might share in the literary desert which was always served up along with it. His conversation was enlivened with amusing anecdotes, smart apophthegms, and classical quotations and allusions. He was fond of discussing literary questions, and had a singular faculty of throwing light on them in the easy and unceremonious form of table-talk. This made the master of the grammar-school, who was afterwards Principal of the college, to say of these literary conversations, "that he learned more of Mr Andrew Melville, cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors which he taught in the school, than by all the commentators."[1] In these academical recreations philosophical were mixed with literary topics. Blackburn, the regent who taught the first class at Melville's coming to Glasgow, was a good man, and far from being unlearned, according to the means of instruction then enjoyed in Scotland, but unacquainted with the world, and consequently dogmatical and rude in his manners. He was a great stickler for the infallibility of Aristotle as a philosopher, and adhered rigidly to the maxim, *Absurdum est dicere Aristotelem errasse*, which nobody had yet ventured to contradict at St Andrews, where he had taken his degrees.[2] When the subject was started at the college-table Melville vigorously opposed this sentiment, and produced from the writings of the Stagyrite examples of error that were quite incontrovertible. Being incapable of maintaining his ground by argument, Blackburn was apt to grow angry, and to have recourse to personal reflections, alleging that the Principal was proud, arrogant, full of his own opinions, and disposed to set himself up against all the world. Whenever Melville perceived this he dropt the dispute without making any reply. By this means he gained upon his colleague, who, feeling himself reproved and overcome, gradually corrected his rude behaviour, and at last became as forward as any in acknowledging the obligations he owed to the Principal.[3]

We are not, however, to conclude from this that Melville was disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to courtesy and the mere love of peace, or to yield them up in silence to any who chose to oppose them from humour or prejudice. He had higher notions of the rights of truth; and when called upon to act in defence of these, and especially when convinced that they were inseparably connected with the public good, he was ever ready to exert in their maintenance all the energy of his talents, and all the fervour of his feelings. On controverted subjects he was patient in his inquiries after the truth; and until his judgment was satisfied, he reasoned with great coolness, and listened with the utmost attention to whatever could be urged against the side to which he might incline.

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 40.

[2] Peter Blackburn afterwards became minister of Aberdeen, and was made bishop of that diocese in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

[3] Melville's Diary, pp. 40, 51.

But when he had examined his ground, and was fully convinced of any truth, and of its importance, he was accustomed to maintain it tenaciously and boldly; would suffer no man, whatever his rank or authority might be, to bear away the point in dispute, but defended his opinions with an overwhelming force and fluency of language, accompanied with uncommon energy of voice and vehemence of gesture. Nor was he a less persevering than ardent advocate of the cause which he espoused. He was not discouraged by ill success, but returned to the charge with unabated ardour; and wherever an opportunity presented itself, in private or in public, he plied his opponents with arguments, until he either made converts of them, or judged them to be obstinately wedded to their own opinions. It was in this way that he gained over so many of his countrymen to his views, on the questions which were agitated respecting the government and liberties of the church. "But for his own particular," says his nephew "in person, geir, or fame, I knew him never heard in publick with any man to this hour."[1] In this light is his character presented to us, by one who had at least every advantage for observing it narrowly. We shall have various opportunities of ascertaining how far it is correct, and in what degree that temper and behaviour, which a warm friend may be supposed to have regarded with a partial eye, calls for our censure or merits our applause.

According to his nephew's statement, Melville was a believer in Oneirology, and expert in the interpretation of dreams. Some of the examples adduced in proof of this, however, would rather incline us to think that he amused himself by a playful exercise of ingenuity instead of pretending to skill in this occult science.[2] James Melville does more honour to him when he praises his sagacity in discerning the characters of men; and he has certainly produced instances in which the opinion which he pronounced on individuals of his acquaintance was strikingly verified by their subsequent behaviour. One of these occurred at this period, and relates to a person of considerable notoriety in the history of these times. John Colville, being called before the synod of Glasgow for deserting his ministry at Kilbride, made such a plausible apology for his conduct as imposed on all the members. Melville alone suspected his sincerity, and interrogating him closely, received such answers as induced him to tell his brethren, that he would not be surprised to see that man renounce the profession of the ministry, and of Christianity itself.[3] Colville soon after exchanged the character of the preacher for that of the courtier. Disappointed of his expectations at court, he joined in the insurrections of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. Being driven out of the kingdom along with that nobleman, he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and became a keen writer against the Protestant religion;[4] and all his tergiversations, political and religious, were marked

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 52.
[2] See Note O.
[3] Melville's Diary, p. 50.
[4] The Paranese, or Admonition to his Countrymen, when he returned to the Catholic Religion, by Mr John Colville. Paris, 1602. He had published this work in Latin during the preceding year.

by uncommon want of principle.[1] I mention this trait in Melville's character the rather because there is nothing which men bred in colleges, and devoted to literary pursuits, are more deficient in than the knowledge of character; in consequence of which they are ordinarily disqualified for the management of public business, and apt to become the dupes of deceitful friends or artful opponents.

As Principal, it was Melville's duty to take an active part in the government of the college. Discipline was then exercised with a great deal more strictness in colleges than it is now. This necessarily arose from the peculiar constitution of such societies, composed of young men, chiefly boys, who did not, as at present, assemble for a few hours every day to receive instruction, but lived constantly together in the same house. While questions of a civil or criminal nature which arose in the college were decided by the rector and his council, it belonged to the principal to preserve common order among the students, and to keep them in due subjection to their respective regents. At his installation he received "power to use scholastical correction and discipline," and, as the badge of this, he had delivered to him "the belt of correction, with the keys of the college."[2] Accordingly, it was the custom for the Principal to inflict corporal chastisement, *propria manu*, upon delinquents, in the presence of the masters and students assembled in the common hall. Melville devolved this disagreeable task on the regents;[3] but it was still an indispensable part of his duty to give judgment in cases which came before him by complaint or reference.

John Maxwell, son to Lord Herries, was drawn away from his studies, and involved in disorderly practices, in consequence of a connection he had formed with Andrew Heriot, the dissolute heir of an opulent citizen. His regent having reported his misbehaviour and disobedience, the Principal rebuked the young nobleman sharply, before the whole college, for misspending his time, and disgracing his birth, by associating with idle and debauched company. Irritated by this public censure, Maxwell retired into the town, and, along with Heriot, gave himself up to the management of certain individuals who were hostile to the college, and

[1] He gave a most singular proof of this, in a work entitled the Palinode (Edinb. 1600), which he represents as a refutation of a treatise of his own against James's title to the crown of England, which, "in malice, in time of his exile, he had penned." Yet he had penned no such treatise, but merely pretended this to ingratiate himself with James by a feigned recantation. Spotswood, p. 457. Charters mentions another work by Colville: Oratio Funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ destinata. Paris, 1604." Lives of Scottish Writers, MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

[2] Presentation of Mr James Wilkie to be principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in the room of Mr George Buchanan, April 15, 1570; and Admission of Mr Andrew Bruce to the same office in 1630. Papers of St Leonard's College.

[3] Robert Boyd of Trochrig, when admitted principal of the College of Edinburgh in 1622, protested before the Town Council that he should not be bound to administer corporal correction, which he considered as unbecoming the dignity of the station. He had declined it, he said, when Principal of the College of Montauban in France, and of Glasgow, although he acknowledges it was the accustomed duty of the Principal. His predecessor at Glasgow (Patrick Sharp) had performed it; but he alleges that this was owing to its having been "his wonted custome, whereunto he was inured in the grammar-school, wherefra he was taken to be Principal of the College." Life of Robert Boyd, p. 84—100. Wodrow MSS. vol. v. Bibl. Col. Glas.

anxious to involve it in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Having collected a number of lewd and disorderly persons, Heriot threw himself in the way of the masters and students, as they were returning one day from church, and followed them until they entered the college, brandishing a drawn sword in the Principal's face, and making use of the most opprobrious and provoking language. Melville bore this insult with the utmost patience, and exerted his authority in restraining the students, who burned with desire to revenge the affront offered to their master.[1] Lord Herries, having heard of his son's misconduct, came to Glasgow, and obliged him, on his knees and in the open court of the college, to beg pardon of the Principal, whose forbearance he highly commended. Heriot was soon after seized with a dangerous illness, during which Melville, at his desire, waited on him, assured him that he had forgotten the late injury, and did everything in his power to soothe the last moments of the unhappy young man.[2]

But though he was disposed to overlook personal injuries, and showed a due regard to public peace, he knew how to support the authority of his office; and when he perceived that the credit of the university was at stake, or that it was intended to intimidate him from executing the laws, he discovered the native resolution and intrepidity of his character. I shall give an instance of this, which throws light on the manners of the age, and derives interest from the relation it bears to a young gentleman who afterwards attracted considerable notice, both as a military and a literary adventurer. Mark Alexander Boyd was the younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkhill, and a near relation of Lord Boyd, the favourite of the Regent Morton.[3] Having lost his father at an early period of his life, he was placed under the care of his uncle, the Archbishop of Glasgow, for the sake of his education. Young Boyd evinced spirit and genius, but accompanied with a headstrong and ungovernable temper. He had created much vexation to the master of the grammar-school, and to the first regent under whom he studied at college. When he entered the second class, James Melville, who taught it, told him that such practices as he understood him to have indulged in would not be tolerated. The admonition had the desired effect for some time, but at length the impression of it wore off, and Boyd received the castigation of which he had been forewarned, and which his behaviour merited. Upon this the affronted stripling resolved to be revenged. Having pricked his face with his writing instruments, and besmeared it with the blood which he drew, he presented himself before his friends in this

[1] "The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fain wald haiff put hands on him [Heriot]; but he [the Principal] rebuiked tham in sic sort that they durst not steir. As for myself, for als patient as I am called, I doucht not suffer it, bot withdrew myself from him." James Melville relates the story as one proof, among many others, that although his uncle was "verie hot in all [public] questions, yet when it twitched his particular, no man could crab him, contrar to the common custom." Diary, p. 50. [2] Ibid.

[3] Life of Mark Alexander Boyd, by Lord Hailes. Sibbaldi Prodromus Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, p. ii., lib. 3. p. 2—4. Sibbald had heard in general of the incident related in the text, but was unacquainted with the particulars.

guise, with loud compiaints of the cruel treatment which he had received from his regent. The principal and professors investigated the affair, and easily detected the trick which had been played. But the relations of the young man having foolishly taken his part, he not only absented himself from the college, but determined to have still ampler revenge. In concert with his cousin, Alexander Cunninghame, a near relation of the Earl of Glencairn, he waylaid the regent in the churchyard as he was returning one evening to the college. Boyd came behind him with a baton, but retreated when the regent, who had perceived his tread, turned round. Cunninghame then rushed forward with a drawn sword; but the regent, though unarmed, being an expert fencer, declined the thrust aimed at him, seized the sword-arm of the assailant, and wresting the weapon from his hand, detained him a prisoner. The rector and the magistrates of the city were of opinion that this outrage could not be passed over without injuring the peace and credit of the college, and decreed that Alexander Cunninghame should come to the place where he had committed the offence, bare-headed and bare-footed, and there crave pardon of the university and of the regent whom he had assaulted. Encouraged by his friends, he refused to submit to this sentence; and nothing was to be heard in the town and country but loud threatenings that the Boyds and Cunninghames would burn the college and kill the professors. Disregarding these threats, Melville summoned the offender before the privy council, went himself to St Andrews to prosecute the cause, and, notwithstanding the powerful interest with which he had to contend, obtained a decree, ordaining Alexander Cunninghame to obey the sentence of the university and town council against a certain day, or else enter as a prisoner into the castle of Blackness.[1] Andrew Hay, the rector, a man of great prudence and knowledge of the country, was of opinion that the college should not insist on the execution of this decree; as the pride of the families concerned would not suffer them quietly to see their relation make such a humiliating acknowledgment, and it was to be feared that the affair would not terminate without bloodshed. To this advice the Principal peremptorily refused to yield. "If they would have forgiveness," said he, "let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it; but ere this preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all the blood of my body first."

On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow, accompanied by his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn by his, to the number of between four and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the university being assembled in the college hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me," exclaimed Melville, "let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents,

[1] See Note P.

and students, in their gowns. The churchyard was filled with gentlemen in armour, who, however, gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward, supported by two of his friends, and, with an air and tone very different from those of a penitent, said he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any present who were ready to accept it. "Doubt not of that; we are ready," replied Melville. This bold reply completely deranged the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a show of willingness to obey the order of the privy council, but at the same time to intimidate the college from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the ceremony was over, the Principal and his company left the churchyard in the same manner as they had entered it, without meeting with the slightest insult or interruption. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, as some of them expressed themselves, "greater fools than they came."[1]

We must not omit to notice a charge brought against Melville, which relates to the period of which we are now writing. It is said that he was accessary to "a little disturbance" which took place in Glasgow. "By the earnest dealing of Mr Andrew Melville and other ministers," the magistrates agreed to demolish the cathedral, as a monument of idolatry, and to build a number of small churches with its materials. But the trades of the city, resenting this, rose in a tumult and forcibly prevented the workmen from proceeding. The ringleaders of the riot were summoned before the privy council, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, took their part, and told the ministers engaged in the prosecution, "that too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind."[2] This statement rests solely upon the authority of Bishop Spotswood. I never met with anything in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised their demolition on this ground. The records of the town council of Glasgow and of the privy council are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot,—a silence which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgow, so far from wishing to pull down the cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it; that they made repeated representations to the king and privy council on this head; and that, though the burden of the work did not

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 52—55. [2] Spotswood, Hist. p. 304.

legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously contributed for carrying it into execution.[1] I think it highly probable that any disturbance which may have furnished the groundwork of the statement under examination, was occasioned by an order, not for demolishing, but for repairing the cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment upon their rights, real or supposed, in the mode of reparation.

During the second year of his residence at Glasgow, Melville received from Geneva his library, consisting of an ample collection of books in various languages and on all sciences, which he had purchased while he remained on the Continent.[2] This was the treasure on which he set the highest value. Though the reverse of parsimonious in every other article, he does not appear to have been fond of making presents of his books;[3] he was even cautious in lending them; and when forced to fly from home, one of the first objects of his solicitude, and of his strict injunctions, was the securing of his library.[4] Before its arrival at this time he must have felt severely the want of books: for this commodity was then exceedingly rare in Scotland; nor was there anything in which our universities were more poorly provided.[5]

About this time, Melville's first publication, which was printed abroad, made its appearance in Scotland. It consisted of a poetical paraphrase of the Song of Moses, and of a part of the Book of Job, with several smaller poems,—all in Latin.[6] This publication gained him great reputation among the learned, who eagerly expected that he would undertake a work of greater extent, which might prove a durable monument of his talents. He excused himself for declining this, by pleading that there were already too many writers who courted the public favour, and that it was his duty to devote his attention to the task of education, which he regarded as the great business of his life. Accordingly, he checked instead of encouraging the inclination to write for the press, confining himself to occasional pieces, epigrams, and other light effusions of the muse, in which he indulged for his own amusement and the gratification of his private friends.[7]

[1] See Note Q.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 36, 41.

[3] I have not found his name among those of his learned contemporaries who made donations of this kind to the universities of Glasgow and St Andrews.

[4] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 89, 295, 306.

[5] See Note R.

[6] James Melville speaks of this work as if it had been first published in 1578. Diary, p. 49. But I have now before me a copy of the very rare original edition, communicated by Mr David Laing, whose extensive acquaintance with Scottish bibliography has often been of great service to me. The following is the title of the work:—

"Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteron. Cap. xxxii. quod ipse moriens Israëli tradidit ediscendum & cantandum perpetuò, latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, & Iobi Cap. iii. latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ M.D.LXXIIII." 8vo, pp. 16.

The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the Continent by the author, when he returned to Scotland. But one, at least, of the epigrams (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melville, after his arrival in Britain. (See above, p. 26.) In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article: "Itē xlviii carmen Moyses, y^e dosane xviii^d. summa vis." There can be no doubt that this is Melville's work. Bassinden died 18th October 1577. Commissary Records of Edinburgh.

[7] Melville's Diary, p. 49.

The *Carmen Mosis* is unquestionably the finest poem in the collection, or perhaps of any that Melville wrote. It is worthy of the scholar of Buchanan, and deserves a place among the productions of those modern writers who have attained great excellence in Latin poetry. The author did not propose to transfuse the peculiar beauties of the original into his paraphrase. The different genius of the two species of poetry rendered this impracticable. Its merits must therefore be estimated according to the principles of Latin and not of Hebrew poetry. The language is classically pure, and at the same time not unsuited to the sacredness of the theme; the versification is correct and smooth; and the imagery is managed with boldness and delicacy. The exordium, though it does not express the inimitable simplicity and majesty of the original, is lofty and beautiful :—

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
Palantesque polo flammæ; vos humida regna
Aeriique super tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquor) aures
Arrigite: et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.
Qualis rore fluens gemmanti argenteus imber
Plurimus, arentes maturis solibus agros
Temperat undanti rivo; glebasque subactas
Evocat in florem, et viridantes elicit herbas;
Instauratque novos opulenti ruris honores.
Talis ab ore fluit sacro vis lactea faudi:
Tale polo veniens numeris liquentibus aureum
Divitis eloquii flumen manabit in artus,
Ossaque, perque imos sensus, perque alta pererrans
Pectora, nectareos læto feret ubere fructus,
Et gazam aetherea cumulabit messe perennem.
Quippe Dei pango nomen: cœlique verendum
Concelebro numen: vos ergo Dei venerandum
Et nomen celebrate, et numen pangite nostri.

The description of the eagle's teaching her young to fly, by which the divine care exercised about Israel is illustrated, is also extremely beautiful :—

Ac velut alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger, implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
Sollicita refovet cura, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus, mox ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevere, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansa invitat pluma: dorsoque morantes
Excipit, attollitque humeris: plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,
Remigium lentans alarum: incurvaque pinnis
Vela legens, humilesque tranat sub nubibus oras.
Hinc sensim supera alta petit: jam jamque sub astra
Erigitur: cursusque leves citus urget in auras,
Omnia pervolitans late loca: et agmine fœtus
Fertque refertque suos vario: moremque volandi
Addocet. Illi autem longa assuetudine docti
Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere cœlo
Impavidi. Tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

The smaller poems consist of commendatory verses to the memory of Admiral Coligny and other Protestants who perished in the massacres of France, and of satirical invectives against the tyrannical and cruel policy of the individuals who planned these detestable scenes.[1] The

[1] Two of these have already been given. See above, p. 24. Some of them are introduced into a valuable work, entitled, "Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX." Tom. i. p. 571, b. 574. A Meidelborg, 1578.

dedication of the work to the young king is happily conceived and expressed :—

Extremæ spes sera plagæ, lux aurea gentis
Arctoæ, et secli solque jubarque tui.
Tot sceptris atavorum ingens, ingentior alta
Indole, quam tollit relligionis honos,
Sancte puer, cape sacra meæ primordia musæ,
Non seeus ac grati prima elementa animi.
Parva quidem tanto, fateor, munuscula Regi :
Parva, sed immensi munere magna Dei.
Ipse tibi majora dabis nostro auspice Phœbo :
Forsan et auspiciis nos meliora tuis.[1]

The whole of this work was deemed worthy of a place in the selection of Latin poetry by Scotchmen, published at a subsequent period under the direction of Arthur Johnston.[2]

[1] Below the dedication, in the copy of the book which I have used, a few lines in praise of Buchanan have been written with a pen. They are not in Melville's handwriting, but, from their having been introduced here, it is probable that he was considered as the author of them. I have not observed that they have been printed:—

Geo. Buchan. Scotus, Vir Excellentiss.
Clarus in Historiæ campo, clarusque Poesi,
Nomen ad æternos fers, Buchanane, dies.
Scotia luce tua perfusa celebrior audet,
Rex disciplinæ gaudet honore tuæ.
Maximus es meritis. Quid Patria Rexve rependet,
Quando tuis meritis hic sit et illa minor ?

[2] Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii.

CHAPTER III.

1574—1580.

HITHERTO we have considered Melville chiefly as a literary character: we must now contemplate him in a different light. His immediate object in returning to Scotland was to assist in the revival of its literature, and not to take part in the management of its public affairs. But he did not think that the attention which he was called on to give to the former necessarily required that he should be altogether indifferent to the latter. He had embraced an academical life from choice; and the situation in which he was placed afforded sufficient gratification to his taste, and ample employment to his time and talents. But partial as he was to literary pursuits, he was not a mere academic, whose ideas are all confined within the cloistered walls of his college. He was a citizen as well as a man of letters. From constitution and from education he felt a lively interest in the welfare of his native country, and of his native church, to whose bosom he had returned after a long absence, and to whose benefit he had consecrated his gifts and his labours.

His right to take a share in ecclesiastical managements did not rest merely on his personal gifts, or on the common interest which all the members of a society have in its welfare. He was officially connected with the Church of Scotland. During the three last years of his residence in Glasgow he officiated as minister of the church of Govan;[1] but although this was the only period of his life in which he acted as the pastor of a particular congregation, yet he all along held a public situation in the church as a professor of divinity. Those who taught theology in colleges were considered as belonging to the order of doctors, and under this name were recognised as ecclesiastical office-bearers from the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. Besides the general superintendence which the church courts exercised over all the seminaries of instruction, founded on the connection between religion and education, they took a special cognisance of the divinity classes, as the immediate nurseries of the ministry; and the teachers of these, if not formally installed by their authority, were at least admitted with their approbation and consent. The professors of divinity had not the power of dispensing the sacraments, unless they were also pastors; but they were entitled to perform all the other parts of the pastoral function.

[1] See above, p. 33.

Besides preaching in public, they sat in the church courts, and took part in the determination of religious controversies and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. And this they had a right to do in respect of their office as interpreters of Scripture, and their having the oversight of seminaries which formed an integral and important part of the general church. At first, when there was no fixed rule as to the constituent members of the General Assembly, they attended the meetings of that judicatory as they found opportunity; but afterwards, when a regular plan of delegation was organised, they were chosen and sat as commissioners, either from the universities in which they taught, or from the provincial synods or presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, and of which they were ordinary members.[1]

It was necessary to make this statement of Melville's right to act in the affairs of the church, because, at a subsequent period, when the Court wished to get rid of his powerful opposition to its measures, his right was called in question, and it was alleged that he had been admitted to a seat in the church courts through oversight, or at best from indulgence or courtesy. Nor is there any ground for the insinuation that, by moving out of his place, and intruding into one foreign to his calling, he excited prejudices against his professional character and marred his literary usefulness. To such a charge he is not obnoxious, unless it can be shown that he neglected his duties in the college, or conducted himself improperly in the ecclesiastical assemblies,—faults which the lay delegates from universities were equally liable to commit.

To enable the reader to judge of the public transactions in which Melville took such an active part, it will be necessary to give a short view of the state of the country and of the affairs of the church when he returned to Scotland.

The young king was still a minor; and James, Earl of Morton, exercised the supreme authority, to which he had been raised on the death of the former regent, the Earl of Mar. By his vigorous measures Morton had suppressed the party attached to Queen Mary, and having put an end to the civil war which continued during the government of his predecessors, he exerted himself in curbing the lawlessness of the nobles, and in settling a regular administration of justice through the kingdom. Unhappily the success of this wise and salutary policy was counteracted, partly by the vices of the regent's character, and partly by the circumstances in which he found himself placed. His ambition was equalled by his avarice, and to gratify these passions he did not scruple on some occasions to trample both on law and humanity. The revenues of the church tempted his cupidity, and as the sacredness of that fund had been already violated, he looked to it as the most convenient source of enriching himself and increasing the number of his dependants. The irregularities of his private life made him dread the

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 60, b. Dunlop's Collect. of Confessions, vol. ii. pp. 409, 773. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 464.

reproofs and censures of the preachers; and the dependence which he had on Elizabeth conspired with his love of power in inducing him to seek the suppression of the liberties of the church, and to bring it as nearly as possible to a conformity, in point of government, with the Church of England.

It has been shown elsewhere that the Church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, did not acknowledge any permanent ecclesiastical office superior to that of the pastor; that the employment of superintendents was a provisional and temporary expedient, adopted to supply the deficiency of ministers; that the superintendents possessed no episcopal authority, in the common acceptation of that term; that they were ordained in the same manner as other pastors, and derived the special powers with which they were invested from the general assemblies of the church, to which they were made accountable at every meeting for all their managements.[1] At the establishment of the Reformation the popish prelates, secular and regular, were allowed to retain the greater part of their revenues, and they continued to occupy their seats in parliament, to which they were entitled in the eye of the law, equally as other lords, as long as their baronial benefices were not taken from them by the state. Some of them embraced the reformed doctrines, but even these did not represent the Protestant church in parliament; and if they exercised any ecclesiastical authority, it was not in the character of bishops, but in consequence of their having been admitted into the ministry, or of their having received a specific commission to that purpose from the General Assembly.[2] This observation may be applied to deaneries, rectories, and inferior livings. With the exception of the third part the incumbents enjoyed their benefices, and upon joining the Protestant church they were admitted ministers, if found qualified, according to the ordinary forms. In this case the rank which they had held in the popish church, and the benefices which they continued to enjoy, gave them no precedence or superiority to their brethren, although they might still be called by their old titles in the way of courtesy, or from the power of custom.[3]

[1] Life of John Knox, pp. 166—167, 369—371.

[2] In 1562, Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, wished to be made superintendent of the province in which his diocese lay, but was refused by the General Assembly. Knox, Historie, p. 327. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 166. He was afterwards employed as a visitor.

[3] In the General Assembly held December 1562, the Bishop of Galloway was enrolled after the superintendents, under this designation, "Mr Alexander Gordon, *entituled* Bishop of Galloway." Crawfurd's MS. History of the Church, vol. i. p. 88.—"30 Dec. 1567. Anent the mariage of the Queine with the Erle of Bothwell be Adam *callit* Bischop of Orknay, the haill kirk finds that he transgressed the act of the kirk in marieing the divorcit adulterer. And therfor depryvis him fra all functioun of the ministrie," &c. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 36. In the Assembly, March 1570, the same bishop (after his restoration) was accused that he "left the office of preaching, giving himself daily to the exercise of the office of a temporal judge, as a Lord of Session, which requireth the whole man, and so rightly no wise can exercise both; and stileth himself with Roman titles, as Reverend Father in God, which pertaineth to no ministers of Christ Jesus, nor is given them in Scriptures." —To this last charge the bishop answered, "With pardon and reverence of the Assembly, I may declare, I never delighted in such a stile, nor desired any such arrogant title; for I acknowledge myself to be a worm of the earth, not worthy any reverence, giving and

In this state matters continued until the year 1571, when it became necessary to fill several prelacies become vacant by the death or the forfeiture of the incumbents. The church had already expressed her judgment on the subject, both in the Book of Discipline, and in representations repeatedly made to the parliament and privy council, in which she craved that the bishopries should be dissolved, and their revenues applied to the support of superintendents and ministers. But to this measure the regent and the greater part of the nobility were decidedly averse; accordingly, the vacant bishoprics and other great benefices were bestowed on noblemen, who presented preachers to them after they had taken care to secure to themselves a certain portion of their revenues.

These proceedings, as soon as they transpired, were protested against by the commissioners of the church, and they everywhere excited the greatest dissatisfaction.[1] Had the church steadily resisted this scheme, and refused to admit the presentees, the patrons would have found themselves placed in a very awkward predicament; for the benefices could be held only by ecclesiastics, and the whole power of admission legally belonged to the superintendents and other ministers. To prevent them from adopting this course measures of intimidation were first tried. The most resolute of their number were threatened with punishment, and an order was issued discharging the payment of the thirds of benefices to the collectors of the church,[2] in consequence of which all the ministers were left at the mercy of the court for their stipends; but this harsh proceeding having increased instead of allaying the heats, recourse was next had to the arts of persuasion and address. The regent convened the superintendents and certain ministers at Leith, in January 1572, to consult on the best method of composing the dissension which had arisen. This convention, after assuming to itself the powers of a general assembly, was prevailed on hastily to devolve the whole business on a few of its members, authorising them to meet with such persons as should be appointed by the privy council, and ratifying whatever they might determine agreeably to their instructions.

The joint committee, which met in the course of the same month, came to a speedy agreement on the matters referred to them. They agreed that, "in consideration of the present time," the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of dioceses, should remain as heretofore, at least until the king's majority or until the parliament should make a different arrangement; that such as were admitted to bishopries should be of due age and scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a chapter or assembly of learned ministers; and that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was already possessed by super-

attributing to my God only all honour, glory, and reverence with all humble submission." Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 163, 166.

[1] Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 254, 259, 285. Knox's Letter to the Assembly at Stirling, in Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 53. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. p. 217.

[2] Bannatyne, p. 278. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 284, 295.

intendents, but should be subject to the General Assemblies of the church in spiritual as they were to the King in temporal matters. They agreed that abbacies and priories should continue in like manner; that provision should be made for the support of ministers in the churches attached to them, and that as abbots, priors, and commendators formed, along with bishops, the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament and in the College of Justice, their learning and ability should, before their election, be tried by the bishops of the respective provinces within which the monasteries were situated. They farther agreed that inferior benefices should be conferred only on persons duly qualified and regularly admitted to the ministry; that the churches through the kingdom should be planted, residence secured, and pluralities prevented, and that the revenues of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries should be appropriated to the maintenance of bursars at grammar-schools and universities. This agreement was immediately confirmed by the Regent and Council, who engaged to persuade the lay patrons of churches to conform to such of its regulations as concerned them.[1]

Such was the new ecclesiastical constitution framed by the famous convention at Leith. It was a constitution of the most motley and heterogeneous kind, being made up of presbytery, episcopacy, and papal monkery. Viewed in one light, indeed, it might be deemed harmless. It made little or no alteration on the established discipline of the church. The bishops were invested with no episcopal authority; and if unfit persons were admitted to the office, the General Assembly, to whose jurisdiction they were subjected, might suspend or depose them, and call the chapters to account for their irregular conduct. Nor were the monastic prelates, as such, entitled to a place in the church courts. But, in another point of view, the innovations were real, and had they been acquiesced in and ratified by the proper authority, they would have eventually overthrown the liberties of the Church of Scotland. Even names and titles, empty as they are in themselves, have often great influence from the ideas which have been immemorially combined and associated with them. Limited as the power granted to bishops was, there was every reason to fear that, once admitted, they would make continual efforts to extend it, until they regained the original prerogatives of their order, and that the authority of the church courts would prove too feeble for removing them, however unworthy, from their places, or for checking their encroachments, when abetted by nobles who were so deeply interested in their support. The neglect of discipline, or endless jarring in the exercise of it, was the inevitable consequence of the establishment of bishops and superintendents within the same provinces, who were clothed with co-ordinate and equal authority, but guided in

[1] The act of the Privy Council appointing commissioners to meet with those of the Kirk, is dated January 16, 1571. Records of Privy Council. The act of the Convention of the Kirk, Jan. 15, 1571, appointing their committee, and the whole of the articles agreed on by the joint committee, are inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 310—325.

their proceedings by distinct advisers and different precedents.[1] By the regulations relating to abbots and priors, titles and dignities generated by the grossest superstition, and rendered odious by the support which they had uniformly given to papal corruption and tyranny, were recognised as in some sort pertaining to a church which boasted of having removed the slightest vestiges of popery.[2] The civil places of churchmen, which had always been condemned by our reformers, were sanctioned, and the church was to be represented in parliament and in the courts of justice not only by bishops but also by monkish prelates, over whom she had no direct control, and whose official names it would have been reckoned profane to introduce into the roll of her General Assembly. The design of securing the richest portion of the benefices to the court and its dependants, which gave rise to the whole scheme, and which is the only thing that can account for its strange incongruities, did not appear in any part of the details. This was tacitly understood, and left to be provided for by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees. The calf's skin alone appeared: the straw with which the tulchan was stuffed was carefully concealed, least the cow should have refused to give her milk.[3]

This mongrel species of prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true Episcopalian. Certain eager advocates of primitive order and the uninterrupted succession of the hierarchy have indeed persisted in maintaining that Episcopacy always existed in Scotland, and in support of their plea have appealed to the settlement made at Leith; but they have generally shown themselves reluctant and shy in claiming kindred with the tulchan prelates, whenever their true original and real condition have been fairly exposed. And, indeed, how could they acknowledge as legitimate bishops men who possessed as little of the episcopal power as they did of the episcopal revenues, who were subject to the authority of an assembly composed of pretended presbyteries and mere laics, by

[1] "In Marche immediatilie following [the convention at Leith], the Assemblie continuit still the superintendents, so that there was in on diocese ane Bishop and 3 Superintendents, quhilk he maketh Bishops." The Replye of ane Dotatist (sic) to Mr Cowper his Dicaiologie, p. 27, MS. in Advocates' Library. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 344. Soon after John Douglas was made Bishop of St Andrews, John Winram came to be designed Superintendent of Strathearn, instead of Fife.

[2] The framers of the Articles of Leith appear to have been aware of this incongruity, and accordingly take care to express themselves in very general and guarded terms as to the qualifications of the candidate for this religious office. They merely say that the bishop of the province, where the abbey or priory lies, shall "try and examinat his *learning and abilitie*." For the same reason they excluded entirely from their consideration the case of Nunneries, not knowing what place in the church to assign to the right reverend Abbesses and Prioresses, or how to examinat their learning and abilitie. But they were not overlooked by the regent. There is a curious document with relation to them, after the death of Dame Christiane Ballenden, "Prioress of the Priorissie of the Senis, besyde the Burrowmure of Edinr." "James erll of Mortone, &c., understanding that in the convention of the Statis of yis realme consideratioun being had that the nunreis ar nocht meit to be conferrit and gevin to wemen according to the first foundatioun in tyme of ignorance," &c. appoints "Capitane Ninian Cockburne his heines chalmerlan and factor to the said priorissie of the Senis," &c. May 31, 1575. Register of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. fol. 10.

[3] In allusion to the custom in the Highlands of Scotland of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *Tulchan*, before cows, to induce them to give their milk, those who occupied the episcopal office at this time were called *Tulchan Bishops*. Cald. MS. ii. 340.

whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, and deposed, and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of canonical consecration?[1]

The articles agreed on at Leith were laid before the General Assembly which met at St Andrews in March, and at Perth in August 1572. At the last of these meetings the Assembly, after hearing the report of a committee appointed to examine the subject, came to the following resolution: That the articles recognised certain names, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which were thought slanderous and offensive to the ears of many of the brethren; therefore the whole Assembly, as well those that were in commission at Leith as others, protest that they meant not, by using such names, to ratify, consent, and agree to, any kind of papistry or superstition, and wish rather the said names to be changed into others that are not slanderous and offensive; and in like manner protest, that the said heads and articles agreed on be received only as an *interim*, till farther order may be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty, regent, and nobility, for which they will press as occasion shall serve. This declaration and protest the Assembly extended to the titles and functions of abbots and priors.[2]

The evils which this new and inauspicious settlement was calculated to produce were soon apparent to the most simple and unsuspecting. The sees were generally filled, as might have been anticipated, by persons who were unqualified, some by youth and others by extreme age, some by want of talent and others by want of character.[3] They incurred

[1] It is proper, however, that facts should be stated; and there are two which may be weighed by those who are disposed to lay stress on such things. 1. John Winram took part in the inauguration of John Douglas, as Bishop of St Andrews. Now, Winram was *popishly*, and in consequence *episcopally* and canonically ordained. He was also Subprior of the Abbey of St Andrews, and, as such, Vicar-General during the vacancy of the See. Will not these two circumstances, joined to the *tertium quid* of his being a superintendent, make him, if not *formaliter*, at least *virtualiter*, a bishop? 2. Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, was present, and actually laid his hands on Douglas's head. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 324. Now, the most rigid canonists allow that the legal quorum of three may be dispensed with in a case of necessity. But there is one flaw remaining which cannot be so easily removed: the Bishop of Caithness himself, it seems, was *never consecrated;* nay, "he never was *in priest's orders!*" Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 128. The truth appears to be, that the Scots have always shown a peculiar and constitutional incapacity for the difficult task of making bishops, and the work has never succeeded in their hands without assistance from York, Lambeth, or Rome. It is long since venerable Bede apologised for this by observing, that we did such things "*more inusitato.*" A presbyterian may be allowed to smile on this subject, when even Keith, a bishop of the true stamp, and not over-given to be witty, could not help remarking, that "it is a little diverting" to observe a commission given to one who was not "vested with any sacred character at all, to assist in the consecration of other men to the sacred office of bishops." Catalogue, *ut supra.*

[2] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 55. Cald. MS. vol. ii.

[3] Douglas, Archbishop of St Andrews, was superannuated. Campbell, Bishop of Brechin, was a youth, and needed to be put under the tuition of the Superintendent of Angus. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 471. George Douglas, Bishop of Moray, was under process for immorality, and continued under trials for years without giving satisfaction as to his gifts. Ib. ib. pp. 473, 478. "The yeir efter, was maid bischope Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haill wintar mumling on his pretching of his peapers everie day at our morning prayers, and haid it not weill parceur when all was done." Melville's Diary, p. 27. Alexander Hepburn, Bishop-elect of Ross, delivered his trials before the General Assembly, and gave good satisfaction. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 458.

public odium by consenting to become the tools of the court, and by the simoniacal pactions which they were known or suspected to have made with those to whom they were indebted for their presentations. At every meeting of the General Assembly complaints were made against them, or censures inflicted on them, for neglect of duty, transgression of the laws in the admission of ministers, interference with superintendents in the exercise of discipline, simony, or the alienation of the property of the church. Those who had agreed to the proposal of the court at Leith, in the hopes that churches would be planted and stipends appointed, were mortifyingly disappointed. The patrons of benefices, not being bound by any law, refused to comply with the regulations; and the regent, instead of using his influence, as he had promised, to procure their compliance, encouraged them by his conduct to persevere in their refusal. Having, under a deceitful pretext, got the management of the thirds of benefices out of the hands of the collectors appointed by the church, he united a number of parishes under the care of one minister, assisted by readers to whom a trifling salary was allotted. The ministers complained loudly of these abuses, and consulted on the most proper means of checking them; upon which Morton accused them of seditious and treasonable speeches, withdrew his countenance from their assemblies, began to call in question their right to meet and transact business without his express allowance, and advanced a claim to the same supremacy over the church in Scotland, which had been declared to belong to the inherent prerogative of the sovereign in England.[1]

In this confused and unsettled state were the affairs of the church when Melville revisited his native country. Two years before that period the individual whom Providence raised up to enlighten and reform Scotland had rested from his labours. The "dead hand" and dying voice of Knox were employed in protesting against a system which, as he foresaw, would debase the purity and endanger the existence of that ecclesiastical establishment which he had reared with unwearied exertion, and whose safety he had watched over with the most uncorrupted fidelity. The loss sustained by his removal was soon severely felt. There still remained a number of excellent men, sincerely attached to the principles upon which the Reformation had been established in Scotland, and not incapable of defending them; but there was wanting an individual inheriting the ardent and intrepid spirit of the Reformer, capable of giving an impulse and a voice to public sentiment, and possessing decision of mind to execute, as well as sagacity to discern, those measures which were requisite to restore the church to her liberties, and to fix her authority on a proper and solid basis.

All were convinced that things ought not to remain on their present footing, but it was not so easy to come to an agreement respecting the change which was needed, and the best way of effecting it. Three

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 58. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 398—403; 413—423; 454.

questions rose out of the present conjuncture of affairs. The first related to the superiority of bishops above other ministers; the second, to invasions on the property of the church; and the third, to the encroachments made on her authority. But although these questions are distinct, yet the two last were in reality involved in the first, or at least, were inseparably connected with it on the present occasion. It was by setting up bishops, and by the share which they consequently had in the admission of ministers, that the court expected chiefly to succeed in their designs on the patrimony of the church. And whatever they may have found it prudent to give out, or whatever a few individuals may have really felt, the great reason which has induced rulers to prefer Episcopacy is, the superior facility with which it enables them to exert an unlimited sway over the clergy, and, through them, over the sentiments and feelings of the people. It was in this light that Melville appears to have viewed the subject. By conversation he ascertained that a number of the ministers coincided with him in these views; and he considered that he was at liberty, and that it was his duty, to embrace every proper opportunity of inculcating and enforcing them upon such as doubted of their truth, or scrupled the propriety of reducing them to practice.

Melville sat as a member of the General Assembly which was held at Edinburgh in March 1575, being the first meeting of that judicatory after his admission to the College of Glasgow. This Assembly resumed the subject of ecclesiastical polity, which had formerly been under its consideration.[1] The conviction that something required to be done in this matter was now become so general and strong that a Convention of Estates, held a few days before, had voted "that great inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a decent and comely government in the church;" and had appointed a committee, consisting of laymen and ministers, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical polity agreeable to the word of God and adapted to the state of the country.[2] The General Assembly appointed a committee of their number to meet with the parliamentary commissioners, enjoining them to wait on the business, and to transmit to the ministers of the different provinces any overtures that might be made. But though they had no objection to concur with the government, they considered the subject as one that properly belonged to themselves, and therefore appointed such brethren as had studied the question most accurately to meet and prepare a draught to be laid before the Assembly. Mel-

[1] Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 436, 437.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 89. In the writ of Privy Seal respecting the Chalmerlanrie of the Senis, formerly referred to, after quoting from the act of the Convention, it is added: "In consideratioun of the guid intentioun to constitute and establish a godlie and decent ecclesiasticall polecy for ordering and governing of the kirk within this realm, and that na thing quhilk might hinder the samin wald be done in the meyn tyme, It was concludit that the saidis nunries and vtheris abbayis or prioreis now vacand or that heirefter happenis to vaik sall nocht be disponit nor geven in titell to ony maner of persoun or personis but remane vacand quhill the constitutioun and establising of the said ecclesiasticall polecy. As the Act maid heirvpoun purportis," &c. Register of Privy Seal. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 90.

ville was a member of this committee, which was renewed from time to time, and whose labours at last produced the Second Book of Discipline.[1]

At the next Assembly, in August 1575, when it was proposed to proceed, as usual, to the trial of the bishops, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested, that the examination of the conduct of the bishops should not prejudge what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their office.[2] On this occasion Melville rose and addressed the Assembly in a speech of considerable length, in which he supported Dury's proposition, and stated his own sentiments respecting Episcopacy. "He was satisfied," he said, "that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was extremely doubtful, if not necessarily hurtful to the interests of religion. The words *bishop* and *presbyter* are interchangably used in the New Testament; and the most popular arguments for the divine origin of Episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original language of Scripture.[3] It was the opinion of Jerome and other Christian Fathers, that all ministers of the gospel were at first equal;[4] and that the superiority of bishops originated in custom, and not in divine appointment. A certain degree of pre-eminence was, at an early period, given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view or under the pretext of preserving unity; but this device had oftener bred dissension, while it fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. From ecclesiastical history it is evident that, for a considerable time after this change took place, bishops were parochial and not diocesan. The same principles which justify, and the same measures which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, will justify and lead to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch over a province or kingdom, and of a universal bishop or pope over the whole Christian world. He had witnessed the good effects of presbyterian parity at Geneva and in France. The maintenance of the hierarchy in England he could not but consider as one cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses, which had produced dissensions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom; and he was convinced that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances, which at present afflicted the Church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil, by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the church."

This speech was listened to with the utmost attention, and made a

1 Melville's Diary, 42. Cald. MS. ii. 457.

2 Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 62.

3 Acts xx. 17, 28; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. In the venerable Syriac version called the Peshito, ἐπίσκοποι is translated "the elders," and ἐπισκοπὴν, "the office of an elder." Philip. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 1. "This proves," says Dr Marsh, "that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that *he made a proper distinction between the language of the primitive and that of the hierarchical church.*" Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 32, 553. Lond. 802.

4 See Note S.

deep impression.[1] The question was immediately proposed, "Have bishops, as they are now in Scotland, their function from the word of God, or not? and ought the chapters appointed for electing them to be tolerated in a reformed church?" For the better resolution of this question, the Assembly agreed that it should be debated by a select number on each side. John Craig, who had been Knox's colleague, but was at this time minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, were nominated to argue on the negative; and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, of Leith, on the affirmative side of the question. After two days' reasoning and conference on the subject, the committee presented their report. They did not think it expedient, for the present, to give a direct answer to the first part of the question, but were unanimously of opinion that, if unfit persons were chosen as bishops by the chapters, they ought to be tried anew and deposed by the General Assembly.[2] They reported farther, that they had agreed on the following points respecting the office of a bishop or superintendent: First, That the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders, and that this is the chief function of bishops according to the word of God; and, secondly, That out of this number some may be chosen to visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly shall allot to them; to admit ministers, with the consent of the ministers in their respective bounds and of the particular congregations concerned; to admit elders and deacons where there were none, with the consent of the people; and to suspend ministers, for just causes, with the consent of their brethren in the district. The consideration of this report was deferred until the next meeting of Assembly. There were six bishops present, none of whom offered any defence of the episcopal office.[3] In April 1576, the Assembly, after deliberation, approved of and adopted the report of the committee in all its parts; and for carrying it into effect, ordained that such of the bishops as had not taken the charge of a single congregation, should now make choice of one. From this time the Assembly followed up their decision, until they formally abolished the episcopal office. In April 1578, they agreed that the bishops should, for the future, be addressed in the same style as other ministers, and, in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishopric, they discharged the chapters from proceeding to a new election before next meeting of Assembly. At last the General Assembly which met at Dundee in July 1580, found and declared the office of a bishop, as then used and

[1] Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

[2] In Spotswood's printed History, p. 176, it runs, "if any bishop was chosen that had not qualities required by the word of God, *he should be tried by the General Assembly.*" But in the archbishop's MS. it stands thus: "*he should be tried* de novo *by the Assembly and deposed from his place.*" Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 9, MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.

[3] Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 64. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 470, 472. Spotswood, p. 276.

commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church; ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition; and appointed the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. The minutes bear, that this famous act was agreed to by "the whole Assembly in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office." The king's commissioner was present in the Assembly, and made not the smallest opposition to the procedure.[1]

It was of great importance to the success of this measure that the Assembly should procure the submission of the individuals who filled the different sees. This was no easy task; as, in addition to the reluctance which all men feel to relinquish power, the bishops were, on the present occasion, encouraged to resistance by the court and nobility. Notwithstanding this, such was the authority of the Assembly, and the activity of their agents, that the submission of the whole order, with the exception of five, was obtained in the course of the year in which the act abolishing Episcopacy passed.[2]

While they were taking these decisive steps in abolishing Episcopacy, the Assembly were actively employed in maturing their plan of church government. In April 1576, the committee intrusted with this business was enlarged. It was divided into four sub-committees, to meet in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Montrose; which, after preparing materials, were to send delegates to a general meeting at Stirling, where the whole was to be examined, revised, and put into proper form. The result of their labours was laid before the General Assembly, who spent the greater part of several meetings in examining and correcting the draught, discussing those points which were doubtful or disputed,[3] listening to objections, receiving hints from whatever quarter they came, and, in short, adopting every means for rendering the platform as perfect and unexceptionable as possible. During these deliberations, Morton, with the view of embarrassing their proceedings, gave in a paper containing forty-two questions relating to the government of the church, to which he required answers. Although the greater part of these questions were evidently captious and frivolous,[4] the Assembly, to show

[1] Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 95. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 620, 621. Melville's Diary, p. 62. Spotswood, Hist. p. 311. In consequence of a difficulty expressed by some individuals as to the exact import of the act condemning Episcopacy, the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April 1581 (consisting, "for the most part," of the same individuals who had been present in the Assembly at Dundee), declared "that they meant *haillelie* to condemne the estate of bischops as they are now in Scotland, and that the same was the determination of the kirk at that time." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, a. Spotswood has given a partial account of this explanation. Hist. p. 316.

[2] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 100, b. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 636.

[3] The heads of *patronage*, *divorce*, and *the office of deacons*, were most offensive to the court, and consequently were made the subject of longest discussion. The ground of objection to the last of these heads was, that it gave the management of the patrimony of the church to the deacons.

[4] The following is a specimen of the regent's questions, which were understood to have

their respect for the regent, appointed a committee to answer them; but they did not suffer themselves to be diverted by them from their main business. Perceiving their determination, Morton altered his conduct, or at least his language, signified that he "liked well of their travels and labour in that matter," and required them to use all expedition to complete the work which they had begun. The work was completed accordingly, and received the sanction of the General Assembly, at their meeting held in the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh in April 1578, and of which Melville was Moderator.[1] From this time, the Book of Policy, as it was then styled, or Second Book of Discipline, although not ratified by the privy council or parliament, was regarded by the church as exhibiting her authorised form of government; and steps were immediately taken for carrying its arrangements into effect, by erecting presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors.[2]

The First Book of Discipline, though an admirable production for the time, was hastily compiled, to meet the emergency caused by the sudden triumph of the Protestant interest over the Popish hierarchy.[3] Several arrangements of a provisional description were necessarily introduced into it, while others, which subsequent experience showed to be of great importance, were unavoidably omitted.[4] The Second Book of Discipline was drawn up with greater care and deliberation, by persons who had

been drawn up by Archbishop Adamson: "Ought there to be any degrees of dignity and order among ministers, in respect of learning, age, or places where they make residence? How far may the ministers, elders, and deacons, of every particular kirk or parоch proceed, and in what causes? How many G. Assemblies ought there to be within a kingdom? by whom should they be convocate? for what cause? What form of summoning and proceeding? &c. What is the proper patrimony of the kirk? Shall ministers' stipends be alike in quantity, because they are thought to be alike in dignity? What is symony? Whether may a man be both a minister and a reader, or ane officer at arms, or a lord or laird's steward, griefe, pantryman, or porter? Whether has the city of Geneva committed sacrilege or not, in appointing the rents or teinds of their bishoprick to their common theasury, paying but a certain portion thereof to the stipend of their ministers?" Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 503—507.

[1] Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 73, 74. Cald. MS. ii. 529.

[2] Among the overtures made by the Synod of Lothian to the General Assembly in July 1579, was the following: "A general order to be taken for erecting of presbyteries in places where Publick Exercise is used, until the tyme the Policie of the Kirk be established be law." To this the Assembly answered: "The Exercise may be judged a Presbyterie." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 501. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 74. In October 1579, the Assembly requested the Clerk Register to assist their Commissioners "to lay down and devise a plan of the presbyteries and constitution thereof." Cald. ii. 641. In April 1581, the laird of Caprington, the King's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly, "certane rolls concerning the planting of the Kirks, and the number of the Presbiteries;" and the same Assembly ordained, that "the Booke of Policie aggreit to befor in divers assemblies sould be registrat in acts of the Kirk, and to remane therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, and the copies thereof to be takin be every Presbyterie, of the qlk booke the tenour followes," &c. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, b. 104, b. Melville's Diary, 67.

[3] The order of the privy council, directing the ministers to draw it up, was issued April 26, 1560, and the work was finished on the 20th of May following. The First and Second Booke of Discipline, pp. 23, 70. Printed anno 1621.

[4] Its compilers were fully sensible of this defect, and accordingly at almost every Assembly, from 1563 to 1575, when the Second Book of Discipline began to be prepared, resolutions were made as to the necessity of defining the jurisdiction and settling the polity of the church after a more perfect form. See the Acts of Assembly prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed anno 1621. The reader will also find in that work ample information as to the proceedings of the Assembly, and of its committees, in compiling the Second Book of Discipline.

studied the subject with much attention, and had leisure to compare and digest their views. It is methodically arranged, and the propositions under each head are expressed with perspicuity, conciseness, and precision.

It begins by laying down the essential line of distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. Jesus Christ, it declares, has appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorised, and not by civil magistrates or under their direction. Civil authority has for its direct and proper object the promoting of external peace and quietness among the subjects, ecclesiastical authority, the directing of men in matters of religion and which pertain to conscience; the former enforces obedience by external means, the latter by spiritual means; yet as they "be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, to wit, to advance the glory of God, and to have good and godly subjects," they ought to co-operate within their respective spheres and fortify each other. "As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend, so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion."—The government of the church consists in three things: doctrine (to which is annexed the administration of the sacraments), discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of church officers: ministers, who are preachers as well as rulers; elders, who are merely rulers; and deacons, who act as distributors of alms and managers of the funds of the church. The name *bishop* is of the same import as that of *pastor* or *minister;* it is not expressive of superiority or lordship; and the Scriptures do not allow of a pastor of pastors or a pastor of many flocks. Connected with the pastor, who dispenses the word and sacraments, is the doctor or teacher, whose function lies in expounding the Scriptures, defending the truth against erroneous teachers, and instructing the youth, in schools, colleges, and universities. There should be elders who do not labour in word and doctrine: they ought to assist the pastor in examining those who come to the Lord's table, and in visiting the sick; but "their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors, and doctors, who are also of their number, for establishing good order and execution of discipline."—The office-bearers of the church are to be admitted by election and ordination. None are to be intruded into any ecclesiastical office, "contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." "The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership," or presbytery.—Ecclesiastical assemblies are either particular (consisting of the office-bearers of one congregation or of a number of neighbouring congregations), provincial, national, or ecumenical and general. It is not thought absolutely necessary that there should be a stated assembly or session in country congregations; but each ought to have its own

elders.[1] The Presbytery, or Eldership, as it is called, has the inspection of a number of adjoining congregations in everything relating to religion and manners, and has the power of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of exercising discipline within its bounds. The provincial synod possesses the collective power of all the presbyteries within a province, and consequently may handle and redress whatever has been done amiss by any of them. The General Assembly, or "general eldership of the whole churches in the realm," takes cognisance of what has been done amiss by the provincial assemblies, and in general of everything connected with the welfare of the national church. "None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote but ecclesiastical persons only,[2] to such a number as shall be thought good by the same assembly;" but none are excluded from being present in it "to propone, hear, and reason." All the ecclesiastical assemblies have lawful power to convene for transacting business, and to appoint the times and places of their meeting. In each of them a moderator is to be chosen by common consent of the brethren, to propose the causes, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept.—The patrimony of the church includes whatever has been appropriated to her use, whether by donations from individuals, or by laws and usage. To take any part of this by unlawful means, and apply it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is simony. It belongs to the deacons to receive the ecclesiastical goods, and to distribute them according to the appointment of presbyteries. The purposes to which they are to be applied are the four following: the support of ministers; the support of elders and other church officers, as far as this may be found necessary, and of teachers of theology and schoolmasters, provided the ancient foundations for education are insufficient; the maintenance of the poor and of hospitals; and lastly, the reparation of places of worship, and other extraordinary charges of the church or commonwealth.—Among the abuses which ought to be removed the following are specified: the titles of abbots and others connected with monastic institutions, with the places which they held, as churchmen, in the courts of legislature and judicature; deans and others attached to cathedral and collegiate churches; the usurped superiority of bishops, and their acting in parliament and council in the name of the church, without her commission;[3] the exercise of criminal justice and the pas-

[1] "When we speak of the elders of the particular congregations, we mean not that every particular parish kirk can or may have their own particular elderships, especially in landward; but wee think three, foure, moe or fewer, particular kirks, may have one eldership common to them all, to judge their ecclesiasticall causes. Yet this is meet, that some of the elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concurre with the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their owne kirks, and bring them to the assembly. This we gather of the practice of the primitive kirk, where elders or colledges of seniors were constitute in cities and famous places." Chap. vii.

[2] "The eldership is a spirituall function as is the ministrie."

[3] "We denie not in the meane time, but ministers may and should assist their princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word, whether it be in councell or parliament, or otherwayes, providing alwayes they neither neglect their owne charges, nor through flattery of princes hurt the publick estate of the kirk." Chap. ii.

toral office by the same individuals; the mixed jurisdiction of commissaries; pluralities; and patronages and presentations to benefices whether by the prince or any inferior person, which lead to intrusion, and are inconsistent with "lawful election and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk and good order crave."

Such is the outline of the Presbyterian plan of church government, as delineated in the Second Book of Discipline. Its leading principles rest upon the express authority of the word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture; they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule. It secures the liberty of the people in one of their most important privileges—the choosing of those who shall watch for their souls, without making them the final judges of the qualifications of those who shall be invested with this office. While it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation, it also preserves that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ; secures attention to those numerous cases which are of common concern and general utility; and provides a remedy against particular acts of injustice and maladministration arising from local partialities and limited information, by the institution of larger assemblies acting as courts of appeal and review, in which the interests of all are equally represented, and each enjoys the benefit resulting from the collective wisdom of the whole body. It encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; but it, at the same time, avoids the confounding of their limits—prohibits church courts from "meddling with anything pertaining to the civil jurisdiction,"—establishes their independence in all matters which belong to their cognisance, and guards against, what is the great bane of religion and curse of the church, a priesthood which is merely the organised puppet of the state, and moves and acts only as it is directed by a political administration. It is a form of ecclesiastical polity whose practical utility has been proportionate to the purity in which its principles have been maintained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland. Whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the national church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles.

Hierarchical writers do more honour to Melville than he is fairly entitled to, when they ascribe the overthrow of Episcopacy, and the erection of Presbytery, solely to his authority and exertions. Yet the lead-

ing part which he took in the work, and the high degree in which its success was owing to his zeal and ability, will justify the details into which we have thought it proper to enter. He was on all the committees employed in collecting materials for the Book of Polity, and in reducing them into form. He was present at most of the conferences held on the subject with committees of the privy council and parliament. He had a principal share in all the discussions and debates that occurred, both in private and public, on the articles which were most keenly disputed and opposed; and he subjected himself to great personal fatigue and expense and odium during a series of years which were spent in completing the work and in procuring its reception.[1] Indeed, he regarded his exertions in this cause as the greatest service which he could perform for his country; and for the sake of advancing it, he cheerfully sacrificed the gratification which he felt in prosecuting his studies, and the prospects of personal fame which he might have acquired by engaging in literary undertakings.

The eagerness and success with which Melville laboured in the erection of the Presbyterian system naturally rendered him obnoxious in the eyes of the adherents of Episcopacy. Accordingly, writers of that persuasion have endeavoured, by the representations which they have given of his conduct on this occasion, to excite prejudices against his character and the cause which he promoted. Archbishop Spotswood, whose ambitious views he long crossed, and who has never mentioned his name with temper in the course of his history, set an example of this treatment; and we shall quote his words, which subsequent writers of the same description have done little more than repeated. "In the church this year began the innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietness. Mr Andrew Melvil, who was lately come from Geneva, a man learned (chiefly in the tongues) but hot and eager upon anything he went about, labouring with a burning desire to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva; and having insinuated himself into the favour of divers preachers, he stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speaker's zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church government, —in end he said, that the corruptions crept into the estate of bishops were so great, as unless the same were removed it could not go well with the church."[2]

[1] "And in deid that mater cost him exceeding greit peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear, during the space of five or sax yair, with the geau of the Regent Erl of Morton and his bischopes vtter indignation. Yit with the wonderful assistance of God he bure it out till the abolishing of bischopes and establissing of the presbyteries according to the word of God. Wharby he gatt the name of επισκοτομαστιξ, *episcoporum exactor*, the slinger-out of bishops." Melville's Diary, p. 42.

[2] Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

A few remarks on the several articles of this libel will be sufficient. It is insinuated that the church was in a tranquil state when Melville arrived in the country; and, indeed, if we had no other source of information as to these times than the archbishop's history, we might be ready to conclude that this was really the case. But we have already seen, from the most undoubted of all authorities, from acts of assembly and acts of parliament, as well as from private writings, that the state of matters was quite the reverse, and that great dissatisfactions prevailed in the church previous to and at his arrival in Scotland. Was it Melville who instigated those who protested against the consecration of Douglas at St Andrews?[1] or the whole Assembly, which at Perth protested against the titles of archbishops, deans, and chapters? Was it Melville who struck the blow at the civil power and places of bishops, which they have always regarded as among their dearest privileges? Was it not the archbishop's own father who moved and carried in the General Assembly, August 1573 (when there was no emissary from Geneva to incite him), "that it was neither agreeable to the word of God, nor to the practice of the primitive church, for one man to occupy the charges of a minister of the gospel and of a civil or criminal judge?"[2]—a sentiment of which it was the great ambition of his son to afford a practical and glaring contradiction.

But Melville laboured "to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva;" or, as the archbishop expresses it in another publication, "His mind being imbued with the institutions of that city to which he had been long accustomed, he strained every nerve to bring our church to the nearest possible conformity with Geneva in point of discipline, not adverting to the difference between a kingdom and a republic."[3] This is the same allegation which has been made with respect to the first settlement of our Reformation by Knox. It was first brought forward by Hooker, in his controversy with the English presbyterians, but with great modesty, and many expressions of high respect for the Genevan Reformer.[4] It was afterwards urged, but in a very different spirit, by Bancroft; and it has been retailed with unvarying and monotonous uniformity by episcopalian writers down to the present day. They would have gained more credit to their cause among the judicious if they had rested its defence upon the authority of Scripture and reason, and left the use of such *prejugez legitimes* wholly to Roman Catholics, from whom they borrowed them, and whose cause would have been early ruined but for the magic influence

[1] Bannat., 323, 331 [2] Petrie, pt. iii. 380.

[3] Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 31. Calderwood, in his reply to this tract, remarks dryly, "If Melville, by the force of custom, during five years' residence at Geneva, became so enamoured with its discipline, is it not strange that John Spotswood should have been so easily induced to desert the Scots discipline, to which he had been habituated for more than ten years? The reason is to be sought for in the different disposition of the men, not in their education—*Discrimen in ingeniis, non in disciplina, fuit.*" Epistolæ Philadelphi Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 731, edit. 2.

[4] Preface to Ecclesiastical Polity, sect. 2; a section which those who are accustomed to disparage Calvin, and eulogise Hooker, with equal ignorance of both, would do well to read.

of the question, "Where was your church before Luther?" But if it is necessary to bring the controversy to this test, presbyterians have surely no reason to blush, or to be ashamed of their descent. Where was the bishop in Scotland or in England, during the sixteenth century, that could be compared with Calvin or with Beza, either in point of talents or of learning, of skill in the Scriptures or of acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers? If the reformers of Scotland were so unfortunate as to imbibe erroneous sentiments at Geneva, what was the enlightened school, and where the pure fountain, to which the English reformers had access, and at which they were so happy as to drink the unpolluted doctrines of revelation? That Knox and Melville were greatly indebted to Calvin and Beza, and that they admired the religious order and discipline established in Geneva, I do not wish to deny; but that they implicitly adopted and slavishly imitated the institutions which they had seen in that city, is an assertion which argues great ignorance both of the men and the subject. If Melville had laboured merely to introduce a foreign institute, why did he bestow so much pains in studying the subject, or how came it about that he was always so ready and so able to maintain what he recommended upon higher and more sacred grounds? The ecclesiastical polity of Geneva and of Scotland agreed in their radical principles; but those who are accurately acquainted with both know that they differed in some points in which they might have been made accordant; and that, owing to the great diversity of their circumstances, the one could not be an exact and fit model for the other. Within the small territory of Geneva there was no room and no occasion for the parochial sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly, which were erected in Scotland. Presbytery can accommodate itself to any extent of country; and its genius, and the exercise of its powers, are not incompatible with any reasonable form of civil government, monarchical or republican.

Melville, it is allowed, was "learned," but then it was "chiefly in the tongues." Of the truth of this qualifying clause, the reader shall be left to judge, from the evidence which has been already laid before him. With respect to the disparaging style in which skill in languages is here mentioned, it might be sufficient to remark, that the archbishop, though a man of talents, was no great scholar; and it is very natural for us to depreciate what we do not possess or understand.[1] But the truth is, that, in speaking after this manner, he only imitated the language of his predecessors, Montgomery and Adamson.[2] I mention this chiefly

[1] Calderwood mentions that Spotswood was ignorant of Greek, and says, it was suspected (probably without good reason) that he had got a certain physician to translate his book into Latin. "Dedicavit Principi Carolo Libellum istum de rebus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Latinum, et Græcis quasi stellis distinctum, quem omnes scimus Græcè nescire, Latinè vix scire, nedum posse tam Latinè scribere. Sed non est mirum, mentitis (Medici cujusdam ut audio) pennis niti mendaciorum consarcinatorem." Prefat. Epist. Philadelph. Vind.

[2] One of the articles of the libel raised in 1581 against Montgomery, Archbishop of Glasgow, was, "that, so farre as he could he travellit to bring the original languages, Greik and Hebrew into contempt; abusing thereunto the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. and tauntingly asking, '*In what schoole*

because it affords a curious illustration of the fact, that adventitious recommendations of this kind may be possessed by different parties at different periods. Superior skill in ancient languages, upon which the members of the Church of England in the present day plume themselves, and which I have no desire to deny them, was in the sixteenth century so unquestionably due to Presbyterians in Scotland, that their opponents thought it necessary to depreciate it as a minor acquisition, and as calculated to do more hurt than good.

The charge that Melville "insinuated himself into the favour of diverse preachers" is absurd. His talents and character were such as to secure him easy access to the company and favour of any preacher in Scotland, and the most learned men in the country were proud of his friendship. He communicated his sentiments respecting episcopacy and church government in the most unreserved manner to Adamson and Cunninghame, who afterwards became bishops. It is true that he lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with Lawson, Dury, and Balcanquhal, the ministers of Edinburgh; and there is no reason to doubt that he had confidential conversations with them on those measures which at that time engaged universal attention. It may even be true that he was previously acquainted with Dury's intention to object against the episcopal office; for what is more customary than for a person to consult with his friends before he submits a motion on any important subject to a court? But that Melville conducted the business in an insidious or dishonourable way, by pushing forward another to do what he was afraid to do himself, and then affecting ignorance of the design; or that John Dury would have consented to become a tool in any such disgraceful management, no one who is acquainted with the characters and tempers of the two men will ever for a moment believe.[1] Such arts were reserved to be employed in the advancement of a different cause, and by a very different set of men.

There is no evidence that Melville conducted himself in a violent and overbearing manner in the prosecution of this business. He had no means of effecting an alteration on the government of the church but argument and persuasion; and had he pushed matters with the intemperance which some have ascribed to him, he must have defeated his

were Peter and Paul graduat?'" Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 114, b. The following is one of the assertions collected from the lectures which Archbishop Adamson delivered at St Andrews: "Græcæ, Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ et ceterarum ejusmodi doctarum et sanctarum linguarum cognitio, non solum otiosa et invtilis, sed etiam perniciosa et exitialis est Reip. et ecclesiæ Dei." Floretum Archiepiscopale, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9. Num. 47.

[1] Dury was at first an exhorter in Leith. Though not learned he possessed great spirit, and had distinguished himself by his zeal and courage during the civil war. "About the same tyme (1571) cam to St Andrews, to visite Mr Knox, Mr Jhone Durie, fellow minister at Leith with Mr David Lindsay, who was then for stoutnes and zeal in the guid cause mickle renowned and talked off. For the gown was na sooner of, and the Byble out of hands fra the kirk, when on ged the corslet, and fangit was the hacbet, and to the fields." Melville's Diary, p. 28. Comp. Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 359, 360.

As Dury commenced the attack on Episcopacy, Spotswood was eager to represent him as having retracted his sentiments on this subject in his latter days. History, p. 458. But the archbishop's story is contradicted by Dury's son-in-law, who declares that he retained his sentiments concerning Episcopacy unaltered to the last. Melville's Diary, p. 345.

own designs, and raised insurmountable difficulties in the way of their accomplishment. No dissension was produced in the church. There was a general and harmonious concurrence of sentiment in favour of the measures which were adopted; and, aware of this, the bishops themselves, who were present in the Assembly, made no formal or public opposition.[1] During the earlier and most important part of the proceedings the reins of civil government were in the hands of one who could hold them with sufficient firmness, and who possessed the address to avail himself of any act of imprudence or violence on the part of the ecclesiastical courts, as a pretext for putting a stop to those measures to which he was known to be decidedly averse. But no occasion of this kind was given. Everything was conducted with firmness, indeed, and perseverance, but at the same time with a temper, deliberation, and unanimity rarely exhibited by a popular assembly, and which reflect the highest honour on its members.

Nor was this harmony purchased at the expense of that freedom which belongs to a popular and deliberative assembly. There was at that period no party management—nothing similar to the practice afterwards introduced, when a cabal or set of leaders settled everything in private, and, having previously decided on their measures, and calculated their strength, granted to the court the semblance of liberty by a mock debate and the formality of a vote.[2] One who was present at most if not all of the Assemblies, occupied in framing the Book of Discipline, gives the following account of their manner of proceeding: "It was a most pleasand and comfortable thing to be present at these assemblies, there was sic frequencie and reverence, with holiness and zeall. Maters war gravlie and cleirlie proponit; overtures maid by the wysest, douttes reassonit and discussit by the learnedest and maist quik; and, finallie, all with ane voice concluding upon matters resolvit and cleirit, and referring thingis intritit and uncleirid to farder advysment. Namely, this is to be noted, that, in all these assemblies anent the policie, ther was not sic a thing as a carieing away of anie poinct with a number of vottes, ane or ma, as by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters

[1] Spotswood acknowledges this fact, and mentions it with much surprise and disapprobation: "What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given way to such novelties, and have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be thus drawn in question." Hist. p. 276.

[2] The appointment of assessors or assistants to the moderator, has been urged in opposition to the statement given in the text. That practice was introduced in the following way. In April 1577, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, was chosen moderator. It was the moderator's business to fix the order in which the causes should come before the court. But as Arbuthnot had not been present at the preceding Assembly, and consequently was unacquainted with the business which remained undecided, he requested that certain members should be appointed to assist him. This was complied with, and the advantages of the appointment in expediting business led to its repetition at subsequent meetings. Some members were jealous of its tendency, and objected against the precedent, and there is no doubt that it was afterwards abused in prejudice of the liberties of the Assembly. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 508, 616. Petrie, pt. iii. p. 391. The writer of Arbuthnot's Life in the Biographia Britannica, absurdly says: "This committee had the name of the *Congregation*, and in a short time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Assembly had little to do but to approve their resolutions." Biogr. Brit. vol. i. 236, 2d edit.

were indifferentlie proponit, and, efter beging light of God and sersing the Scriptures, by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme taken and diligentlie employit for that effect, all with ane voice in ane consent and unitie of mynd determined and concluded."[1]

Some authors are of opinion that there was no difference of sentiment among the ministers on the head of Episcopacy, and that the reasoning between certain members of Assembly, when the question was first agitated, was merely a disputation, according to the manner of the schools, with the view of throwing greater light on the subject. This opinion is, I think, erroneous. There were none in Scotland at that time, so far as I have been able to learn, who regarded the episcopal office as of divine institution; but I have no doubt that there were ministers, besides the bishops, who did not esteem it to be positively unlawful or necessarily injurious to the interests of the church, and who thought that it ought to be retained, or at least tolerated, in the state in which affairs were in Scotland at that period. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the sentiments of Row, Lindsay, and George Hay, who were nominated by the Assembly to reason in defence of Episcopacy. That they were Row's sentiments we know from the testimony of his son, who informs us that his father at first thought Episcopacy lawful, but was constrained, along with those who reasoned on the same side with him, to yield to the force of the arguments brought forward by their opponents, and from that time took a decided part in removing bishops and establishing the presbyterian polity.[2] Among those who held the lawfulness of Episcopacy, Archbishop Spotswood also includes the names of his own father, of Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Alexander Arbuthnot, Robert Pont, Thomas Smeton, and Andrew Polwart.[3] Smeton, Polwart, and Pont, afterwards distinguished themselves by their opposition to bishops.[4] Arbuthnot and Melville were closely united in their views and public conduct;[5] and if the others were at first of episcopal sentiments, they must have changed their views, as they co-operated in the establishment of Presbytery, and as there was not a single contradictory or dissenting voice at the abolition of Episcopacy.[6]

It is agreed on all hands, that this change of sentiment was brought about chiefly by the influence of Melville. That in exerting this influence he never overstepped the bounds of moderation, and that, in the fervour of his zeal for what he considered as the cause of God and truth, he never infringed the rights, nor unnecessarily wounded the feelings

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60. Comp. Row, Hist. p. 22.

[2] Row of Carnock, MS Historie of the Kirk, p. 289. Comp. Melville's Diary, p. 64.

[3] De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 42.

[4] Melville, in a letter "Johanni Rowio Ecclesiastæ Perthensi," dated "15. Cal. Feb. 1578," says "Smetonius accerrimus bonæ causæ propugnator." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9. Smeton and Polwart protested against the election of Montgomery as bishop of Glasgow. Records of Privy Council, April 12, 1582. Erskine, Lindsay, and Pont, presented to the privy council the remonstrance of the General Assembly against the suspension of Montgomery's excommunication. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 126, b.

[5] Letter of Melville to Arbuthnot, Sept. 4, 1579. MS. in Bib. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9.

[6] The reason which Spotswood gives for their consent is not much to their honour: "Tandem, ne frustra contraniti viderentur, in imperitæ multitudinis sententiam concesserint." De Regimine Eccles. Scot. p. 45.

of good men who might conscientiously differ from him, I am far from wishing to assert. But there is one instance in which I am satisfied that this charge has been brought against him groundlessly, if not wantonly. I refer to the case of James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow. Spotswood says that Boyd was so much vexed with the proceedings of the Assembly in urging him to remove the corruptions of the episcopal office, and with certain injuries which he received from one of his own relations, that he "contracted a melancholy whereof he died not long after at Glasgow." He adds, "Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr Andrew Melvil and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the Colledge, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private, and at the bishop's table (to which he was ever welcome), no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and use him most uncivilly. The commission of the Assembly he exercised with all rigour, and by threatening the bishop with the censures of the church, induced him to set his hand to certain articles, which, as he professed in his sickness, did sore vex his mind; yet, being comforted by Mr Andrew Polwart, subdean of Glasgow, he departed this life in great quietness."[1] Some of these charges are ridiculous and childish, and the rest are unfounded and calumnious. The whole procedure of the Assembly in this case, as detailed in the public records, is marked by tenderness to Boyd, and regard to the delicate circumstances in which he was placed with his relations. It is false that the commission to procure his subscription was intrusted to Melville, or to a committee of which he was one. David Weemes, minister of Glasgow, was the only individual employed in this business;[2] and two years elapsed between that transaction and the death of the bishop.[3] The story of his being grieved on his deathbed at his renunciation of Episcopacy is contradicted by what is immediately added; for Polwart, who is represented as his comforter, was a decided anti-episcopalian.[4] The allusion to Melville's partaking of the archbishop's hospitality is utterly unworthy of a reply. What is said as to the episcopal titles is worse than puerile. There was an act of Assembly directing that the bishops should be addressed by the same titles as other ministers. In obedience to this act, and in common with all his brethren, Melville observed this rule in the public meetings of the church; but he did not think that the Assembly intended to interdict or interfere with the ordinary civilities of life, and accordingly made no scruple of

[1] Spotswood, Hist. p. 303.

[2] Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 586.

[3] His subscription, "where he willingly agreed to the act of the Assembly made at Stirling, 1578," was dated "the 8th day of June 1579." Cald. *ut supra*. And he died in June 1581. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 155. During the interval he was employed by the Assembly as Commissioner of Carrict, and appointed on a committee to present articles to the king. Cald. ii. 587, 642.

[4] See above, p. 64.

giving the bishop his usual titles in private intercourse. And this compliance with the rules of *courtesy* must be produced and published as a proof of his "*uncourteous* forms," and bring the blood of a bishop on his head too! He came to Glasgow at the urgent solicitation of the archbishop, when he had the offer of a preferable and more lucrative situation. The active part which Boyd took in bringing him there was with the view, not of conferring a favour on an individual, but of benefiting a literary institution; and if he was actuated by a regard to the public good, as I have no doubt he was, he must have considered his exertions and benefactions as amply rewarded by the flourishing condition into which Melville brought that decayed university, and must have derived far higher gratification from this than from having his ears tickled with vain-glorious and high-sounding titles, for which he never showed that doting fondness which his successor must have felt when he advanced so heavy a charge on such weak and miserable grounds. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the whole accusation of disrespect and ingratitude is refuted by the most unexceptionable testimony, that of the bishop's own son, the learned and excellent Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who, in his family memoirs, mentions the inviolable friendship that subsisted between his father and Melville, and records with filial satisfaction and pride the high commendations which he heard the latter bestow on the former.[1]

There are too good grounds for retorting on Spotswood the charges which he has so groundlessly aimed at another. He received his education at the university of Glasgow, while Melville was Principal there, and James Melville was his teacher.[2] Yet, in his history, he has embraced every opportunity of tarnishing the reputation of the former, and has injured the character of the latter by retailing as true a slander of the most improbable kind, and which, if he did not know, he might easily have ascertained to be false.[3]

From the frequent occasion that we shall have in the sequel to speak of Patrick Adamson, it is necessary to give a short account of his conduct at this period. He was minister of Paisley when the questions respecting the government of the church began to be publicly agitated, and professed a hearty concurrence with the views of Melville, whose society he courted. The latter, however, always suspected his sincerity,

[1] After mentioning the friendship between his father and John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, he proceeds to speak of Melville: "Die quadam hunc ipsum in finem convenissem, ut ejus de Patre meo sententiam percontarer, quem is inter omnes tum viventes optime perspectum habebat, quippe a quo olim ipse, Geneva rediens, obviis ulnis exceptus fuerat, et Academiæ Glasguensis prefectura meritissime donatus, in quo per annos aliquot substitit, *cum Patre meo sanctissimam colens amicitiam*, post cujus demum e vivis excessum in Academiam Andreanam translatus est: Respondit, ex voto meo, et rei ipsius veritate, pectus illud candidissimum, illius integritate virtutique luculentum perhibens testimonium lubentissime." Roberti Bodii a Trochoregia Philotheca: Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Boyd, pp. 3, 4. MSS. vol. iv. Bibl. Coll. Glas. The account which James Melville has given of the archbishop, and of his uncle's uninterrupted intimacy with him, exactly accords with the above. Diary, p. 39.

[2] It appears from his graduation that Spotswood attended the university of Glasgow at the period referred to; and Melville, in speaking of him in his letters to his nephew, mentions him by the designation "*your* scholar." Melv. Epist. 29.

[3] Hist. p. 403.

or at least his steadiness, and remarked to his confidential friends, that Adamson, as well as Cunninghame,[1] was too courtly to remain attached to the cause.[2] In the course of the year 1575, he left his charge at Paisley and became chaplain to the regent, in the expectation, and indeed with the assurance, that he would obtain preferment in the church as soon as a fit opportunity presented itself.[3] The see of St Andrews was at that time vacant, but it was necessary to proceed with caution in filling it, as the church had declared against the corruptions of the episcopal function. In October 1576, the General Assembly was informed that Adamson was presented to that bishopric, upon which occasion he came forward and declared that he did not intend to make use of his presentation.[4] But before the next meeting of Assembly he had procured his election, and was admitted Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of all Scotland. The craft with which he accomplished his ambitious views excited the indignation of his brethren and the raillery of the courtiers. He had a favourite phrase, which he often used in his sermons, *The prophet would mean here.* When the fact of his being made primate first transpired, Montgomery, the court poet, exclaimed, "For as often as I have been told what *the prophet would mean*, I never knew what he really meant till now."[5] After much shifting and tergiversation, which we cannot here stop to relate, Adamson submitted to the determinations of the General Assembly, and subscribed to all the leading articles in the Book of Discipline concerning episcopacy and ecclesiastical government; but it was too apparent from the whole of his conduct that his professions were illusory and hypocritical.[6] Cunninghame, who succeeded him as chaplain to the regent, was soon after advanced to the bishopric of Aberdeen.[7]

[1] See above, p. 62.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 43, 45.

[3] "Ane letter maid to Maister Patrick Adamsone, minister of Goddis word in ye lord Regentis house, of ane gift of an zeirlie pensioun of ye sowme of thre hundreth pundis money of yis realme a furtt of ye superplus of benefices and ye thriddis thairof not assignit to the sustentatioun of vtheris ministeris during all the dayis of his lyfe, at leist ay and quhil he be provydit sufficientlie of benefice, pensioun fruth of benefice, or vtherways to the yeirlie rait and availl of ye said pensioun and sowme thairoff, &c. At Dalkeith, Jun. 15, 1575." Register of Privie Seal, vol. xlii. fol. 7.

[4] Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 66. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 494. "Nevertheless," says James Melville, "er the nixt assemblie he was seisit hard and fast on the bischoprik, wharby all gossoprie ged upe betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro." Diary, p. 46. Spotswood says, that Adamson answered, "that he was discharged by the Regent to accept the office otherwise than was appointed by mutual consent of the Church and Estate." Hist. p. 277. But he appears to have confounded the answers returned at two different times by Adamson. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 66, comp. p. 68. In the MS. copy of Spotswood's History, immediately after the above quotation, it is added, "in the bishoprick, wherein if it should please the King and Estates to make any reformation, he should consent with the first thereunto." Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Adamson, p. 15, MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. iv. This refers to the subsequent dealings of the church with Adamson; as to which James Melville says, "As he was wonderfull craftie he offerit to lay down all at the feit of the brethering, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the assemblie, whowsone the sam was throuche and at a point with the mater of the policie, and sa with fear promises drifted and pat off till he gat his tyme." Diary, p. 47.

[5] Melville's Diary, p. 46.

[6] Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 69, 90, 100. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 510, 565, 585, 636. Melville's Diary, p. 49. A great part of the procedure of the Assembly respecting the bishops is wanting in the records, in consequence of the leaves having been torn out by Arran and Adamson during their administration. Cald. ii. 540, 566, 630, 636.

[7] Melville's Diary, p. 46.

The same arts of corruption by which the court detached Adamson and Cunninghame from the cause of Presbytery, were tried on Melville. We have already seen the advances made and the prospects held out to him on the part of the regent at his arrival in Scotland.[1] Upon the death of Douglas, the archbishopric of St Andrews was intended for him, and it was not until all hopes of his complying with the court measures had failed that it was bestowed on Adamson.[2] He was next offered the rich benefice of Govan, on the condition of his desisting from opposition to the bishops. This offer he at once rejected; but as the parish lay in the vicinity of Glasgow, and could be served by the professors, he used all his influence to have the living annexed to the university. The regent kept it in his own hands for two years, giving out that the Principal, "by his new opinions and over-sea dreams," defrauded the college of this valuable addition to its slender revenues. Nor were there wanting some individuals connected with the university who murmured against him on this account, and wounded his feelings by reflections equally illiberal and unjust. But as his independence of mind had prompted him to reject personal favours, so his firmness and conscious integrity enabled him to disregard such unmerited imputations, and he continued steadily to pursue what he conceived to be the line of his duty.[3]

In October 1577, the regent sent a message to the General Assembly, informing them that the Protestants of Germany intended to hold a General Council at Magdeburg for establishing the Augsburg Confession, at which they wished deputies from the different Protestant countries to be present; desiring the Assembly to name such individuals as they judged most proper for that employment, and promising that he would defray the expenses of their journey. The Assembly nominated eight of their number, and left it to the regent to select from them such as he thought most fit for the embassy. He accordingly fixed on Melville, Arbuthnot, and George Hay.[4] But whether he grudged the expenses which would have been incurred, or had from the first intended merely to pay a compliment to the church and the individuals selected, it is certain that Morton, although urged by the Assembly, took no farther step in that affair.[5]

When he saw that Melville could not be bribed or flattered, the regent next attempted to overawe him by authority, and to work on his fears by threatening to proceed against him for treason. While the Assembly were taking some measures that were disagreeable to him, he one day sent for Melville to his chamber. After discoursing for some time on the importance of preserving the peace of the church and kingdom, he began to complain that the public tranquillity was in danger from certain persons, who sought to introduce their own private conceits

[1] See above, p. 27.
[2] Melville's Diary, 38.
[3] Ibid., 43, 44.
[4] The other individuals named by the Assembly, and who on this account may be considered as the ablest among the ministers, were Adamson, Cunninghame, Pont, Christison, and David Lindsay.
[5] Buik of Univ. Kirk, 72. Diary, 46.

and foreign laws on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville explained, by telling his grace, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said, that the General Assembly was a convocation of the king's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet without his allowance. To this Melville answered that, if it were so, then Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convocated hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and yet they were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cæsar. Having appealed in proof of this assertion to the Acts of the Apostles, the regent replied scornfully, "Read ye ever such an *Act* as we did at St Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the queen-regent at Perth in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you." He added, "that in a great crisis the conduct of men was not to be rigidly scanned by common rules, and actions which, in other circumstances, would be highly censurable, may be excused and even approved; as our Saviour virtually justified those who introduced to him a palsied invalid by the roof of a house, without waiting the permission of the proprietor. At that time the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and all men pressed into it, without asking the leave of prince or emperor." The regent, biting the head of his staff, exclaimed in a tone of half-suppressed indignation, which few who were acquainted with his manner and temper could hear without alarm, "There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the country." "Tush, sir," replied Melville, "threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared,[1] at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth."[2]

The wisest of men are apt to become intoxicated with power. Morton possessed great political sagacity, yet he overlooked the critical situation in which he stood as intrusted with delegated and temporary authority. The nobles envied his greatness, and were irritated by the severe impartiality with which he repressed their turbulence; the commons felt oppressed by the monopolies in trade which he had granted in order to avoid the necessity of having recourse to direct taxation; his austere and supercilious treatment of the ministers of the church cooled their attachment to his administration; and he had neglected to secure

[1] Expended.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 52. Referring to Morton's threats against him, his nephew says—"Manic siclyk hes he hard, and far ma reported in mair ferfull form, bot for all never jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceiding tharin." Ibid.

the fidelity of those who were placed about the person of the young king. In these circumstances, a party of discontented nobles, having gained access to the prince, persuaded him, although only in the twelfth year of his age, to assume the government; and so strongly did public opinion incline to the change, that Morton judged it prudent to give way to it, and formally resigned the regency.[1] It was not long till the new counsellors became unpopular; and Morton, taking advantage of this sudden turn of public feeling, reappeared at court, and, without the invidious title of regent, regained his former influence. But after what had happened, it could not be stable or permanent, and his adversaries, by insinuating themselves into the royal favour, undermined his authority and precipitated his fall.

These revolutions in the political administration of the kingdom were so far favourable to the church. Had Morton's authority remained undisturbed, or had the adverse faction not felt the necessity of strengthening themselves against him, it is not improbable that force would have been employed to stop those ecclesiastical proceedings to which both parties were equally averse. The king, by the advice of his counsellors, returned a very gracious answer to the General Assembly, when they presented the Book of Discipline to him upon his assumption of the government; and at a conference held at Edinburgh between commissioners from the privy council and the church, all the heads of that book were agreed to, with the exception of four which were subsequently explained by the Assembly.[2] But when laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, its ratification was evaded, and a committee appointed to re-examine it, by whose proceedings the whole subject was thrown loose, and points formerly conceded were again brought into debate.[3] The reconciliation of the two political parties was chiefly effected by the influence of the church, which was treated as mediators have often been;[4] and the General Assembly soon after received a letter from the king, couched in language very different from the reply which he had at first returned to their deputies.[4]

In the midst of these changes of men and measures the country suffered a severe loss by the death of the Chancellor Glammis, who was casually slain in one of those affrays which were then so frequent among the retainers of the nobility. He was a nobleman of great wisdom and integrity, a patron of learning, and a sincere friend to the

[1] He resigned the regency on the 6th of March 157⅞; "*he being wearie of ye burding thairof*, and be his earnest cair and travell takin thairin. As also be ressoun of his great age, being now past threscoir ane zeiris. And yrwith being in his persoun sciklie and vnhabill," &c. Record of Privy Seal, vol. 45, fol. 56. In Sept. 11, 1578, he obtained a license to seek "in foreign countries" a remedy for his "infirmities and diseases." Ib. fol. 79.

[2] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, pp. 76, 77. Melville's Diary, p. 49. The minutes of the conference which was held at Edinburgh, June 23, 1578, were torn out of the register of the General Assembly. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 539—541.

[3] Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 545, 546. The whole proceedings of this committee, which met at Stirling, Dec. 22—29, 1578, are inserted Cald. *ut supra*, p. 569—577. In Spotswood's History, p. 289—301, their opinion of the several propositions in the Book of Discipline is printed on the margin, but inaccurately in several instances.

[4] Cald. ii. 549.

[5] Ibid. p. 579. Spotswood, 308.

reformed religion.[1] With the view of bringing the disputes on church government to an amicable adjustment, he had carried on an epistolary correspondence with Beza, who composed a short treatise in answer to the queries which the chancellor proposed to him on that subject. These queries form a very important document. They show that the opposers of the presbyterian polity did not merely object to some of the distinguishing features and subordinate parts of the system, but that they were in reality averse to the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the church, and aimed at subjecting the freedom of her assemblies, and the validity of her sentences, to the arbitrary will and determination of the court. Beza proved himself a true friend to the Church of Scotland on this occasion. His judgment on all the questions submitted to him was decidedly in favour of the principles laid down in the Book of Discipline; and as his treatise was printed and soon after translated into English, the authority of his name and the force of his arguments had great influence on the public mind.[2]

"During these contentions in the state," says Spotswood, "Mr Andrew Melvil held the church busied with the matter of policy." The letters which he wrote about this time certainly show that he was neither idle nor indifferent in this business. In a letter addressed to John Row he expresses great anxiety to learn the particulars of the conference, or "archiepiscopal skirmishing," as he calls it, at Stirling.[3] In another letter, addressed to Alexander Arbuthnot, he adverts, in his lively manner, to the continual bustle in which he and his brethren had been kept by attending to this affair. "What shall I say on the subject of the ecclesiastical discipline, in which we have laboured so sedulously but with so little success? Shall I tell you what we have done during this and the preceding year, when called sometimes to Stirling and sometimes to Edinburgh, now by letters from the King and then by letters from the Council, at one time by an order from the Estates, and at another by appointment of the Assemblies of the church? Shall I write of our doings in August last, during the whole of October, and in the course of the present month?"[4] To his friend Beza[5] he gives a more precise account of the sentiments of their opponents, and the true causes which hindered the establishment of the discipline. "Those who have grown rich by sacrilege, and loaded themselves with the spoils of Christ, deny that ecclesiastical discipline is to be derived from the word of God, and to be executed by the interpreters of Scripture. They wish to have it moulded entirely according to the dictates of human reason, and transferred to the cognisance of the civil magistrate. They insist that the work of framing an ecclesiastical polity shall be committed to wrangling lawyers, and to persons that are illiterate, or at least unskilled

[1] The following epitaph was composed by Melville on the Chancellor, whose name was *Lyon*:—

Tu, Leo magne, jaces inglorius: ergo manebunt
Qualia fata canes? qualia fata sues?

—Melville's Diary, p. 47.

[2] See Note T.

[3] 15 Cal. Feb. 1578. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9.

[4] 4 Sept. 1579. MS. *ut supra.*

[5] Melville received letters from Beza about this time, though I have not met with any of them. Diary, p. 42.

in divine things. And merely because they belong to the church, they maintain that such persons have authority and power, not only to give their approbation to what has been rightly done by presbyteries constituted according to the word of God, but also to sit themselves as judges in sacred causes, and to rescind at their pleasure the sentences and constitutions of the doctors and pastors." In another letter to the same individual he says, "We have now for five years maintained a warfare against pseudo-episcopacy, and have not ceased to urge the adoption of a strict discipline. We have presented to his Majesty, and the three Estates of the kingdom, at different times, and recently to the Parliament which is now sitting, a form of discipline to be enacted and confirmed by public authority. The king is favourably inclined to us; almost all the nobility are averse. They complain that, if pseudo-episcopacy be abolished, the state of the kingdom will be overturned; if presbyteries be established, the royal authority will be diminished; if the ecclesiastical goods are restored to their legitimate use, the royal treasury will be exhausted. They plead that bishops, with abbots and priors, form the third estate in parliament; that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, pertains solely to the king and his council, and that the whole of the ecclesiastical property should go into the exchequer. In many this way of speaking and thinking may be traced to ignorance; in more to a flagitious life and bad morals; in almost all to a desire of seizing such of the church property as yet remains, and the dread of losing what they have already got into their possession. They also insist that the sentence of excommunication shall not be held valid until it has been approved by the king's council, after taking cognisance of the cause; for, being conscious of their own vices, they are afraid of the sentence of the presbytery, not so much from the awe in which they stand of the divine judgment, as from terror of the civil penalties, which, according to the laws and custom of our country, accompany the sentence of excommunication. In fine, while they judge according to the dictates of the carnal mind instead of the revealed will of God, they desire to have everything done by the authority of a single bishop and perpetual overseer of the churches, rather than by the common sentence of presbyters possessing equal authority. May God show mercy to his church, and remove these evils."[1]

From the manner in which Melville mentions the civil penalties that accompanied excommunication, it is evident that he did not look upon them as forming any part of the ecclesiastical discipline, or even as a necessary appendage to it. The laws enacting them were allowed to remain in force at the time of the Reformation, and they afforded the most plausible pretext for the control which the court claimed over the sentences of the church. It was, however, only a pretext; for the government suspended the execution of these laws whenever they pleased, and the legislature had it in their power at any time to abro-

[1] A. M. Th. Bezæ, Cal. Octob. 1578; and Id. Novemb. 1579. MS. *ut supra*.

gate them entirely. Some of the ministers would have been pleased with their abrogation.[1] Such of them as wished for their continuance were chiefly influenced by two reasons: first, the government was extremely remiss and partial in proceeding against certain vices and crimes which merited civil punishment, and of which the church courts took regular cognisance as scandals; and, secondly, they reckoned the penal laws necessary as a protection against the attempts of the papists, whom the court was too frequently disposed to favour. There can be no doubt that they were one means of saving the country from the popish conspiracies about the time of the Spanish Armada; but still they were radically wrong, capable of being made an engine of the grossest persecution, and consequently were wisely and happily abolished at a subsequent period.

Amidst these important occupations, the General Assembly found leisure to attend to the interests of learning. In March 1575, they enacted that no person unacquainted with the Latin language, should afterwards be admitted to the ministry, unless he was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of natural gifts and of piety. At their subsequent meeting they petitioned the regent in behalf of schools and colleges, and requested him to make provision for such young men of talents as the church should think proper to send to foreign universities to complete their education. Being informed by Melville that a learned printer, who had been obliged to leave France for the sake of religion, was willing to settle in Scotland, and promised to procure a regular supply of all books printed in France and Germany, they warmly recommended it to the regent to grant him the pension which he demanded. It is probable that the individual referred to was Andrew Wechel, whose establishment in this country would have been highly favourable to its literature. There is reason to think that the parsimony of Morton defeated the enlightened plan of the Assembly. Some years after we find them applying to the king to procure Vaultrollier, another printer, who accordingly came and remained for a short time in the country. It was also under their patronage and special direction that the first edition of the Bible printed in Scotland was undertaken, and made its appearance in the year 1579.[2]

Another important object which engaged the Assembly's attention at this time was the reformation and new-modelling of the universities. Melville had contemplated this measure ever since his settlement at Glasgow. In the year 1575, he had a meeting with Alexander Arbuthnot, the learned and amiable Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, at which they agreed on a new constitution for the seminaries over which they respectively presided.[3] But he was still more impressed with the

[1] Calderwood, Altare Damasc. p. 312—13, edit. 2.

[2] See Note U.

[3] "Efter the Assemblie we past to Anguss in companie wt Mr Alexr. Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdome, godliness and sweitnes of nature, then principall of the college of Aberdin, whomwith Mr Andro communicat anent ye ordor of his college in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit as yrefter was sett down in the new reformation of the said College of Glasgow and Aberdein. Melville's Diary, p. 43.

importance of improving the university of St Andrews, which surpassed the other two in revenue and in the number of students. The most eligible plan for attaining this object formed the topic of serious inquiry in consultations held between him and Thomas Smeton, minister of Paisley.[1] Melville used all his influence with the leading persons in church and state to accomplish this favourite design; and he had at length the satisfaction to see the new constitution of the university of St Andrews approved of by the General Assembly and ratified by Parliament. A more particular account of it will be afterwards given: at present I shall merely advert to one part of the plan. St Mary's or the New College was converted entirely into a school of divinity, in which provision was made for a complete course of theological instruction. Five professorships were instituted in it; one for oriental languages, three for the critical interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. and one for systematic theology.[2]

There was but one opinion as to the person who was best qualified for being placed at the head of the new theological college. In October 1580, the king directed a letter to the General Assembly, requesting them to concur with him in translating Melville to St Andrews, and appointing Smeton to fill his place at Glasgow. Considerable opposition was at first made to this proposal. The translation of Melville was warmly opposed by the university of Glasgow. He was himself averse to leave a seminary which had flourished so greatly under his care, and to disoblige its patrons, who had treated him with the utmost kindness, and were willing to do everything in their power to make his situation more easy and comfortable. Nor could he be altogether indifferent to the difficulties which he might expect to meet with at St Andrews.[3] Smeton's appointment to be his successor was also opposed by several members, who scrupled at the idea of taking a minister from a congregation and appointing him to exercise the doctoral instead of the pastoral office. The Assembly first resolved, that they might concur with his majesty in translating teachers of divinity from one university to another. At a subsequent session they agreed, that it was lawful in certain circumstances to require a pastor to desist from his office, at least for a time, and to devote himself to the teaching of divinity. Upon this the Assembly, "for the weal and universal profit of the church of God within this realm," ordained that, agreeably to the king's letter, Melville should be translated to the new college of St Andrews, and that Smeton should succeed to his present situation. From this deed, Andrew Hay, as rector of the university of Glasgow, dissented, as he had done at the previous stages of procedure in this affair. His dissent was dictated by zeal for the prosperity of the institution which he governed, and by attachment to Melville, and did not argue the slightest disrespect to the individual appointed to succeed him.[4]

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 58.
[2] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 178—182.
[3] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70.
[4] Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 99—101. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 637, 640, 643.

Legal measures were immediately taken to secure a compliance with this decision, and Melville prepared to remove from Glasgow. This he did with less reluctance, as he devolved his charge upon his most intimate friend, of whose learning and sound principles he entertained the highest opinion. Having formally resigned his office,[1] he left Glasgow, in the end of November 1580, "with infinite tears on both sides;" those individuals who had at first disliked and opposed him being among the most forward to testify their regret at his departure.[2]

Melville was at this time deprived of a highly respected friend, and the church of a valuable pastor, by the death of John Row, who had officiated as minister of Perth since the establishment of the Reformation. Row is entitled to notice as one of the revivers of the literature, as well as a reformer of the religion, of his native country. His literary attainments were very considerable for the time at which he received his education; and they were combined with much piety, candour, disinterestedness, and courage, in the cause of truth.[3] He departed this life a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly which decided on Melville's translation to St Andrews;[4] and the town of Perth instantly petitioned to have his room filled by Smeton, a circumstance which increased the opposition made in the Assembly to the settlement of the latter in the university of Glasgow.

[1] Smeton's appointment to be Principal passed the privy seal on the 3d of January 158$\frac{9}{0}$. "Ane letter maid Makand mentioun that our Soverane Lord vnderstanding that the place of the principal maister within the College of Glasgow now vaikis be the transporting of maister Andro Mailuile principall thairof for the tyme to the new college of Sanctandrois and that necessar it is to haif ane Idoneus and qualifiit persoun electit in that place and office that wilbe able to discharge his cure & dewtie thairin in tyme cuming. And his hienes being informit of the literature and qualificatioun within the College of his louit clerk Mr Thomas Smetoun for using of the office of principall maister within the college foirsaid. Thairfor hes nominat and presentit him to the place and office foirsaid with all privileges and dewties pertening thairto. At Halyrudhous, Jan. 3, 1580." Register of Privy Seal, vol. xlvii. fol. 61.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 64.

[3] Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257. Melville's Diary, p. 64. Spotswood, Hist. 311. Life of John Knox, p. 170—172.

It appears from the following article in the Inventory of goods belonging to Thomas Bassenden, printer in Edinburgh, that Row was an author: "Item, ane Mr Johne Rowes signes of y^{e} sacram$^{\bar{e}}$tes, price, xiid." Commissary Records of Edinburgh.

[4] Row died on the 16th of October 1580. Scott's Hist. of the Scottish Reformers, p. 194. And Extracts from Registers among Mr Scott's MSS. now in the Advocates' Library.

CHAPTER IV.

1580—1585.

In the month of December 1580, Melville went to St Andrews accompanied by Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, the Lairds of Braid and Lundie, and James Lawson and John Dury, ministers of Edinburgh, as commissioners from the Parliament and General Assembly.[1] Being formally installed as Principal of the New College, he pronounced his inaugural oration, and proceeded to give lectures on the system of theology.

He had obtained liberty to select from the university of Glasgow such as he thought best qualified for teaching the sacred languages under him; but, as he was averse to hurt that rising institution and to weaken the hands of his successor, he contented himself with taking along with him his nephew, James Melville, who, being admitted professor of the oriental tongues, began to give lessons on Hebrew. At the same time, John Robertson commenced teaching in the Greek New Testament. The talents and literature of Robertson were not of a superior order;[2] but, as he was unexceptionable in other respects, and had long been a regent in that college, it was not judged proper to displace him, and the principal exerted himself in supplying his deficiencies.[3] These were all the professors appointed at this time; the commissioners having resolved that the two other places should not be filled until those who held bursaries of philosophy in the college had finished their period of study.[4]

The ability with which Melville went through his first course of lectures at St Andrews is acknowledged by his greatest enemies. Of this the testimony of the biographer and son-in-law of Adamson may be regarded as a satisfactory proof. "To confess the truth," says he, "candidly and ingenuously, Melville was a learned man; though more qualified for ruling in the schools than in the church or commonwealth. Of his first course, extending to four or five years, I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one of his eager and constant hearers. He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages.

[1] According to Calderwood, the persons nominated by the General Assembly to attend him, were "the Lairds of Lundie, of Segy, and Colluthie, with Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lawson, and William Christieson." MS. Hist. vol. iii. p. 642.

[2] Dr Lee is of opinion that, if a judgment may be formed from the books on which his name still appears, Robertson was not devoid of taste for polite letters.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 65.

[4] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 181.

At the same time, he elucidated, with much erudition and accuracy, the heads of theology as laid down in the Institutions of John Calvin and other writings of approved divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments, and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion.[1]

His lectures excited a new interest in the university, and were attended by several of the masters in the other colleges, who were conscious of their deficiency in those branches of learning in which he excelled, and not ashamed to be taught after they had become the teachers of others. Among these was the amiable Robert Rollock, at that time a regent in St Salvator's College, and soon after chosen to be the first Professor and Principal in the newly erected university of Edinburgh.[2]

Notwithstanding these gratifying testimonies of approbation, Melville was not disappointed in his anticipation of the difficulties which he would meet with in his new situation. It was not to be expected that the extensive changes prescribed by the late act of parliament could be carried into effect without causing umbrage and dissatisfactions in the university. To introduce a reform into old corporations has always been found a difficult task; and self-interest has a powerful influence on learned bodies, as well as on those which are constituted for purposes of a more worldly nature. Some of the teachers were offended at losing their places, and others at finding their salaries reduced; the new regulations respecting the mode of teaching were alarming to the indolence of some, and revolting to the prejudices of others. All of them were disposed, however unreasonably, to impute their sufferings to Melville. Skene and Welwood, the professors of law and mathematics, had been removed from the New College to that of St Salvator. Their admission was opposed by the masters of the latter, who alleged that its funds were inadequate for such an additional burden, and that the new professorships were quite superfluous.[3]

Robert Hamilton, who had been deprived of the provostship of the New College, vented his chagrin by commencing a process against his successor for arrears which he alleged to be due him. Melville, when he accepted the office, had insisted that all accounts should be settled before he entered on its duties; and he not unreasonably looked to the

[1] Vita Patricii Adamsoni: Opera Tho. Voluseni J. C. p. 4. Lond. 1619. 12mo. Thomas Wilson, "in coll. novo," was made A.M. in 1577; but he probably remained in it after that period as a bursar or student of theology, for Mr Thomas Vilsonus is among those who subscribed the articles of religion "in Collegio Mariano," from 1580 to 1587. His name occurs in a list of advocates for the year 1585. Records of the Hospital of Perth.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 66.

[3] In a supplication to the Privy Councill, by the Chancellor, &c. of the university, against Mr William Welwood, professor of mathematics, dated 25th July 1583, the petitioners say, that Welwood "hes employed no diligence in that profession of mathematik this yeir,"—that the "college is superexpendit, and that the smallness of the rent is not able to susteane sik extraordinar professors,"—and they offer to prove "the said extraordinar professors to be superfluous and unprofitable in the universitie—becaus no ordinar auditour can be found to resort fruitfullie to the said extraordinar professouris." The presentation of Mr Robert Wilkie, to be chaplain of the altar of St John the Evangelist and Mary Magdelene, "ult. Mart. 1578," was subscribed before "Mag. Wmo Walwod tertio Magro Novi Collegii." Papers of the University.

parliamentary commissioners for relief from the trouble and expense of litigation. He found himself, however, involved in both. The death of Hamilton[1] suspended the process; but it was revived by the person who married his widow. This was Thomas Buchanan, master of the grammar-school of Stirling, who had lately been appointed provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, in the neighbourhood of St Andrews.[2] He was an intimate friend of Melville, who felt hurt at being harassed by an individual to whose sympathy and help he trusted when he undertook his present difficult charge.[3]

John Caldcleugh, one of the outed regents, was extremely noisy with his complaints, and boasted in all companies that he would "*hough* the new-made Principal," whenever he met him. He one day burst into Melville's chamber, and demanded rudely if he knew him. Melville said he did not. "I should be known as a master of this college: my name is Mr John Caldcleugh."—"Ho! is this you that will hough me?" replied Melville; and, barring the door, told him that they were now alone, and he had a fair opportunity of carrying his threats into execution. Caldcleugh's choler and courage immediately fell; upon which Melville gave him such a severe, and at the same time friendly lecture on the impropriety of his conduct, that he went away quite mortified and humbled, accepted of a bursary in the college, and lived in it quietly as a student until he was called to act as a professor.[4]

The discontents of the excluded masters were scarcely allayed, when a greater storm arose from the other colleges. In the course of his lectures on the system of theology, Melville took occasion, when treating of the Being and Attributes of God, Creation, and Providence, to expose the errors contained in the writings of Aristotle, and to show that they were inconsistent with the principles of both natural and

[1] He died April 16, 1581. Register of Commissary Decreets. Nov. 13. 1596.

[2] The Church of Kirkheuch, Kirkhill, or our Lady of the Rock, was situated beside the harbour of St Andrews. The parish of Ceres was attached to it, as a prebend or provision for the provost. "Jacobus Allerdeis" was "Præpositus Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in rupe prope civitatem S. Andreæ," before the Reformation. "Mr James Lermonth, provost of Kirkhill, besyde the citie of St And[s]." lets lands in parochin of Seres, Dec. 7, 1565; and Sept. 16, 1570. Commissary Records of St Andrews. "Mr Thomas Buchannaine" presented to "the prouestrie of Kirkhill," April 1, 1578, in the room of umqll Mr James Lermonth. Reg. of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 1.

[3] The dispute was finally settled, by allotting a glebe belonging to the college to Hamilton's relict during life. Melville's Diary, p. 91. "Elspet Traill ane of the dochteris and airis of umqll Jhone Traill younger of Magask my fader, and ane of the oyis and apperand airis of umqll Jhone Traill of Blebow my guds[r] with spetiall advys consent and assent of Mr Robert Hamiltown now my spous," &c. Commissary Record of St And. A° 1567. In a process before the magistrates of St Andrews, in which Thomas Buchanan and Elizabeth Traill his spouse were defenders, it was pleaded, that "Mr Thomas Buchquhanan is suppost of the universitie of St And[s] and ane actuall student of theologie, and y[r]bye the said cause should be remittit to the rector and his off[rs] (assessors) as only juges competent y[r]to, and the provest and baillies aucht to declair themselffis incompetent in the said caus." The pursuer pleaded that "the former allegiance aucht and sowld be repellit, in respect of his bill conceavit upon ane deid don betwix Helene Hunter, spouse to the said persewar, and the said Elizabeth Traill quha is na suppost of the universitie, and the said Mr Thomas onlie convenit for his enteris, qlk can na wayis stay this actioun, bot the bailleis in respect y[r]of aucht to proceed heiruntill." Burrow Court of St Andrews, Dec. 14, 1591.

[4] "I was in the chalmer abon (says James Melville) and hard all, and cam down at last to the ending of it." Diary, pp. 91, 92.

revealed religion. No sooner was this known, than the professors of philosophy raised an outcry against him, almost as violent as that of the craftsmen of Ephesus, when the apostle preached against idolatry, and from motives not essentially different from theirs.[1] They complained that their character was attacked, and their credit undermined: and that a philosopher, who had been held immemorially in veneration in all the schools of the world, was falsely accused and indecently traduced. So zealous were the members of St Leonard's College, that they delivered solemn orations in defence of Aristotle, containing invectives against the individual who had been so presumptuous as to condemn their oracle; by which means the minds of the students were inflamed, and Melville was exposed to personal danger.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, was Melville's motto, and the principle by which he was guided on all such occasions.[2] Disregarding the ignorant clamour and interested alarm which had been excited, he persisted in the course which he had taken; and when the subject was introduced in the public meetings of the university at vacations and promotions, he refuted the arguments of his opponents with such readiness, force of reasoning, and overpowering eloquence, as reduced them to silence. Before he had been two years at St Andrews, a favourable change was visible on the university. Many of those who had been most strongly prejudiced against *the new learning*, as they called it, were induced to apply to the acquisition of ancient languages. Instead of boasting perpetually of the authority of Aristotle, and quoting him ignorantly at second-hand, they perused his writings in the original; studied the arts for purposes of utility, and not for show and verbal contention; and, becoming real philosophers and theologians, acknowledged that they had undergone "a wonderful transportation out of darkness into light." Among these were John Malcolm and Andrew Duncan, then regents of St Leonard's, and afterwards ministers of Perth and Crail, who, from being among the keenest opponents, were converted into warm admirers and steady friends of Melville.[3]

From his academical labours, Melville was summoned to the defence of the liberties of the church, and the ecclesiastical polity which he had been so active in establishing. Soon after James had taken the reins of government into his own hands, Esme Stuart, Lord d'Aubigné, a cousin of his father's, arrived from France. He gave out that he came to pay a short visit to his royal relative, and to claim certain lands which had descended to him from his ancestors; but excuses were found for prolonging his stay, and it soon appeared that his journey had been

[1] "Thair breadwinner, thair honor, thair estimation, all was goan, giff Aristotle should be so owirharled in the heiring of thair scholars." Diary, p. 92.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 92. John Malcolm was the son of Andrew Malcolm, who in instrument of sasine to Monedy Roger, Oct. 29, 1577, is called "Providus vir Andreas Malcolme, pistor burgen. burgi de Perth." I have a copy of the History of Polybius (Basileæ 1549. Folio. Gr. & Lat.) which has the following inscription on the title-page in Melville's handwriting: "Andreas Melvinus me jure possidet, ex dono Joannis Malcolmi. Τῆς ἐν Θεῷ φιλίας οὐδὲν βεβαιοτερον."

undertaken with the view of advancing more serious and extensive designs. Since the coronation of James, all intercourse between the courts of Scotland and France had been broken off, and those who were successively intrusted with the regency had cultivated an exclusive connection with England. The present was deemed, by the king of France and house of Guise, a favourable opportunity for recovering their influence over the counsels of this country, and d'Aubigné was judged a fit instrument for accomplishing this object by insinuating himself into the favour of the young monarch. His prepossessing person and engaging manners made an easy conquest of the royal affections; and he quickly rose, through a gradation of honours, to be Duke of Lennox, and Lord High Chamberlain. Under his influence the court underwent a complete change, and was filled with persons who were addicted to popery, or who had uniformly opposed the king's authority, or whose private characters rendered them totally unworthy of access to the royal ear. Among these was Captain James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, and a man of the most profligate manners and unprincipled ambition. By these upstarts the design was undertaken of exchanging the friendship of England for that of France, and of associating the name of Queen Mary with that of her son in the government of the kingdom; a design which could not be carried into execution without overturning all that had been done during fourteen years, and exposing the national liberties and the Protestant establishment to the utmost peril.[1]

This change on the court could not fail to alarm the ministers of the church, who had received satisfactory information of the project that was on foot. Their fears were confirmed by the arrival of Jesuits and seminary priests from abroad, and by the open revolt of several persons of great influence at home, who had hitherto professed the Protestant faith. They accordingly warned their hearers of the danger which they apprehended, and pointed at the favourite as an emissary of the house of Guise and of Rome. Lennox, after holding a conference with some of the ministers, declared himself a convert to the Protestant doctrine, and publicly renounced the popish religion.[2] This recantation allayed the jealousy of the nation. But it was soon after revived and kindled into a flame by the interception of letters from Rome, granting a dispensation to the Roman Catholics to profess the Protestant tenets for a time, provided they preserved an inward attachment to the ancient faith, and embraced every opportunity of advancing it in secret.[3] This discovery was the immediate occasion of that memorable transaction, the swearing of the National Covenant. It was drawn up by John Craig, and consisted of an abjuration, in the most solemn and explicit terms, of the various articles of the popish system, and an engagement to adhere to and defend the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church

[1] See Note V.
[2] Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 96—99.
[3] Spotswood, p. 308. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 630, 631.

in Scotland. As the stability of the Protestant religion depended "upon the safety and good behaviour of the king's majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country," the covenanters pledged themselves farther, "under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm or without." This bond was sworn and subscribed by the King and his household, and afterwards, in consequence of an order of the Privy Council and an act of the General Assembly, by all ranks of persons through the kingdom; the ministers zealously promoting the subscription of it in their respective parishes.[1]

This solemn transaction had a powerful influence in riveting the attachment of the nation to the Protestant religion, but it did not prevent those who had engrossed the royal favour from prosecuting the designs which they had formed. The uncomplying spirit of Presbytery has always rendered it odious to despotical rulers. But, in addition to this feeling, Lennox and his associates were actuated by the desire of revenging the affronts which they thought had been put on them by the preachers, and of gratifying their rapacity by seizing on the ecclesiastical livings. They accordingly resolved on restoring Episcopacy, and filling the bishoprics with creatures of their own.

The death of Archbishop Boyd afforded them an opportunity of commencing their scheme. Though the regulations recognising Episcopacy, which were made at Leith in 1572, had been formally abrogated by the General Assembly, and abandoned and virtually annulled by the court,[2] yet were they now revived by an act of privy council.[3] The disposal of the see of Glasgow was given to Lennox, who offered it to different ministers, upon the condition of their making over to him its revenues and contenting themselves with an annual pension. The offer was at last accepted by Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, "a man vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred."[4] This

[1] The subscriptions to the National Covenant in the united parishes of Anstruther, Pittenweem, and Abercromby, amounted to 743; and are still preserved with the attestation of Mr William Clark, the minister, and two witnesses. Register of the Kirk-Session of Anstruther.

[2] In consequence of a supplication from the church—"The Lords of Secret Counsell thinkis meit and advyses the Kings Mātie to suspend his hienis handis on making any gift grant or promeis of the prelacies abone-written (Aberbrothock and Paisley) or any part yrof, qlk may hinder and prejudge the dissolution of the same according to the forme els intendit and thocht meit to be done. And ordainis this pnt act to be maide heirupone *ad futuram rei memoriam.*" Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1579. On the 9th of May 1581, "the King's Mātie with advys of the Lords of Secret Counsall," finding that the constitution of the ecclesiastical policy would not be permanent, "quhill the auncient boundis of the diocies be dissolved, quhair the parochines ar thick togidder and small to be vneitted, and quhair they are of over great and lairge boundis to be devydit, that thairefter presbiteries or eldership may be constitut," &c. appoints commissioners to attend to this business. Collection of Acts of Secret Council by Sir John Hay, Clerk Register.

[3] Record of Privy Council, Oct. 28, 1581.

[4] Dr Robertson.

"vile bargain,"[1] made at a time when the episcopal office stood condemned by the General Assembly, and tending directly to place the church at issue with the government, excited universal indignation. At the Assembly which met in October 1581, the affair was warmly taken up, and Montgomery put to the bar. The royal authority was interposed in his defence, and a message from his majesty signified, that he could not permit Montgomery to be prosecuted for accepting the bishopric, but that the Assembly might proceed against him for anything that was faulty in his life or doctrine. Upon this Melville stood forward as his accuser, and presented a libel against him, consisting of fifteen articles. Montgomery having withdrawn while the proof was taking, the Assembly remitted the process to the presbytery of Stirling, appointing them to report their decision on it to the provincial synod of Lothian, who were empowered to pronounce sentence against him, if found guilty, according to the laws of the church. And in the mean time, they prohibited him from leaving his ministry at Stirling and intruding into the bishopric of Glasgow. This injunction he disobeyed. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow were charged to elect him as their bishop; and upon their refusal, the privy council decided, that the bishopric had devolved into the hands of the king, and might be disposed of by his sole authority.[2] For entering on Montgomery's cause according to the appointment of the Assembly, the members of the synod of Lothian were summoned before the privy council. They appeared; and Pont, in their name, after protestation of their readiness to yield all lawful obedience, declined the judgment of the council, as incompetent, according to the laws of the country, to take cognisance of a cause which was purely ecclesiastical.[3] This was done amidst the menaces and taunts of Captain Stewart, now created Earl of Arran, who was exceedingly exasperated at seeing the king shed tears, while one of the ministers affectionately warned him to be on his guard against wicked counsellors.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly which met at St Andrews in April 1582. Upon their taking up Montgomery's cause, as referred to them by the presbytery of Stirling, the Master of Requests presented a letter from his Majesty, desiring the Assembly not to proceed against him for anything connected with the bishopric of Glasgow. Soon after a messenger-at-arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of Assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist entirely from the prosecution. After serious deliberation,

[1] So Spotswood, in respect of the simoniacal nature of the paction, designs it.

[2] "Bishoprick of Glasgow devolvit in the king's hands." Record of Privy Council, April 12, 1582. When the royal gift, bestowing the bishopric *pleno jure* was presented to the Lords of Session for confirmation, the king discharged them, by letter, from admitting the commissioners of the church as a party. But the Lords passed an interlocutor (May 25) sustaining their right to be heard. On this occasion the ministers had the support of all the advocates, except David Makgill, who was king's advocate and Montgomery's procurator. When the cause came to be called, the president was sent for to Dalkeith by the king, and a stop put to the process. Cald. iii. 109.

[3] "Dischairge proceiding contra Mr Ro. Montgomerie." Rec. of Privy Council, *die ut supra*.

they agreed to address a respectful letter to his majesty; resolved that it was their duty to proceed with the trial; summoned Montgomery, who appealed to the privy council; ratified the sentence of the presbytery of Stirling, suspending him from the exercise of the ministry; and, having found eight articles of the charge against him proved, declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication. The pronouncing of the sentence was prevented by the submission of the culprit, who appeared before the Assembly, withdrew his appeal, and solemnly promised to interfere no farther with the bishopric. Though gratified with this act of submission, the Assembly dreaded his tergiversation, and therefore gave instructions to the presbytery of Glasgow to watch his conduct, and, provided he violated his engagement, to convey information instantly to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorised to appoint one of their number to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. The event showed that these precautions were not unnecessary. Urged on by his own avarice, and by the importunities of Lennox, who was incensed at his designs being thwarted, the Assembly was scarcely broken up when Montgomery began to preach at court and revived his claims to the bishopric. The presbytery of Glasgow having met in consequence of this, he entered the house in which they were assembled, accompanied by the magistrates of the city and an armed force, and presented an order from the king to stop their procedure. Upon their refusal, the moderator, John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, was pulled out of the chair by the provost, and after being struck several times with great brutality, was conveyed to prison. For testifying their indignation at such conduct, the students of the university were dispersed by the guard, and several of them wounded. But, in spite of the confusion produced by this disgraceful intrusion, the presbytery continued sitting until they finished their deed, finding, that Montgomery had violated his promise and contravened the act of the General Assembly. This was transmitted to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed John Davidson, minister of Liberton, to excommunicate Montgomery. Davidson pronounced the sentence accordingly; and although the court threatened and stormed, it was intimated on the succeeding Sabbath from the pulpits of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and all the surrounding churches.[1]

Lennox and Arran were enraged beyond measure at this resolute behaviour of the church courts. A proclamation was issued by the privy council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery to be null and void. Such as refused him payment of the episcopal rents were ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Inverness.[2] The college of Glasgow was laid under a temporary interdict on account of the opposition made by its members to their new bishop. The ministers of

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 114. 117—123. Cald. MS vol. iii. pp. 68, 74—77, 83, 91—112. Melville's Diary, p. 95. Spotswood, pp. 316—320.

When informed that Davidson had ventured to preach in his own church on the Sabbath subsequent to the excommunication, Lennox exclaimed, *C'est un petit Diable!*

[2] Record of Privy Council, July 20, 1582.

Edinburgh, on account of their freedom in condemning the late measures of the court and pointing out the favourites as the guilty advisers of them, were repeatedly called before the council and insulted; and John Dury was banished from the capital and discharged from preaching.[1]

Melville preached the sermon[2] at the opening of a meeting of the General Assembly, extraordinarily convened at this critical juncture of affairs. He inveighed against those who had introduced the *bludie gullie*[3] (as he termed it) of absolute power into the country, and who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. The Pope, he said, was the first who united the ecclesiastical supremacy to the civil, which he had wrested from the emperor. Since the Reformation he had, with the view of suppressing the Gospel, delegated his absolute power to the emperor and the kings of Spain and France; and from France, where it had produced the horrors of St Bartholomew, it was brought into this country. He mentioned the design, then on foot, of resigning the king's authority into the hands of the queen, which had been devised eight years ago, when he was in France, and was expressed in prints containing the figure of a queen with a child kneeling at her feet and craving her blessing. And he named Bishops Beatoun and Lesley as the chief managers of that affair. "This will be called meddling with civil affairs," exclaimed he; "but these things tend to the wreck of religion, and therefore I rehearse them."[4]

This meeting being considered as a continuation of the preceding Assembly, Melville was appointed to retain the chair. The Assembly drew up a spirited remonstrance to the king and council, complaining of the late proceedings, and craving a redress of grievances. They complained that the authority of the church had been abrogated, her censures condemned and disannulled, and her ministers obstructed and shamefully abused in the discharge of their official duties; that his majesty had been persuaded by some of his counsellors to lay claim to a spiritual power, as if he could not be a complete king and head of the commonwealth unless he was also head of the church; and that the two jurisdictions, which God had divided, were thus confounded, benefices conferred by absolute authority, and unworthy persons intruded into the ministerial office to gratify the will of men and advance their worldly interest, to the great hurt of religion and in direct opposition to the standing laws of the land. These complaints were arranged under fourteen heads, and the Assembly concluded by "beseeching his Majesty most humbly, for the love of God who had placed his Grace on his royal throne, and had hitherto wondrously maintained and defended his authority," to redress their grievances, with "the advice of men that fear God and do tender his Grace's estate and quietness of this commonwealth." Melville was appointed, along with a number of other members, to go to Perth, where the king was then residing, and to present this remonstrance.

[1] Cald. iii. 103, 114.
[2] His text was 1 Tim. iv. 10.
[3] Bloody knife or sword.
[4] Cald. iii. 113, 114.

The favourites expressed high displeasure on hearing of this deputation, and the rumour ran that the commissioners would be massacred if they ventured to approach the court. When they reached Perth, Sir James Melville of Halhill waited on James Melville, and besought him to persuade his uncle not to appear, as Lennox and Arran were particularly incensed against him for the active part which he had taken in defeating their measures. When this advice was communicated to him, and his nephew began to urge him not to despise the friendly warning of their kinsman, Melville replied, "I am not afraid, thank God! nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ: come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed." Having next day obtained access to the king in council, he presented the remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran, looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE," replied Melville; and advancing to the table, he took the pen from the clerk and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Presumptuous and daring as Arran was, he felt awed and abashed for the moment; Lennox addressed the commissioners in a conciliatory tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. Well might they be surprised; for more than forty years elapsed after that period, before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity.[1]

In all these contendings, the ministers of the church had no countenance or support from the nobility. They acted solely upon their own convictions of duty, and were not animated by any assurances of protection from the rage of those whom they offended. There is no evidence of their having been concerned in the confederacy which subsequently produced a change in the administration of the country. But, on the other hand, it is evident that their resistance contributed greatly to check the career of the favourites, and roused the nation to assert their liberties, so ignominiously trampled on by unworthy minions and insolent strangers. Had they acted in as passive a manner as the nobility had hitherto done, a despotism might have been established in the country, which nothing short of a national convulsion could have overturned. The resistance which they made to the arbitrary measures of the court was perfectly defensible and legal. While they kept within the strict line of ecclesiastical business, their procedure was authorised by law. They were entitled to disregard the prohibitory mandates which were issued, and to hold them as forged, as surreptitiously obtained, or as illegally granted by corrupt courtiers, who attempted to

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 125—127. Melville's Diary, p. 96. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 123—129. Petrie, part iii. p. 431.

supersede the statutes of the realm and to stop the established course of justice. And they had a right to employ, in defence of their liberties, those censures which were competent to them, and which in this light had been solemnly sanctioned and repeatedly recognised by acts of the legislature. At the same time their resistance was tempered by a becoming respect for authority and a due regard to public peace. They supplicated, represented, remonstrated. No tumult was excited by them. And although pulpits were forced, and church courts violated, and ministers assaulted, they never attempted to raise the populace, nor, according to a practice common at that time, to arm their friends in their defence.

The haughtiness, rapacity, and arbitrary procedure of the favourites at length exhausted the patience of the nobles, who resolved to free themselves and their country from a disgraceful servitude. The course which they took to accomplish this was very different from the open and regular resistance maintained by the assemblies of the church. A combination having been secretly formed among the principal barons, they got possession of the king's person by surprise, and having compelled Lennox to leave the kingdom and Arran to confine himself to one of his own houses, took upon themselves the direction of public affairs. By this enterprise, known by the name of the *Raid of Ruthven*, the church was restored to her liberty, and enjoyed a temporary calm. Nothing can be a clearer proof of the haughtiness with which Lennox had used his power, and the dangerous influence which he was understood to possess over the royal mind, than the inexorable manner in which the confederated lords insisted on his quitting the country, contrasted with their conduct to Arran, whose personal character and private manners were incomparably more hateful and detested. If they were really actuated by any favour for the latter, or, which is the more probable supposition, if they imagined that the detestation felt at his vices would prevent him from ever regaining his former influence, they were soon undeceived, and smarted severely for their criminal partiality or impolitic forbearance.

While Melville was engaged in this contest in behalf of the liberties of the church, he found himself involved in the performance of extraordinary duty at St Andrews. On the abolition of Episcopacy, when the General Assembly required the bishops to undertake individually the charge of a particular congregation, Archbishop Adamson commenced preaching as colleague to Robert Hamilton, the minister of St Andrews. But, as the archbishop had frequently occasion to be absent, and did not always feel himself disposed, when he was at home, to appear in the pulpit, Melville was often prevailed on, at his request, to occupy his place. On the death of Hamilton, the kirk-session petitioned for his services regularly, and during the vacancy of the parish the public duties of the Sabbath were divided between him and his nephew, James Melville.[1] He was extremely anxious that they should

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 66.

fix on a person properly qualified for discharging the pastoral duties among them, and one who might be useful in that station to the university. His exertions in forwarding this object were not spontaneous on his part, but made at the express appointment of the General Assembly, and at the particular request of the kirk-session of St Andrews.[1] The individual first chosen was the celebrated Robert Pont. He had held the office of a ruling elder in that city for some time after the Reformation, but was at present minister of St Cuthbert's Church, and provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh.[2] In compliance with the invitation now given him, Pont came to St Andrews, and officiated as minister to the congregation for nearly twelve months, but, being unable to procure a stipend, left it with the consent of the General Assembly.[3] This occurrence, with the causes in which it originated, was the occasion of much uneasiness to Melville. The late minister of the town had, during the latter part of his life, grown remiss in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and allowed the ecclesiastical discipline to fall in a great measure into disuse. The consequence was, that many of the principal inhabitants had no desire to obtain an active and conscientious minister, and would have been much better pleased with a person of mean gifts, provided only he would allow them to live at peace, as they termed it, and not disturb them with reproofs from the pulpit, or with sessional prosecutions. The prior and pensioners of the abbey, availing themselves of this feeling, threw obstacles in the way of the settlement of a regular pastor, and, with the connivance of the magistrates of the city, retained the funds destined for his support in their own hands. Finding that their services were made an excuse for delaying the settlement, Melville and his nephew resolved to discontinue them. On being informed of this, the presbytery issued orders for the speedy filling up of the vacant charge. This injunction, with the reprimand with which it was accompanied, gave great offence ; and two of the bailies caused the precentor to read to the congregation a paper, drawn up in the name of the prior, and containing the most disrespectful reflections on the presbytery—for which they were brought before the General Assembly and enjoined to make public satisfaction.[4] Smeton and Arbuthnot, the principals of the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, were afterwards successively chosen ministers of St Andrews ; and so sensible were the

[1] Register of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, Dec. 6 and 20, 1581, and May 9, 1582. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

[2] Pont was a native of Culross, (David Buchanan, MS. De Script. Scot.) and was incorporated into St Leonard's College in the year 1554. Reg. Univ. "Mr Robert Pont" signs, among the elders, a deed of the session, March 20, 1560, and another May 14, 1561. Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews. I understand him to be the person called "Mr Robert Kynpont," who was one of the commissioners from St Andrews to the General Assembly 1560, and whom the Assembly declared qualified "for ministering and teaching." Keith, Hist. 498. "Maister Robert Pontt commissioner of the superintendentrie of Murray," was presented "to the personage and vicarage of the parish kirk of Birnie, in the diocie of Murray," Jan. 13, 1567. Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. f. 2. He was presented to "the vicarage of St Cuthbert's kirk, vaicand be the deceise of Wm Hairlaw," Dec. 29, 1578 Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xlv. f. 97. He was made provost of Trinity College, Jan. 27, 1571, and resigned that place, June 23, 1855. Reg. of Present., vols. i. and ii.

[3] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

[4] Ibid. ff. 132, b. 134, a.

General Assembly of the importance of having that town provided with an able and zealous pastor, that they agreed to their translation. But the king, influenced as was supposed by the prior, prohibited it in both instances, on the ground of its being injurious to the universities.[1] By these means, that extensive parish was kept vacant during upwards of three years.[2]

The services which Melville had performed gratuitously, though acceptable to the body of the people, exposed him to ill-will and abuse on the part of not a few. As long as he continued to preach, it was impossible for him to refrain from condemning the conduct of those who obstructed the settlement of the parish. The umbrage taken at this was increased by the plainness with which he rebuked the more flagrant vices which prevailed among the inhabitants and were overlooked by those in authority. Galled by his reproofs, the provost one day rose from his seat in the middle of the sermon, and left the church, muttering his dissatisfaction with the preacher. Placards were affixed to the gate of the New College, threatening to set fire to the Principal's lodging, to bastinade him, and to chase him out of the town. His friends became alarmed for his safety, but he remained unintimidated, and refused to give place to the violence of his adversaries. He summoned the provost before the presbytery for contempt of divine ordinances. He persevered in his public censures of vice. One of the placards was known, by the French and Italian phrases in it, to be the production of James Learmont younger of Balcomy. This Melville produced to the congregation, at the end of a sermon in which he had been uncommonly free and vehement, and described the author of it, who was sitting before him, as "a Frenchified, Italianized, joly gentleman, who had polluted many marriage-beds, and now boasted that he would pollute the church of God by bastinading his servants." He silenced his adversaries at this time, but they soon found an opportunity of revenging themselves for the freedoms which he had taken with them.[3]

During these transactions several distinguished men were removed by death. In the year 1582, John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St Andrews and superintendent of Fife, died at an advanced age.[4] Though inclined to the reformed sentiments at an early period, he retained his situation in the popish church until its overthrow. His timidity and temporising conduct were often blamed by the Protestants, and afforded a topic of invective against him to the Roman Catholics, when he at

[1] See Note W.

[2] Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 93.

[4] John Johnston, in his verses to the memory of Winram, says, that he died on the 28th September 1581. Life of John Knox, p. 465. But the true date appears from a decreet of the Lords of Session against the tenants of Portmoak, Nov. 24, 1582,—"The Priory of St Servan be within the Loch of Levin, otherwise called Portmoak—vacand be demission of the same be umqll Mr John Wynram, last Prior—and albeit it be of veritie that the said Mr John departit this mortal life upon the xviii of Sept^r last," &c. The Priory of Portmoak having been resigned by him, was given to the College of St Leonard's in 1580. Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 37.

last deserted their communion. He appears to have been a man of mild dispositions, considerable learning, and great influence.[1]

In the same year the country was deprived of its greatest literary ornament by the death of Buchanan. The splendour of his talents is universally acknowledged, and his political sentiments and moral character have found able advocates. But he deserves also to live in the memory of his countrymen as a sincere and zealous friend to the principles of the Reformation. He had not concealed his partiality to this cause when he was abroad,[2] and after his return to his native country he gave it his uniform and most decided support.[3] The sincerity of his religious profession was proved by the consistency with which it was maintained, and by the correctness of his moral conduct. In courts and in the palaces of the great, he preserved that independence of mind and simplicity of manners which showed him to be a philosopher as well as a scholar. Tyranny, in all the forms which it assumed, and with all the vices of which it was the offspring or the parent, uniformly found in him a determined and powerful foe. Like most men of genius, he possessed a lively vein of wit, exerting itself sometimes in the keenest satire, but more frequently in the sallies of sportive humour and good-natured raillery, which he delighted to indulge in with his friends even to the latest period of his life.[4] Melville appears to have enjoyed a large share of his confidence; and the last interview between them presents us with some of the most interesting traits in the character of one of the most original writers that Scotland has produced.[5]

[1] Life of John Knox, pp. 15, 465. Nicol Burne's Disputation: Admonition to the Ministers.—In the Records of the university of St Andrews Winram is designed "Sacrarum literarum professor eximius." I was formerly disposed to suspect, that the Catechism which Bale ascribes to Winram, under the name of *Wouram* or *Wyrem*, was the same with Archbishop Hamilton's. Life of Knox, p. 348. But in a list of books belonging to the university of St Andrews, taken in the year 1599, I have since found the two following separate entries:

"Catechismus D. J. Winram Supprior.
Catechismus Jo. Hamilton Epi."

The superintendent was of the family of Rathow, and married Margaret Stewart, Lady Kinawdy, (relict of ——— Ayton of Kinawdy) who died March 1573. Act Buik of the Commissariot of St Andrews; May 1, and Oct. 18, 1574.

[2] Langueti Epistolæ, lib. ii. ep. 37.

[3] Dr Irving says, "The extravagances of John Knox have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves tasted the bitterness of persecution." Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 316, second edit. The doctor appears to have overlooked the fact, that some of the strongest measures to which he affixes the character of "intoleration" were approved by an Assembly of which Buchanan was not only a member but also the moderator. Buchanan's usual way is to pronounce his encomiums on individuals when he records their death, and his History does not reach the death of Knox.

[4] Perhaps the most genuine specimen which has been preserved of Buchanan's humour, is to be found in an original letter from him to Sir Thomas Randolph, published in the Appendix.

[5] "That September, in tyme of vacans, my vncle Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I, heiring yᵗ Mr George Buchanā was weak and his historie under the press, past ower to Edinr. annes earend to visit him and sic the wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chaire teatching his young man yᵗ servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb, &c. Efter salutation Mr Andro sayes, I sie, sir, yie ar not ydle. Better this, quoth he, nor steiling sheipe, or sitting ydle quhilk is als ill. Yrefter he shew ws the epistle dedicatorie to the king; the quhilk when Mr Andro had read, he tauld him yᵗ it was obscure in sum places and wanted certean words to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, I may do na mair for thinking on another mater. What is that? sayes Mr Andro. To die, quoth he; bot I leave yᵗ and manie ma things to you to helpe. He was telling him also of Blakwoods answer to his buik De Iure Regni. We went

In October 1583, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, departed this life.[1] He was followed, in the course of two months, by Thomas Smeton, Principal of the University of Glasgow.[2] I shall afterwards have occasion to speak of both in reviewing the literature of the period. Melville deplored their premature death in strains honourable to him as a friend and a patriot.[3] The removal of two men so much revered, and occupying such important stations, was universally bewailed as an irreparable loss, and, occurring at a critical period, was looked on as a prognostication of approaching calamities.

Notwithstanding what his majesty thought proper to profess to the commissioners of the church and to foreign ambassadors, it soon appeared that he cherished a rooted aversion to the Ruthven Lords. In the end of June 1583 he suddenly withdrew from them, and having shut himself up in the castle of St Andrews, issued a proclamation condemning the enterprise of Ruthven, and declaring, that since that period he had been kept in a state of restraint and captivity. At first he promised to pardon the offence which he had received, and to govern by the common advice of his nobility. But the mask of moderation was soon thrown off. Arran was again received at court, recovered his former influence, and renewed his tyrannical career with a fury increased by the recollection of his recent disgrace. This change portended a storm to the church, and it was not long before it burst on the heads of her principal ministers.

In the mean time, all those who were concerned in seizing the king's person at Ruthven were declared traitors, and having refused to deliver themselves up, were ordered to be pursued as fugitives from justice. After making some show of an intention to assemble in their own defence, the greater part escaped into England; but the Earl of Gowrie, lingering imprudently in Dundee, fell into the toils of Arran, and was

from him to the printers wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 buik of his Chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought very hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the haill work, anent the burial of Davie. Therfor steying the printer from proceiding we cam to Mr George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did. Even going the way of weilfare, sayes he. Mr Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his storie, yt the king wald be offendit wt it and it might stey all the wark. Tell me, man, sayes he, giff I have tauld the treuthe. Yis, sayes Mr Thomas, sir I think sa. I will byd his fead and all his kin's then, qthe; pray, pray to God for me, and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his Cronicle was endit yt maist lerned wyse and godlie man endit this mortal lyff." Melville's Diary, p. 90.

[1] He died, unmarried, on the 16th of October 1583, in the 45th year of his age. Cald. iii. 282. Spotswood, 335. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, ii. 372, 373. On the 15th of July, 1568, he received a presentation to "the personage and vicarage of Logy callit Logy-Buchane—ane of the comon kirks of the cathedral kirk of Aberdeen." His presentation to the office of Principal of the King's College is dated July 3, 1569. Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. ff. 14, 28. On the 25th July, 1569, he was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Arbuthnot callit ane prebendarie of the Kirk of Heuch of Sanctandrois, &c., Provyding he—administrat the sacramentis of Jesus Chryst. Or ellis travell in sum vther als necessar vocatioun to the utilitie of the kirk and approvit be the samyn," &c. Ib. f. 27. Dec. 3, 1583, Mr Robt Arbuthnett was presented to "the personage, &c. of Arbuthnet,—vaikand be deceis of vmqll Mr Alexr Arbuthnett." Ib. vol. ii. f. 93.

[2] He died on the 13th of December 1583, in the 47th year of his age Cald. iii. 299. Spotswood, 336. Smeton was married, (Melville's Diary, 53), and Thomas Smeton, made A.M. at Glasgow in 1604, was probably his son.

[3] Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 120, 121.

tried and beheaded. The cautious manner in which the ministers of the church had approved of the former conduct of these noblemen, and their peaceable conduct on the present occasion, prevented the court from taking any hasty measures against them as a body.[1] But Arran placed spies about the principal persons among them, with instructions to inform him if they uttered anything from the pulpit derogatory to his proceedings.[2]

Soon after the king had come to St Andrews, and before Arran was readmitted to his presence, Melville received a visit from Sir Robert Melville, one of the new courtiers. Sir Robert informed him that some of his ill-wishers had been busy in prepossessing the royal mind against him, and advised him, as a kinsman, to embrace the first opportunity of waiting on his majesty and clearing himself from calumny. Melville thanked his friend for this mark of kindness, but excused himself from complying with his advice. If his majesty wished his opinion on anything relating to the church or commonwealth, or if he required his attendance to explain or answer for any part of his conduct, he was ready, he said, to obey the royal commands with all humility and reverence. But he was certain that no man could justly charge him with having failed in the duty of a subject; and he would not take a step which implied a consciousness of guilt, and would make him an indirect accuser of himself to his sovereign.[3]

On Saturday the 15th of February 1584, Melville received a charge to appear before the privy council at Edinburgh on the Monday following, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which had been kept during the preceding month. Conscious of his innocence, he felt no hesitation on his own account in resolving at once to appear. His only concern was to know how he should conduct himself, so as not to prejudge the rights of the church and the liberty of the pulpit, which the court sought to infringe by its present mode of procedure. On this important point he had little time to deliberate, or to take the advice of his brethren. The university gave him an ample attestation, in which they declared their conviction that the accusation was false and calumnious; that they had been constant attendants on his public teaching, and had never heard

[1] The approbation which the General Assembly gave to the Raid of Ruthven, or rather to what was done in consequence of it, was very guarded. They consulted with his majesty before they took that step, and it required all James's king-craft to gloss over this fact, when it was afterwards appealed to by the English ambassador. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 128, b. 129. Cald. iii. 261.

In a petition presented by that Assembly are the following articles: "That his Maitie and Lords will wey quhat great inconvenients and absurdities falls furth vpon the act of counsell made concerning absolute power, and for removing y^r of to delate ye same nevir to be rememberit heirafter."—"That it will please your Ma. and Lo. to have pitie and compassion on y^t noble and godly man, James Hamilton, Erle of Arran, sometyme a noble and comfortable instrument in reforming ye kirk of God, and now visit be ye hand of God, and under pretense of law bereft." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 131, b. The Earl had laboured under mental derangement for many years. Captain Stewart was appointed tutor to him, and afterwards obtained his title and estates. It is much to the honour of the Assembly that they had presented a similar petition in behalf of that unfortunate nobleman during the administration of Lennox. Ibid. f. 98

[2] Wodrow's Life of Galloway, p. 6. MSS. vol. ii.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 10.

anything proceed from his mouth that was derogatory to his majesty's government; and that, whenever he had occasion to touch on that subject, in doctrine, in application, or in prayers, he had always spoken reverently of his majesty, and exhorted his hearers to yield obedience to him and to the meanest magistrate who possessed authority under him.[1] Similar testimonials were given him by the town-council, the kirk-session, and the presbytery of St Andrews.

When he appeared before the privy council, he, with the utmost readiness, gave an account of the sermon on which he was accused, for the satisfaction of his majesty and his counsellors. He had preached, he said, on the words with which Daniel reminded Belshazzar of the history of his father Nebuchadnezzar; and he deduced from them this general doctrine, "That it is the duty of ministers to apply examples of divine mercy and judgment in all ages, to kings, princes, and people; and that the nearer the persons are to us the more applicable is the example." On that part of his subject he had said, "But if, now a dayes, a minister should rehearse the example that fell out in king James the Third's dayes, who was abused by the flattery of his courtiers, he would be said to vaige[2] from his text, and perchance be accused of treason." He denied that he had said, as he was accused, "that our Nebuchadnezzar (meaning the king's mother), was twice seven years banished, and would be restored again;" and affirmed that such a thought never came into his mind. He solemnly protested that neither in that sermon, nor in any other, had he used the words falsely imputed to him, "The king is unlawfully promoted to the crown," nor any expression capable of being interpreted as conveying such a sentiment. Indeed, it was notorious, that the lawfulness of his majesty's authority had all along been strenuously maintained by the church; and he could appeal to all who had heard him, or with whom he had ever conversed, if he had not exerted himself to establish it in all his discourses and reasonings, both publicly and privately. What he had laid down, as founded upon his text, was, that whether kings are raised to their thrones by election, by succession, or by any other ordinary means, they owe their exaltation to God; and that, from the infirmity of human nature, they are extremely apt to forget this truth. Having confirmed the last part of this remark by a reference to the history of the good kings mentioned in Scripture, instead of making any application of it to the present time, he offered up a prayer (as he was accustomed to do whenever he spoke of his majesty), beseeching God of his grace not to suffer our king to forget the divine goodness displayed in raising him extraordinarily to the throne of this country, when he was a child in the cradle, his mother yet alive, and a great part of the nobility his enemies, and in preserving him since the burden of government was laid on his own shoulders. Melville concluded his statement by assuring the council that he had given, as nearly as he could recollect, the very words which

[1] See Note X.

[2] Wander.

he had spoken from the pulpit, and by entreating his majesty and their lordships not to listen to the misinformations of those who wrested his words from malice, or who were so grossly ignorant as not to be able to distinguish between an *extraordinary* and an *unlawful* calling. He at the same time produced the public attestations of his innocence which he had brought along with him.

Instead of resting satisfied with the explanation and testimonials, the council resolved to proceed with the trial, upon which he stated the following objections, in the form of requests. He requested, first, that as he was accused upon certain expressions alleged to have been used by him in preaching and prayer, his trial should be remitted, in the first instance, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement lately made between certain commissioners of the privy council and of the church. Secondly, that he should be tried at St Andrews, where the alleged offence was committed. Thirdly, that if his first request was not granted, he should at least enjoy the privilege of the university of which he was a member, by having his cause submitted, in the first instance, to the judgment of the rector and his assessors. Fourthly, that he should enjoy the benefit of the apostolical canon, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses." Fifthly, that he should have the benefit of a free subject by being made acquainted with his accuser, and that the individual who appeared in that character should, if the charge turned out to be false and calumnious, be liable to the punishment prescribed by the statutes against those who seek to alienate the king from his faithful subjects. In fine, he protested that if William Stewart[1] was the informer, he had just ground to except against him, both as an accuser and as a witness, inasmuch as he entertained a deadly malice against him, and had frequently threatened to do him bodily harm if it was in his power. When he had stated these objections, the council adjourned the farther consideration of the cause to the following day.

In the interval, Melville, after consulting with his brethren, drew up in the form of a protest the objections which he had stated verbally to the council. Next day commissioners from the presbytery and from the university of St Andrews attended; the former to protest for the liberty of the church, and the latter to re-pledge Melville to the court of the rector. But they were refused admission; and Melville, finding that the council were determined to proceed with the trial, gave in his protest.[2] The reading of this paper, though couched in the most temperate and respectful language, threw the king and Arran into so violent a rage that their threatenings disturbed the privy council, and spread

[1] Stewart was one of the pensioners of the Abbey of St Andrews, and had conceived hatred against Melville on account of his activity in procuring a minister for that town, (p. 87). His conduct on the present occasion procured him the common name of *the Accuser*.

[2] This protest, or declinature, as it is usually called, may be seen at large in the printed Calderwood, p. 144—146. Compare Hume of Godscroft, History of the House of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. p. 309—313

an alarm among those who were without, and anxiously waited the issue of the trial. Their violence roused Melville's spirit. He resolutely defended the step which he had taken, and told the counsellors, that as there was a constituted church in the country, they showed themselves too bold in passing by its teachers, and assuming a right to pronounce sentence on the doctrine and control the administrations of the servants of a King and council greater than themselves: "And that ye may see your rashness in taking upon you what ye neither can nor ought to do" (unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said), "*these* are my instructions: see if any of you can judge of them, or show that I have passed my injunctions." Arran took up the book, and perceiving it to be written in a strange language, handed it to the king, saying, "Sir, he scorns your majesty and the council." —"No, my lords," replied Melville, "I scorn not; but with all earnestness and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his church." He was several times removed, but not allowed to have any intercourse with his brethren. Entreaties and menaces were alternately used to induce him to withdraw his protest; but this he refused, unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. At last Stewart was brought forward as accuser, and the deposition of a number of witnesses taken. But although most of them were his known enemies, nothing could be extracted from their evidence that tended in the slightest degree to criminate him. Notwithstanding this, he was found guilty of declining the judgment of the council, and behaving irreverently before them; and was condemned to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at his majesty's pleasure.[1]

His friends were greatly perplexed as to the course which they should advise him to take. On the one hand, they were averse to deprive the church and university of his services by advising him to leave the kingdom, and they were not without hopes that they would be able to procure his liberation after a short imprisonment. On the other hand, a temporary intermission of his labours was not to be put in balance with the risk of his life; and the fury with which Arran conducted himself justified the strongest apprehensions. It was judged proper that he should keep himself concealed in the capital, while his nephew sounded the courtiers and tried to ascertain the treatment which he was likely to receive. From some of them, James Melville received favourable assurances, but those on whom he could place more dependence repeated the proverb of the house of Angus, "loose and living," and signified, that if his uncle surrendered his liberty he would come out of prison to the scaffold. This was corroborated by information that the place of his confinement was changed from the castle of Edinburgh to that of Blackness, a solitary and unwholesome dungeon kept by a creature of Arran's.[2]

[1] See Note Y.

[2] John Davidson, in his answer to Allain, says that several of the lords, when requested to subscribe the sentence as altered by Arran, refused, and said, that, to please his majesty, they had already yielded too far in agreeing to it in its original form. Cald. iii. 348.

As soon as he heard this circumstance, Melville decided upon the course which he would take, but without imparting his resolution to his brethren. He came from his concealment, and made as if he intended to obey the sentence of the privy council. He dined in Lawson's house with the ministers who were in town, and was the most cheerful person in the company; mingling more than his usual portion of hilarity with the graver conversation of the table, drinking the health of his captain, as he called the keeper of Blackness, and desiring his brethren to prepare to follow him. The macer being announced, he requested that he should be brought in; and received with all respect the charge to enter himself a prisoner within ten hours. A little after this he left the company, and being joined by his brother Roger, retired from Edinburgh, passed the night in the neighbourhood, and next day reached Berwick in safety—to the mortification of Arran, who had a company of horsemen prepared to conduct him to Blackness.[1]

The court incurred great odium by its severe treatment of Melville. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed for him in public, and the universal lament was, that the king, under the influence of evil counsel, had driven into exile the most learned man in the kingdom, and the ablest champion of religion and the liberties of the church. To counteract this impression the privy council issued a proclamation declaring that his exile was voluntary, and disclaiming any intention of using him rigorously.[2] Little credit was given to this representation, which was contradicted by an act of council made upon Melville's flight, and ordaining that such preachers as were accused should henceforth be apprehended without the formality of a legal charge.[3]

Had the affair which we have now related been a detached and isolated occurrence, it might have been passed over without inquiring narrowly, whether the issue to which it was brought was more owing to the imprudence of the person accused, or to the violent and arbitrary procedure of his judges. But it is only one of many cases which occurred, and involves the great question which was so keenly agitated between the court and the church during the whole of this reign. On this account, and to prevent future repetition, I shall here make a few observations on a subject which has been much misunderstood and misrepresented.

It is needless to contend about words. I shall therefore allow that the instrument which Melville gave in to the privy council on his trial was a material *declinature;* although he did not make use of that term, and, it is probable, avoided it intentionally, that he might not give unnecessary umbrage, or afford a handle to those who sought advantage against him and the cause which he maintained. But it would argue a very slender degree of acquaintance with the subject to infer from this

[1] Cald. iii. 304—314. Melville's Diary, p. 102—104. Spotswood, 330. Hume, Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 308. Hume says that Melville published his Apology, or the Declinature which he had given in to the privy council.

[2] A Declaration to sum reportis maid anent Mr Andro Meluile. Record of Privy Council, ult. Febr. 1583.

[3] Galloway's Apology for his Flight, in Wodrow's Life of Mr Patrick Galloway, p. 6. MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. ii.

circumstance, that he disowned the authority, or called in question the jurisdiction of the king and his council. The most that it could imply was, that the privy council was not the proper court for trying the accusation brought against him; and we shall afterwards show that it did not imply so much. Every lawful judicature is not entitled to judge in every cause, and a party has a right to take legal steps for having his cause brought before the competent judges. Even in that age, when the boundaries of the different jurisdictions were far from being accurately traced, it was not uncommon for persons to decline the judgment of the privy council, and to bring their cause before the Lords of Session.[1] They were not on that account thought to be guilty of treason, nor charged with impeaching the royal authority; and the assemblies of the church were judicatories acknowledged by law as much as any civil or criminal court in the country.

It is equally unreasonable to identify the plea advanced by Melville with the claim which the popish clergy made to immunity from the civil jurisdiction.[2] Not to mention that, in the latter case, the ultimate decision might be given by a foreign power in consequence of a reference or appeal to the court of Rome, the popish clergy claimed, and actually obtained, an exemption from civil jurisdiction as to all crimes, of whatever kind they might be, and on whatever occasion they might be committed—murders, adulteries, thefts, secret conspiracies, and open appearances in arms against the state. The plea of the presbyterian ministers was limited entirely to the exercise of their pastoral functions. To represent these claims as the same, is as absurd as it would be to confound the protection granted to worshipping assemblies by every civilised nation, with that privilege which formerly rendered religious houses and their consecrated appendages so many sanctuaries for all kinds of malefactors. Nor did presbyterians plead that the ecclesiastical courts were the *sole* judges of doctrine delivered from the pulpit, or that it belonged to them to judge of treason.[3] If they had done so, and if they had at the same time contended that the mere acquittal of a preacher by the church courts barred the civil magistrate from proceeding against him for the crime of sedition or treason, then I acknowledge that the charge brought against them would to a certain extent be well founded, and that their claims deserved to have been resisted and

[1] "T. Esteem ye that light for a subject to decline his prince's judgment? Z. Is that any new thing? Falls not that forth almost every day before the Secret Counsel? Declined not Mr John Cramound, within 20 days after Mr Andrew's dyet, the King and Counsel as judges competent for the exhibition of the heretrix of Badraville, and he was never quarraled as a declyner of the Kings M. authority. This is a form common enough before any judges." Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon. Cald. iii. 678.

[2] This has been done, in very unqualified terms, by Dr Robertson. History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 425.

[3] Dr Robertson represents Melville as contending that "the presbytery of which he was a member had *the sole right* to call him to account for words spoken in the pulpit;" and yet he allows, in the same sentence, that his plea amounted only to this, that "neither the King nor council could judge, *in the first instance*, of the doctrine delivered by preachers." If this plea had been admitted, he says, "the Protestant clergy would have become independent on the civil magistrate," and might have taught, "*without fear or control*, the most dangerous principles," &c. History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 425. London, 1809.

reprobated. But such was not the nature of their plea. All that they insisted for was, that when a minister was accused of having exceeded the proper bounds of his office, and of having taught from the pulpit what tended to the hurt of the state or the dishonour of magistrates, instead of being immediately dragged before a civil tribunal, the accusation against him should be brought, *in the first instance*, before those courts which had the direct oversight of his pastoral conduct. If they should find the accusation well founded, it was incumbent on them to censure him for a violation of his ministerial duty, and to leave him to the judgment of the proper court for the civil offence of which he had been guilty. Or if they, through the influence of undue partiality, should justify him erroneously, it was still competent for the civil magistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the church could neither supersede nor invalidate.[1]

Such was the full amount of the claim made by the church at this time, and if candidly examined it will be found neither so extravagant nor so unreasonable as has been alleged. When accused of uttering seditious or treasonable language from the pulpit, a preacher was charged with a double offence, which rendered him amenable to a double jurisdiction. He was amenable to the church for the transgression of his official duty, and to the state for violating his duty as a subject. The only question was as to the order in which the cause should come to be tried, and the tribunal before which he should be primarily called to appear. *Some* arrangement required to be made as to this; and where there was a constituted church, whose judicatories were recognised by the state, it seems, on several grounds, the most proper and expedient course that the individual accused should in the first instance be made accountable to them. Though a subject, it was when acting in the character of a public minister of the church that he incurred the charge brought against him. And he could not offend against the state, or against any individual, without first transgressing his duty as a preacher of the gospel. By this arrangement, the state might have been saved from much disagreeable and unnecessary business, either in the way of its appearing, from the investigation before the ecclesiastical courts, that the charge was completely groundless; or, if it turned out otherwise, in the way of their sentence leading to what might be justly regarded as a sufficient reparation of the offence and a prevention of its recurrence; in both which cases, the necessity of a legal prosecution would have been happily superseded. This arrange-

[1] "The question was not," says Principal Baillie, "Whether ministers be exempt from the magistrates' jurisdiction, nor, Whether the pulpit puts men in a liberty to teach treason without any civil cognisance and punishment. Since the Reformation of religion, no man in Scotland did ever assert such things. But the question was, as Spotswood himselfe states it, Whether the Counsell was a competent judge to Master Melville's doctrine *in prima instantia:* these were the expresse termes." Answer to the Declaration, p. 12, subjoined to Historical Vindication. Lond. 1646.

ment would also have had the effect of preventing ministers from being harassed by espionage on the part of the government, or by the malicious informations of individuals offended at their faithfulness in the reproof of sin or in the exercise of discipline. All these objects would have been gained, while at the same time the civil courts retained their authority entire and unimpaired. I need scarcely add, that the regulation in question was never intended to apply to extraordinary cases; and that no such immunity was pleaded as would have prevented the executive government from immediate procedure against any one who should be notoriously guilty of exciting sedition or treason by his preaching, or who should even be suspected of this in a time of public commotion or national alarm.

It may be alleged, that this arrangement would have produced collision between the two authorities. But how could this have been prevented altogether, in the supposed case, without abolishing the jurisdiction and discipline of the church? If it should be said, that the previous judgment of the ecclesiastical court would have imposed a certain kind of restraint on the proceedings of the civil, I grant that it would, indirectly. But then I maintain that this would have proved upon the whole a salutary check, and that its tendency would have been to discourage the court from indulging in arbitrary and vindictive prosecutions. What is it but the restraint of opinion on coercive authority—the great safeguard of the weak against the oppressions of the powerful? It is proper to guard against the license of the pulpit; but it is equally proper to provide against encroachments on its due liberty. This is an object of great importance, whether it be viewed in relation to the nature and immediate ends of the pastoral office, or to the indirect influence which it is calculated to have upon public opinion and the national weal. Those who speak in Heaven's name to men, and whose duty it is to declare the whole counsel of God—to inculcate the observance of the divine law in all its extent—to reprove irreligion and vice, injustice and oppression, wherever they appear and by whomsoever committed—to warn of approaching judgments and impending dangers—to call all to repentance and reformation of life—and to watch for souls as those who must give an account—are entitled to use, and ought to be protected in using, a more than ordinary liberty of speech. If they are fettered by injunctions, and awed by prosecutions and penalties—if they dare select no subject, advance no sentiment, employ no expression, but what is agreeable to men in power, and smoothed down so as not to grate the delicate ears of courtiers—if they are prohibited from applying the examples of Scripture, and improving the events of Providence, to the instruction and admonition of their hearers—and, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke, with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to the people of their charge. Is not this to chain them up like the animal employed to keep sentry when the family

are asleep, which alarms passengers by its noise, licks the hand that feeds it, and is let loose at its master's pleasure? Who would undertake such a degrading office, but hirelings, parasites, or dastardly, grovelling, and slavish souls? Nor is the conservation of this privilege (and why should not the pulpit have its privileges as well as the senate, the bench, the bar, or the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. The beneficial influence which religion exerts over the minds of an intelligent people, politically considered, depends in a high degree on the proof which its teachers give of their honesty and independence. This is the savour of their salt, without which they are good for nothing, and soon become worse than nothing, corrupting and being corrupted. Despotism has rarely been established in any nation without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors and the faithful and fearless monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt, or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical administration.

At the period of which we speak, the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was or could be expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed anything that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated and their decisions dictated by letters and messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on public affairs and the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the court. This is a fact which has been strangely overlooked by most modern writers, who, instead of presenting accurate and liberal views of the state of society at that period, have too often amused their readers by pointing sarcasms, or turning elegant periods, on the arrogant pretensions and dangerous encroachments of a presbyterian hierarchy.

The truth is, that the nation at large was interested in the question respecting the independence of the ecclesiastical courts; and every enlightened friend of justice and freedom at that time must have wished success to the struggle which the preachers were making in defence of their privileges. The powers of the privy council of Scotland appear to have been vague and undefined, their mode of procedure summary, and their decisions frequently of the most arbitrary, oppressive, and despotical kind. It would not be a difficult task, in my opinion, to extract from their records a series of proceedings, in which they not

only interfered with causes which properly belonged to the civil and criminal courts, but also decided them in a way contrary to the most essential principles of justice and the most explicit statutes of the realm. It will scarcely admit of a doubt, that, in the prosecution of Melville, the court had more in view than checking the liberties used by preachers, or resisting the alleged claim of church courts to judge in cases of treason. Their grand object was to render the authority of the sovereign absolute, by bringing every cause before the council-table for decision. A right had already been claimed on behalf of the privy council to judge in all causes of a civil nature, and the claim was afterwards confirmed by a slavish parliament.[1] But the royal power was regarded as limited and incomplete so long as ecclesiastical causes were exempted from its jurisdiction. The right which the church courts exercised of appointing their own diets, the freedom of discussion allowed in their meetings, and the jealousy with which they resisted every attempt to encroach on their rights, were disliked by the courtiers as tending to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and dreaded by them as holding out a temptation to the civil courts to lay claim to similar privileges. It was the suppression of these that was aimed at in the present prosecution and in the late affair of Montgomery.

On his trial, Melville pleaded not only the acts of parliament and privy council ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, but also an agreement which had been entered into with the view of avoiding dissension on this very subject. In consequence of the offence which was taken at the court's having imprisoned Dury for expressions used in the pulpit, a conference was held between commissioners of the privy council and certain ministers, who agreed that, in future, if the king was offended at the doctrine of any preacher, he should cause a complaint to be given in against him to the ecclesiastical court, instead of summoning him to appear before the privy council.[2] Accordingly this was done in the instance of Balcanquhal. Melville had, therefore, reason to complain that this agreement was violated in his case. It is a very insufficient and weak apology for such bad faith, that, in Balcanquhal's process, the General Assembly did not give the king

[1] In the cause, James Menzies *against* Earl of Atholl, before the privy council, April 3, 1576, it was pleaded by the defender that, by the institution of the College of Justice, all causes should be tried by them. It was answered by the pursuer, and "by Mr David Borthwick, advocate to his Mātie in his hienes name, that be act maid be King James the Third, it is declared that it shall be lesum to his Mātie or his successoures to decyde in whatsumever causes at yr pleasour notwithstanding ony priviledge granted to ony vther Juges." The lords of secret council found that they were "Juges competent." Lord Haddington's MS. Collections from Minutes of Secret Council, &c. The parliament 1584 ordained that the king's majesty, his heirs, &c. shall be "Juges cōpetent to all persons — *in all matteris* quhairin thay or ony of thame salbe apprehendit, summound or chargeit to ansuer to sic thingis as salbe inquirit of thame be our said souerane lord and his counsell." Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293.

[2] "In respect that at the last calling of Joⁿ Durie befor the privie counsell vpon ane compt of certaine words alledgit spokin in his sermon, ordour was takin be certaine comissioners of counsell and brether of the kirk, that in cace such accusationes afterward sould fall out, the kirk sould have the judgment yrof: And if the kings Ma. please to send any comissioners at tryall they sould see the proceidings of the kirk." Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 114, b.

satisfaction, and did "force him to take other courses than he desired to follow;"[1] as if the agreement had been that the Assembly should have the power to judge of the doctrine of preachers, provided they humoured his majesty by always condemning it.

Independently of these considerations, the proceedings against Melville were grossly unjust and illegal. His sentence rested not on the proof of the articles libelled, but entirely on the mode of his defence. Granting that the council had the fullest right to judge in the cause, and at first instance, and consequently that his requisition, protest, or declinature was invalid and inadmissible, all that remained for the court to do, was to repel his defences, to find itself competent, and to proceed with the trial. He was before them, and the only opposition which he made was by words and written instrument. Of the same complexion, and still worse, was the conduct of the council in introducing among the grounds of his sentence, his behaviour and the expressions used by him on his defence. Although these had been as offensive and disrespectful as they were alleged to be,[2] still it was in the highest degree unjust to convert them into matter of crimination and ground of punishment, in the absence and complete failure of all proof of the charge exhibited against him. Even in the case of those who are charged with the most flagrant crimes, great liberty is allowed to them, or to their counsel, to avail themselves of every legal plea, and to urge every plausible objection, whether it respects the competency of the judges, the relevancy of the libel, the character of the witnesses, or the mode of conducting the prosecution. And it is only where tyranny and blind passion have usurped the seat of justice, that the strong, and, it may be, intemperate language that has escaped a prisoner in the heat and agitation of his defence, is charged against him or recorded upon his conviction as even an aggravation of his crime. Such procedure, while it demonstrates the iniquity of the judges, affords a strong presumption of the innocence of the accused individual.

Melville's flight to England turned out to be of great advantage to his native country, by enabling him to discover and counteract the insidious schemes of Adamson. During the late changes the archbishop had acted with his usual craftiness and inconstancy. In the affair of Montgomery, he appeared to co-operate with the church, while, in reality, he was secretly encouraging the court to persevere in the support of Episcopacy. At the same time that he was giving the strongest assurances of his attachment to the presbyterian discipline,

[1] Spotsw. pp. 317, 318. Those who consult the expressions charged on Balcanquhal, as given by the archbishop, will probably be of opinion, that if there was anything offensive in them it lay in the preacher's playing on words in the pulpit. And surely his majesty, at least, had no right to be offended at a speaker's being acquitted for *punning* unseasonably.

[2] According to Spotswood's account, "He burst forth in undutiful speeches against the king, saying, *He perverted the laws both of God and man.*" Hist. p. 330. But this statement is refuted by the act of privy council, which makes no mention of a personal charge against the king, but merely says that he alleged, "that the laws of God and practices observed within this country, were perverted, and not observed in his case." Record of Privy Council, Feb. 17, 1583.

he was, as he afterwards confessed, plotting its overthrow.[1] The General Assembly appointed the presbytery of Glasgow to try certain charges brought against him; but Melville, who was empowered to summon him to appear, excused himself from executing the summons on account of the sickness under which the bishop laboured. No sooner, however, had the king withdrawn from the confederated lords than Adamson left his castle, to which he had confined himself for a whole year, appeared in the pulpit, and although he had himself approved of the enterprise at Ruthven,[2] inveighed against the nobility who were concerned in it and such of his brethren as had supported their administration. To avoid the prosecution pending against him he left the kingdom in the end of the year 1583, under the pretext of going to Spa for the recovery of his health. But he proceeded no farther than London, and having obtained a public commission, became an active agent for Arran, by endeavouring to prepossess the court of Elizabeth against the Scottish noblemen who had fled into England. He consulted with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London as to the overthrow of Presbytery in his native country. He represented the principles and conduct of his brethren in an odious light to the ministers of the French church in London, and wrote letters to the same purpose to the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Melville having obtained intelligence of this, lost no time in despatching letters to the foreign churches, in which he conveyed a very different account of the late proceedings in Scotland, and painted Adamson's conduct in no very favourable or flattering colours. As he was well known in the places to which he wrote, his representations were successful in defeating the scheme of the archbishop, who hoped to have drawn from the continental divines such replies as would be helpful to him in the execution of his plans.[3] The same success attended the letters which Melville sent from Berwick to the French church at London.[4] What-

[1] "Efter y^{t} generall assemblie in October [1581] Mr Patrik Adamsone aggreit to all the pointts of the buik of Polecie and concerning the office of a Bischope, and calling to dinner Mr Andro Meluill my uncle, Mr Alex^{r} Arbuthnot, and vthers diuers, he subscryvit y^{r}to, quhilk his subscription is yet in my uncles custodie. Item y^{t} wintar he past ower to a convention of the esteates, and efter he fand no^{t} curt as he luiked for he drest him to the ministers of Ed^{r}, shawing tham how that he cam ower to court w^{t} Balams hart of purpose to curse the kirk and do euill, bot God haid wrought sa w^{t} him, y^{t} he had turned his hart to the contrare and maid him bathe in reasoning and votting to stand for the kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruitts of his conversion and guid miening. Wharat Jhone Dury was sa reioysit y^{t} he treated him in hous and wrot ower at lainthe to me in his favour. Whervpon I past down to his castell at his hamcoming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the breithring of Ed^{r}, thanking God y^{r}for and offering him in caiss of continuance the right hand of societie, whereat reioysing he tauld me the maiter at lainthe, and namlie concerning the grait motiones and working of the spreit. Weill, said I, y^{t} spreit is an vpright halie and constant spreit, and will mair and mair kythe in effects; bot it is a fearful thing to lie against him." Melville's Diary, pp. 89—91, 95. The papers which Adamson subscribed at this time may be seen in the printed Calderwood, p. 93—96. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 350—364.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 326.

[3] Melvinus Pastoribus Genev. et Tigur. Wodrow MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. ccc. 2. 12, vol. xx. no. 17. Adamson's papers, and a translation of Melville's letter, are preserved in James Melville's Diary, p. 107—118. The answer from Geneva, addressed to the exiled lords, is inserted in Cald. iii. 735.

[4] Letter to Castol: Cotton MSS. Calig. C., ix. 59.

ever encouragement Adamson might receive from the bishops in England,[1] his embassy did not succeed at court, and his residence at London injured the cause which he was employed to promote. This was owing in no small degree to his private conduct; which was unbecoming the clerical character and disgraceful to the sovereign whom he represented.[2]

Upon Adamson's return to Scotland a parliament was held, by which Presbytery was overthrown, and the liberties of the church and nation laid at the feet of the king and of those by whom he was guided. To decline the judgment of his majesty or of the privy council in any matter was declared to be treason. Those were declared guilty of the same crime who should impugn or seek the diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates of parliament—by which all that the church had done for a series of years in the abolition of Episcopacy was pronounced treasonable. All judgments and jurisdictions, spiritual or temporal, which had hitherto been exercised, but which were not ratified by parliament, were discharged, and the subjects prohibited, under high pains, from convening in any assembly, except the ordinary courts, to treat, consult, or determine on any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and license of his majesty. This act was intended for the suppression of the General Assembly as well as of presbyteries; or rather, it put the whole government of the church into the hands of the king, without whose express consent no ecclesiastical assembly could be held.[3]

[1] Mr Beale, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, in a letter published by Strype, charges Archbishop Whitgift with speaking in a degrading style of the ministers of Scotland and of other reformed churches, and says that he was suspected of having given his approbation to Adamson's design of overturning the order of the Church of Scotland. Whitgift, in an apologetical letter, says, that he had not given his subscription to Adamson's plan, but does not deny having conferred with him on the subject. Life of Whitgift, pp. 149, 150. Append. p. 57.

[2] This statement does not rest on the authority of satirical poems (see Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century, p. 309), nor even of Calderwood, who might be suspected of giving too easy faith to reports unfavourable to the bishop. But it is confirmed by Sir James Melville, who was of the same political party with Adamson, and succeeded him as ambassador at London. "The said Bishop was disdained in England, and dishonoured his country by borrowing gold and pretious furniture from the Bishop of London and others, which was never restored nor paid for." Memoires, p. 150, folio edit. Adamson, in a letter to Whitgift, promises to send his Grace "a galloway naig," in return for his hospitality; but that the "opportunit commodite" of conveying it ever presented itself, or that the nag ever filled a stall at Lambeth, is more than dubious. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 2.

[3] "The vther forme of Jugement quhilk hes Majesty hes dischargit, is the generall assemblie of the haill Clergie in the Realme: under pretence quhairof ane number of Ministeris from sundry presbyteries did assemble, with sum gentlemen of the country," &c.—"His Maiestie vpoun necessarie occasions—vpoune humble supplicatioun made vnto his Hienes, will not refuse to grant them licence to convene, to wit, the Bishoppes, Commissioners, and sume of the maist verteous, learnit & godly of their dioceis," &c. Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties intentioun and meaning toward the lait Acts of Parliament, pp. 17, 19. Edin. 1585. Even the meetings of kirk-sessions were considered as discharged by this act. On the 28th May 1584, a special license was granted by his majesty, in virtue of his dispensing power, for holding the weekly exercise, and the meetings of kirk-session in Edinburgh, "notwithstanding our late act of parliament or any pains contained therein, *anent the which wee dispense be thir presents.*" Cald. iii. 376. An intimation of a similar kind was made to the elders of St Andrews by Adamson. Record of Kirk-Session of St And. June 17, 1584. But where the ministers or elders were unconformable to the will of the court, they were prevented from assembling. The kirk-session of Glasgow, which used to meet every week, did not assemble from July 18, 1584, to March 31, 1585. Wodrow's Life of Mr David Weems, p. 33, MSS. vol. 3.

Accordingly, it was ordained, by another act, that commissions should be given to the bishops, along with such others as might be constituted king's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, to put order to all ecclesiastical matters in their dioceses. In fine, it was ordained that none should presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his majesty, his council, or proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt, or prejudice of his highness, his parents, and progenitors, or to meddle in the affairs of his highness and his estate, present, bygane, or in time coming, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament against the making and telling of lesings, to be executed with all rigour, even upon those who heard such speeches and did not reveal them.

These are the *black acts* (as they were called) of this servile parliament. Though eversive of all liberty, civil and natural as well as ecclesiastical, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess ventured to open his mouth against them. Some of the ministers having received secret information of what was going on, repaired to the parliament-house with the design of protesting for the rights of the church; but the doors were shut against them. The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to drag from the pulpit any individual who presumed to censure what the parliament had done. But this did not deter them from exonerating their conscience; and when the acts were proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Lawson, Balcanquhal, and Pont, "taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made public protestation" against them, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions.[2]

Orders were immediately issued to apprehend the protesters, who saved themselves by a timely flight. Upwards of twenty ministers soon after followed their example, and took refuge in England. Arran threatened, with his usual brutal coarseness, "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his halse,[3] though it was as big as a haystack." David Lindsay, the minister of Leith, was imprisoned in Blackness, and John Howieson in Spey Tower. For praying for his distressed brethren, Nicol Dalgleish, minister of St Cuthbert's church, was tried for his life. The jury acquitted him; but he was instantly served with a new indictment for holding correspondence with rebels,

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293, 296, 303. As a fit supplement to the last mentioned act, Buchanan's History and Dialogue *De Jure Regni* are condemned. *Tempora mutantur.* Not many years before, a pension of £20 yearly had been assigned, "for the guid, trew, and thankfull service done to our so. lord be his louit Mr Johne Geddy, scruitour to Mr George Buchquhannan, preceptour to his hienes and kepar of his privie seal, in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and vtheris lovable werkis of the said Mr Georges editioun." May 8, 1577. Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xliii. f. 81.

To be consistent the parliament ought also to have condemned Buchanan's *Baptistes*, or at any rate to have expunged the following sentence in the dedication of it to James: "Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis ecusultoribus impulsus, vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante, secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse."

[2] Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 335, 336. Cald. iii. 366, 368. Spotsw. 333.

[3] Neck.

merely because he had read a letter which one of the ministers of Edinburgh had sent to his wife. Being persuaded to come in the king's will for this fault, sentence of death was passed on him, and though it was not executed, yet, by a refinement in cruelty, the scaffold was erected and kept standing for several weeks before the window of his prison.[1] All ministers and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they engaged to obey the late acts of parliament, and to acknowledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being for ever deprived of their benefices and salaries.[2] The most of the ministers refused subscription. Having convened the principal recusants, Arran asked them, How they durst be so bold as to find fault with the late acts of parliament? John Craig told him that they durst find fault with anything repugnant to the word of God; upon which Arran started to his feet, and threatened that he would shave their heads, pare their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example to all rebels. Craig having admonished him that persons who were raised as high as he was had been humbled, he replied, "I will make you of a false friar a true prophet;" and falling on his knees exclaimed, "Now I am humbled." Perceiving that the greater part of the ministers were not to be terrified into compliance, Adamson artfully divided them by introducing into the bond one of those ambiguous and unmeaning clauses which serve only to blind the simple, and to salve the consciences of such as are anxious to escape from trouble.[3] After having made a manful resistance, Craig suffered himself to be caught in this snare, and drew into it the greater part of his brethren. Even the honest and intrepid Dury is said to have become a subscriber, and thus to have lent his hand to build again the things which he was among the foremost to destroy. And Erskine of Dun, whose character stood so high, and who had formerly made so honourable a stand for the liberties of the church, not only became a conformist himself, but was extremely active in persuading others to conform. So difficult is it for good men to preserve a strict and inflexible integrity in the hour of temptation![4] But there is no end to the impositions of despotical authority, and to the humiliations of those who have once bowed their necks to its yoke. Subscription was not reckoned a sufficient bond of fidelity, and written injunctions were sent to all the conforming ministers, by which they were obliged to frame every sentiment and expression in such a manner as to please the court.[5]

[1] Nicol Dalgleish had been for many years a regent in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, which he left in the year 1577. Papers of the University. He went to France, and remained for some at Bourges. Cald. ii. 606. After his return to Scotland he was nominated by the General Assembly, in 1581, as a fit person for being made Principal of King's College, when it was proposed to remove Arbuthnot to the ministry of New Aberdeen. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 347.

[3] They promised "to obey,——*according to the word of God.*" James Melville, who wrote a long letter intended to expose the evil of the bond, characterises this qualifying clause as "*manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto;* as if one should say, he would obey the Pope and his prelates according to the word of God." Diary, p. 144.

[4] Cald. iii. 529, 641—643. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. p. 337. Wodrow's Life of Mr James Melville, p. 161, MSS. vol. xii.

[5] Cald. iii. 742, 743.

The privileges of the universities were violated. At Glasgow, Hay, the rector, was banished to the north of Scotland; all the professors were thrown into jail; the students dismissed, and commanded by public proclamation to leave the city; and the college shut up. Nor did the remote situation of the university of Aberdeen save it from similar treatment.[1]

As soon as he recovered from the depression of mind into which he had sunk upon the flight of his uncle, James Melville returned to St Andrews, and exerted himself in preserving the college from the ruin with which it was threatened. His first care was to secure his uncle's library, which was in danger of confiscation; after which he endeavoured to supply his place by reading lectures on the system of divinity. In addition to his double task as Professor of Divinity and of Hebrew, he found himself obliged to undertake the management of the revenues of the college and the board of the students; the persons intrusted with these duties having refused to act, as soon as they learned that the court looked on the establishment with an evil eye. In these circumstances he was encouraged by the sympathy of the masters of the university, who attended his lectures and did everything in their power to promote the interests of the New College. On this occasion, too, Thomas Buchanan testified his regard to his exiled friend at the risk of displeasing the court, by coming forward and taking a share of the burden of theological instruction, to which he had formerly been appointed by the General Assembly.[2] They were not interrupted until the meeting of parliament, but no sooner were the laws overthrowing the presbyterian discipline passed, than Adamson came to St Andrews for the purpose of imposing them on the university. He had procured an order for apprehending James Melville; who, being apprised of the fact, escaped, not without great hazard, by crossing the sea in an open boat to Berwick. Robertson was the only professor who remained in the college, and the bishop soon after suppressed the teaching of theology.[3]

A few days before his nephew arrived at Berwick, Melville had left it for London, accompanied by his relation and pupil, Patrick Forbes, younger of Corse.[4] He had obtained liberty from the English court to repair to the capital, and was furnished with instructions from the exiled noblemen, who still remained at Berwick. Along with James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, who added to his learning a talent for public business, he had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesmen cordially inclined to befriend them.[5] But there were counsellors, particularly among the bishops, who

[1] Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 78.

[2] October 1582. "It is leisum for a minister for a season to superseid ye ministrie and vse ye office of a doctor: yrfor ye assemblie hes concludit and ordanit Mr Tho. Buchanan to enter in ye new Colledge and vse and exercise ye office of a doctour yr, for ye support of ye samein, his kirk [Ceres] being alwayes provydit of a sufficient pastour and ye said Mr Thomas sufficientlie satisfied anent ye promise made for expeditioun of his pleyis." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 129, b.

[3] Diary, pp. 105, 118—123. Cald. iii. 422.

[4] Afterwards bishop of Aberdeen.

[5] A great number of letters written by Carmichael, Galloway, and Hume of Gods-

were unfriendly to their cause, and did everything in their power to injure it. Adamson conveyed his representations through the Archbishop of Canterbury ;[1] and the agents of Arran spared no professions or promises to induce Elizabeth to drive the exiles from her dominions, or at least to refuse a hearing to their complaints. Melville was at this time employed in writing a reply to a vindication of the Scottish court, published under the title of a Declaration of the King's Majesty's intention in the late Acts of Parliament, which was artfully drawn up by Archbishop Adamson, and contained vile and unfounded aspersions on the banished lords and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of Scottish affairs, which prevailed so long in England, and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods ; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces in being soon lost and forgotten.[2] The Declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents, it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the king's name, it was embodied, as an authentic and official document, in Hollinshed's Chronicle, from which it continued to be quoted, and copied, and reprinted, after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as a false and slanderous libel.[3]

In the month of July 1584, the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glammis, wrote to Melville, requesting him to repair to them immediately at Newcastle, along with Lawson, "on matters of greater importance" than they could judge of alone.[4] With this request he was prevented from complying, as he was then absent from London on a visit to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[5] He was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profes-

croft, which contain minute information of transactions at this period, are preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library. A great part of them is transcribed into the third volume of Calderwood's MS. and Wodrow's Lives of Carmichael and Hume.

[1] Letter from Patrick Archb. of St Andrews to his Grace of Canterbury, June 16, 1584. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 2.

[2] Melville's reply (inserted in Cald. MS. iii. 714—734) is entitled, "Answer to the Declaration of certain Intentions set out in the King's name, &c. 7th of Feb. 1585." James Melville is supposed to be the author of another reply, in the form of a Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon, which is dated Newcastle, Feb. 10, 1585. Cald. iii. 672—714. It is probable that both were printed. Ib. 423, 428, 753. The former reply passes over what relates to Melville ; but the latter vindicates him strenuously, and its style is sharper and more acrimonious than that of the other. Extracts from both may be seen in the printed Calderwood, p. 174—184.

[3] This was strange, considering that the Declaration was the Manifesto of an arbitrary administration, and an abusive attack on the men who had uniformly shown themselves the most steady friends of England. "Our kirk deserved no such indignity at the hands of that estate as to be so highly prejudged by the publick records of the realme ; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at that time specially, to entertain amitie betwixt the two countries. But let such a lying libell lay there as a blurr to blot the Chronicles of England." Cald. iii. 650. But this was not all. In 1646, the Declaration was reprinted, in Scotch and in English, not by the Cavaliers at Oxford (that would not have been strange), but by the friends of the parliament at London, who had so lately loaded the Scots with thanks for their "brotherly assistance," and solemnly vowed "the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland.—in discipline and government!" Baillie's Historical Vindication, Epist. Dedic. A, 4.

[4] Cald. iii. 432.

[5] Melville's Diary, p. 159.

sion and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. On this occasion he formed an intimacy, which was afterwards kept up by letters, with two very promising young men, George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Savile, whose early erudition was no less admired than his premature death was deplored, by the learned on the Continent and in his native country.[1] Melville afterwards paid a fine compliment to two of the theological masters, and to the young men whom he found at this time prosecuting their studies under them:

Non ita æterni Whittakerus[2] acer
Luminis vindex, patriæque lumen,
Dixit aut sensit: neque celsa summi
Penna Renoldi,[3]
Certa sublimes aperire calles,
Sueta cœlestes iterare cursus,
Læta misceri niveis beatæ
Civibus aulæ.
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore
Mente, qui cœlum sapit in frequenti
Hermathenæo, et celebri Lycæo
Culta juventus;
Cujus affulget genio Jôvæ lux:
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet:
Quem jubar Christi radiantis alto
Spectat olympo.[4]

On his return to London, he had to perform the painful duty of attending the deathbed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James Lawson. The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and brought on a disorder, which was aggravated by grief at the unhappy state of his native country and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connection with them. This the king sent to the town-council, accompanied with an injunction that it should be subscribed by them and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper.[5] Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits

[1] See Melville's letter, "D. Th. Saville et G. Carletono," in the Appendix. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. col. 159; vol. ii. 312, 422. Fasti, coll. 212, 227. Thomas Savile was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton College, and editor of the works of Chrysostom. His letters in *Cambdeni Epistolæ* show the progress which he had made in recondite literature before Melville became acquainted with him.

[2] Dr William Whittaker, Regius Professor and Master of St John's College, Cambridge.

[3] Dr John Rainolds, Divinity Reader, and successively Master of Queen's College and President of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

[4] Anti-tami-cami Categoria, Authore A. Melvino, 1604.

[5] Cald. iii. 377—383, 436. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361. On the 11th June 1584, a commissioner from his majesty presented to the town-council an answer to a letter of their ministers, with a charge to subscribe it; because it appeared to be "consavit in scharp and ruch tearmes," the council appointed another form to be drawn up. On the afternoon of the same day, they appointed some of their number to go to Falkland to intreat his majesty, that they should "nocht be burthenit wt any thing hurtfull to yair consciences, and to labour that his Maitie

of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of the case. He died piously and comfortably, bearing an honourable testimony to the cause in which he had spent his life, and exhorting his brethren, who surrounded his bed and sought to alleviate his sufferings by the most sympathising attentions, to persevere in their attachment to it, whatever it might cost them. Such was the respect in which he was held, that, though a stranger, his body was accompanied to the grave by above five hundred persons of respectability. Lawson had been selected from all his brethren by Knox, to whom "he owed even his own self besides," as the individual best qualified for succeeding him in the charge of the church of Edinburgh; and his conduct in that important station, and during the most difficult times, proved that the choice had been made with our Reformer's usual sagacity. He was pious, learned, eloquent; modest, zealous, prudent.[1] He had been originally in a humble situation, and displayed the ornament of a humble spirit after he rose to distinction. His capacity and avidity for learning when a young man had attracted the attention of Andrew Simson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth, who took him into his own house, bestowed upon him a gratuitous education, and recommended him first to the university of St Andrews, and afterwards to the Countess of Crawford, whose son he accompanied as tutor to the Continent.[2] After his return to his native country, he testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a distinguished place among the benefactors of our national literature.[3]

Balcanquhal and Davidson preached once or twice in London, but received an order from the bishop to desist.[4] When the banished noblemen came to the English capital, they applied for the use of a separate place of worship; but this liberty, which had been granted to the French and Dutch, was refused to them. The Lieutenant of the

may be content with the secund form y^e^of pennit be the town." Records of Town-Council of Edinburgh, vol. vii. 91, b. 92, a. This request was peremptorily refused. See the Letter from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham, June 15, 1584, in the Appendix.

[1] David Buchanan, De Script. Scot. Illustr. num. 58. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6, 34. The works which this author ascribes to Lawson appear to have been all in manuscript.

[2] Wodrow's Life of James Lawson, pp. 1, 2, 30. Cald. iii. 535.

[3] Crawfurd's Hist. of University, pp. 19, 26. Feb. 3, 156S, he was presented to "the secund place w^t^in the new college or pedagog w^t^in the universitie of Sanctandrois;" or, if it was already provided, to "the third place in the said new college." Reg. of Present. vol. i. f. 23. January 8, 1569, he was presented to the place of Sub-principal in the University of Aberdeen. Ib. vol. i. f. 26, b. He died on the 12th of October 1584, and was buried "in the new churchyaird at Bedlem." His testament was subscribed by him "at London in Honielane of Cheapside, in Mr Antony Martine's house upon Wednesday the 7 of October 1584." On hearing of his death, Archbishop Adamson wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the king and the bishops. These, as well as the real testament, are inserted in Cald. iii. 537—584. His testament informs us that he left three children. Among the alumni of the New College of St Andrews, A. 1601, was "M. Jacobus Lowson, M. Jac. f. Edinburg.;" of whom the record says, "paulo post obiit." Elizabeth Lawsoun was his only surviving child in Aug. 23, 1603. Inquisitiones Retorn. Gener. num. 142. She married Mr George Greir, minister of Haddington. Commissary Records of Edinburgh, April 5, 1615.

[4] Cald. iii. 649.

Tower, however, invited the Scots ministers to preach in his chapel, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. Among other exercises performed there, Melville read a Latin lecture on Genesis, which was well attended, and much admired, particularly by the Earl of Angus, who possessed a more cultivated mind than any of the Scottish peerage.[1] It is somewhat singular that Melville should, on this occasion, have officiated as a lecturer in the place where he was afterwards confined as a prisoner of state.

Scotland was in the mean time suffering from the ravages of the plague, by which its principal towns were depopulated, and from the scourge of the worst of all plagues, an insensate and despotical government. The following anecdotes, which are less generally known, will perhaps convey a livelier idea of the policy with which it was afflicted, than the more glaring acts of tyranny which have been often brought forward in histories. In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came out of the Low Countries into Scotland, accompanied by some of his followers. Having taken up his residence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were stigmatised as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason than his exclaiming against the ministers and calling in question their authority.[2] At the same time Papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country.[3] The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth, and treated his Grace very unceremoniously.[4] Instead of overlooking this very excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder against the spirited females whose wrath he had provoked and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families instantly, under the pain of rebellion, to leave their manses; and also commanding and charging, under the same pains, certain other matrons, "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament, to remove from the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition."[5] The treatment

[1] Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.

[2] Cald. iii. 302—304. On his return to England, Brown published a book into which he introduced various invectives against the ministers and government of the Church of Scotland. Dr Bancroft did not scruple to appeal to his inflamed statements, as one of the two authorities on which he rested his attack on the presbyterian discipline. Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 63. Reprinted Lond. 1636.

[3] W. Davison to Sec. Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63.

[4] Harl. MSS. num. 291, 68. Cald. iii. 437.

[5] Harl. MSS. num. 291, 66. Cald. iii. 531. Janet Adamson, relict of Sir James Makgill of Rankeillour, Clerk Register, was among these "worse affected" ladies.

of the Countess of Gowrie, whose husband had been lately executed, was marked with the most savage inhumanity. She had come to Edinburgh to present a petition in behalf of her children, whose property was confiscated. After being different times repulsed, she one day met the king on the street, and "reaching at his cloak to stay his majesty, Arran, putting her from him, did not only overthrow her, which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her, who, partly with extreme grief and partly with weakness, swooned presently in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life of her."[1] The last fact which I shall mention is, if possible, a proof of still deeper depravity, whether it be viewed in a political, moral, or religious light. William, prince of Orange, the patriotic asserter of the liberties of the Low Countries, fell at this time by the hands of a hired assassin. When the news of his death came to Scotland, the king said openly, that the prince had met with such an end as he deserved, and the greater part of the court rejoiced at the event.[2]

An administration so much at variance with the sentiments of the nation, and which trampled so outrageously on its tenderest and most sacred feelings, could not maintain itself long. The people groaned for deliverance from a tyranny of which they durst not complain. The principal courtiers whom Arran had attached to him by his favours, disgusted at his arrogance, or anticipating the fall of his fortunes, consulted their own security by entering into a correspondence with those who were likely soon to supplant him. His power rested wholly on the dread he inspired and the ascendancy which he had gained over the royal mind. James himself began at last to feel unhappy, though he still continued to be the slave of an ignoble and vicious favouritism.[3] In these circumstances, the exiled noblemen, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, appeared on the Borders. They had scarcely entered Scotland when the inhabitants began to flock to their standard, and by the time that they reached Stirling, to which the court retreated on their approach, they found themselves surrounded with a numerous army. After meeting with a slight resistance, they entered the town, and Arran consulted his safety by flight. A short negotiation followed; and the king having come from the castle, the nobles laid down their arms, and were admitted to favour and power.

Melville accompanied the banished noblemen from London, and returned to Scotland in the beginning of November 1585, after an absence of twenty months.[4]

[1] Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 84.

[2] Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63. Cald. iii. 435, 528.

[3] "The king has become very ill: I will say no worse. For, being at the hunting, when he came home, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: '*Tell-true*, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig.'" David Hume of Godscroft to Mr James Carmichael, March 20, 1584. Calderwood, vol. iii. p. 750.

[4] Melville's Diary, p. 162—164.

CHAPTER V.

1585—1592.

THE first object that engaged Melville's attention, after his return to Scotland, was the restoration of the liberties of the church, which lay buried under the late parliamentary laws. Considering the corrupt influence by which they had been procured, the irregular manner in which they were enacted, and the baleful effects which they had produced, the abrogation of these laws might have been expected, almost as a matter of course, at the first meeting of the estates of the kingdom. But it soon appeared that this measure would have to encounter the most strenuous opposition, and that it would find weak and treacherous friends in those who were under the greatest obligations to support it.

The removal of the corruptions which had been introduced into the church during the late maladministration, was at first craved by the nobility, and acceded to by the king in general terms.[1] But, in the course of the conferences, the sagacity of Secretary Maitland soon discovered, that, provided they obtained satisfaction in what regarded themselves, the most of the nobles would be easily induced to pass from their demands respecting the church. Emboldened by this information, the king opposed any alteration of the existing ecclesiastical law, as touching on his prerogative, which he was determined to maintain. And the nobility consented to gratify him in this, at the expense of their honour and good faith. In all the manifestoes which they had published to the world, they professed that one of their primary objects was the redress of the grievances under which the church laboured. They had repeatedly and solemnly pledged themselves to the same cause during their exile;[2] and by this means had secured the good wishes and cordial support of the nation in their recent attempt. The hardships and sufferings which the ministers of the church had endured, were owing, in no small degree, to the inviolable attachment which they had shown to the liberties of the nation and the interests of the nobility. Had they refused to approve of the Raid of Ruthven, or had they afterwards consented to retract the approbation which they had given it, and yielded their support to the administration of Arran, they might have secured to themselves favourable terms, or at least have

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 164.

[2] Cald. iii. 328, 329, 800. Melville's Diary, p. 133.

escaped persecution;—they might have escaped imprisonment, and the loss of goods, and exile, and this last wrong and insult, for which they were altogether unprepared, and which was, in some respects, more galling and intolerable than all the former. The nobility did not pretend to deny the truth of these allegations. But they pleaded that the king was inflexibly bent on the maintenance of Episcopacy; that he felt his honour implicated in the support of the late statutes; that it was necessary to humour him and to gain his affections; that as soon as their power was firmly established they would obtain for the church all that she required; and that, in the mean time, if any altercation arose, they would interpose their influence between her ministers and the resentment of the sovereign. All this was only an excuse for bad faith; and it was, moreover, bad policy. The king could not, and he would not, have refused the joint demands of the nobility and the church; his honour could not suffer so much from giving up the bishops as it had done from declaring good subjects and admitting into his secret counsel men whom he had so lately proclaimed traitors and rebels; they could urge their sense of duty and the public pledges which they had given, with more propriety, and with less risk of giving offence, than their own personal claims; by humouring his majesty in the manner proposed they would foster the prejudices which he had unfortunately conceived, infuse jealousies of him into the minds of his best subjects, and give occasion to discord and dissension between him and the ministers of the church; and, in fine, the boon which, if now conferred, would allay all animosities, diffuse joy and gratitude among all his majesty's subjects, and establish the authority of his present counsellors on a solid and permanent basis, would, if withheld till a future and distant period, produce none of these salutary effects—be conferred without cordiality, and accepted without confidence.[1]

From the charge of selfishness and ingratitude to which the nobility of Scotland subjected themselves on the present occasion, justice requires that we should except the Earl of Angus, who remained faithful to his promises, and deeply lamented the defection of his peers. This is but a small part of the tribute due to the memory of the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scottish nobility, whose modest and unassuming disposition, and retired habits, prevented him from taking that lead in public affairs to which he was entitled by his rank, and which those who best knew his worth and talents were most anxious that he should not have declined.[2] It has been one of the great misfortunes of princes and commonwealths, that men of integrity and real patriotism have shrunk from the contest necessary to obtain and keep possession of high official stations, and have given way to the ambitious, the daring, and the unprincipled, who deemed no sacrifices too dear for the

[1] Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 375—381, 402—407. Cald. iii. 853. Sir James Melville's Mem. 171.

[2] Hume of Godscroft, ii. 289, 293, 344, 375. Melville's Diary, pp. 134, 164, 230. Spotswood, 372.

enjoyment of power, and scrupled not to set a whole nation or even the world on fire, that they might rescue their own names from obscurity. This will continue to be the case until the period when a change shall take place which it will require something more to bring about than a mere reform of constitutional laws, when it shall be believed that the affairs of a nation can be managed on the same principles as other affairs, and when sound sense and sterling principle shall be more admired by the public, than a talent, not for great things—for that has always been very rare—but for intrigue and bustle and show; a period, as to the near approach of which the wisest will not be the most sanguine in their expectations.

One of the first acts of the new counsellors was to advise the king to summon a parliament to be held at Linlithgow in the month of December. This was necessary to rescind the forfeitures under which they were still lying, and to legalise the step which they had lately taken. It had been the almost uniform practice, since the Reformation, for the General Assembly to convene before the meeting of parliament, that they might have an opportunity of preparing petitions to lay before that high court. Accordingly, it was judged proper that the moderator of last Assembly should call an extraordinary meeting to be held at Dunfermline in the end of November. But when the members assembled, the provost, alleging an express command from his majesty, refused them admission into the town; upon which they met in the fields, and adjourned to meet again at Linlithgow some days before the opening of parliament.[1]

In the interval Melville was busily employed in repressing a dissension which threatened to break out among his brethren respecting subscription to the late bond. Travelling through different parts of the country, he urged the necessity of union on the present occasion, and prevailed on the subscribers to co-operate with their brethren in petitioning for the repeal of the offensive laws.[2] The success which attended his labours was nearly blasted after they assembled at Linlithgow. A preacher introduced the subject imprudently into the pulpit, and condemned the conduct of the subscribers. Craig considered his honour as affected by this, and in a sermon preached before the members of parliament, not only vindicated what he had done, and blamed the *peregrine ministers* (as he called those who had fled to England), but, contrary to the doctrine which he had himself formerly maintained, he extended the royal prerogative beyond all reasonable bounds, and exhorted the noblemen, instead of standing upon their innocence, to crave pardon of his majesty.[3] This incident would have led to consequences fatal to the church, had not the flame been allayed by the interposition of the wiser and more moderate, who persuaded the parties to postpone the adjustment of their differences to a future

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 164, 165. [2] Cald. iii. 810.
[3] Life of Knox, ii. 127; compare Hume of Godscroft, ii. 333—399.

period. This affair having been accommodated, a deputation of ministers was appointed to wait on the nobility, and again to urge the fulfilment of their promises. They intreated, reasoned, expostulated, threatened; but all to no purpose. The only answer which they could obtain was, that an insuperable obstacle had presented itself in the repugnance of the royal mind to their requests. They were thus reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the king, and this led to a personal altercation with him, which they were most anxious to avoid. He received them very ungraciously, repeated all the charges against them which they had been accustomed to hear from Lennox and Arran, and made use of expressions which were not more disrespectful to them than they were indecorous from the lips of a king. The consequence was, that he was obliged to hear some things in reply which were not the most grateful to his royal ears. Melville defended himself and his brethren with spirit, and hot speeches passed between his majesty and him at several interviews.

At the king's desire the ministers drew up their animadversions on those laws of which they craved the repeal. When these were presented to his majesty he shut himself up in his chamber, and spent a whole day in penning a reply to them with his own hand. This he delivered to the ministers as his declaration and interpretation of the statutes, telling them that it should be as valid and authentic as an act of parliament.[1] It differed considerably from the declaration lately published by authority, and which James now thought proper to disavow under the name of "the bishop of St Andrews' own declaration."[2] But still it defended, and indicated a disposition to support, the main encroachments which had been made on the jurisdiction and liberties of the church. Notwithstanding the challenge with which it concluded, the ministers declined engaging in a contest in which authority would have supplied the lack of argument. As parliament was in haste to conclude its business, they contented themselves with presenting a supplication to the king, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at the display which he had given of his "knowledge and judgment," they

[1] Printed Calderwood, p. 193—196. James prefixed to his Declaration, the words, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere;* a legal maxim of which he was extremely fond, and which he often used in this application. King James's Works, p. 520. Lord Hailes, Memorials, i. 52.

[2] The following is a specimen of his majesty's explications, and of his egotistic dialect: "*My* bishops, which are one of the three estates, shall have power, as far as God's word and example of the primitive kirk will permit, and not according to that Man of Sin, his abominable abuses and corruptions. In the fourth act, *I* discharge all jurisdictions not approved in parliament, and conventions without my special license. *I* acclaime not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture. *I* allow not a bishop according to the traditions of men or inventions of the pope, but only according to God's word. Finally, *I say*, his office is *solum επισκοπην ad vitam*, having therefore some prelation and dignity above his brethren, as was in the primitive kirk. To conclude, *I* confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be head and lawgiver to the same, and whatsomever person doth arrogate to himself, as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter any thing that the word of God hath only remitted unto them, that man, *I say*, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the word of the Son; against the Son, in not obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience."

craved that the subject should be submitted to grave consultation; that the execution of the objectionable acts should be suspended until the next meeting of parliament; that they should have liberty to hold their ecclesiastical assemblies as heretofore; that the bishops should assume no more power than they exercised before the late enactments; and that all ministers and masters of colleges should be restored to their places and possessions. The last article of their request was the only one which was ratified by parliament.[1]

This parliament dissolved without fulfilling any of the expectations which had been raised by the circumstance in which it met. In the long list of its acts, consisting of so many ratifications to noblemen and gentlemen who had been lately outlawed, and including the names of hundreds of their retainers, we look in vain for one statute calculated to secure personal or public liberty against the invasions of arbitrary power.[2] On the other hand, it decreed the punishment of death, "to be executed with all rigour," against such as should publicly or privately speak to the reproach of his majesty's person or government, or should misconstrue his proceedings; and it prohibited, under the pains of sedition, all leagues or bands among the subjects without his majesty's privity and consent, under whatever pretext they should be made:[3] although the principal members owed their seats in that parliament to a league of this description, and had recently been charged by open proclamation with using those very freedoms against which they now denounced so exemplary a punishment. The despotical acts of Arran's parliament were left untouched; and although some of them were in whole or in part rescinded or disabled by subsequent statutes, yet others continue to this day to disgrace our legal code; and recourse has been had to them, even in modern times, by high-flying statesmen and court-lawyers, to crush opposition to unpopular measures or to inflict vengeance on those who had incurred their political resentment. It has been remarked, that the lords, after the enterprise of Ruthven, "improved the opportunity of insinuating themselves into" the king's "favour with little dexterity."[4] It appears that they were now convinced of their error; and as they were men by no means destitute of sagacity, their conduct shows what was the most likely way of securing the royal favour.

As the personal conduct of his majesty had from this period great influence on transactions in church and state, and as his name will often occur in the following pages, it may be proper here to give some account of his education and character.

James, after he grew up, was accustomed to complain of the treatment he had received from those who governed the kingdom during

[1] Cald. iii. 210—288, 253. Melville's Diary, p. 175—179. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 395.

[2] The only act which has the semblance of this is that which relates to charges *super inquirendis;* and all the provision which it makes is, that the charge shall be subscribed by four of the chief officers of state. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 377.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 375, 376.

[4] Robertson's Hist. of Scot. ii. 419.

his minority. In these complaints there was much ingratitude mixed with the political prejudices which he unhappily imbibed. No monarch of that age had such attention paid to him in his early years. Every provision was made, by the Estates of the kingdom, for his personal safety and comfort, and for his being educated in a manner becoming his rank as king of Scotland, and his prospects as presumptive heir to the throne of England. The command of the castle of Stirling, chosen as the place of his residence, was intrusted, upon the death of the Regent Mar, to his brother, Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, a gentleman of approved courage, and of the strictest honour and integrity. The immediate care of James's person, during his youth, was committed to Annabella, Countess of Mar, the widow of the deceased regent, who discharged the duties of her place with the most unexceptionable propriety and delicacy.[1] David and Adam Erskine, commendators of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, both gentlemen of excellent character, superintended the bodily exercises and sports proper for a young prince. Gilbert Moncrieff, a learned man who had studied in foreign universities, and sustained the fairest reputation both abroad and at home, held the place of physician in the royal household.[2] The superintendence of the prince's studies, and of whatever related to the improvement of his mind, was devolved on Buchanan, who was qualified for this important task not less by his unbending integrity and the soundness of his judgment, than by the splendour of his genius and the extent of his erudition.

The plan on which the education of James was conducted is a proof of the enlightened views of his preceptor. It included the learned languages, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, and history.[3] In the exercises in composition prescribed to the royal pupil, more attention appears to have been paid to improvement in the vernacular language than was common at that period.[4] Great care was taken to instruct him in modern history, and especially the history of the nation over which he was to rule.[5] And next to the imbuing of his mind with the principles of religion and virtue, it was Buchanan's great concern to give him just views of the nature of government, and what was incumbent on the king of a free people.[6]

James enjoyed the advantages of a private and public education combined. Several young men of rank were allowed to reside in the

[1] "Sed hoc est memorabile quod Comitissæ Mariæ, Proregis uxori, comissus fuerit enutriendus, quæ, profecto, gravitate, bonitate, omnes nobiles exsuperavit, quæ, quantum præ loci ejus dignitate potuit, Regem sicut ejus filium aluit, fovit, et, Zoilo etiam contratestante, nutrivit. Sic Rex puer omnimodo felix, si fortunam suam non læsisset." Arch. Simson, Annales Eccl. Scot. MS. p. 158. See also Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 158.

[2] Buchanani Epist. p. 27. Melville's Diary, pp. 39, 56.

[3] Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 160, second edit.

[4] It is highly probable, that "The Essayes of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie," the earliest publication of James, consisted chiefly of exercises performed by him under the direction of Buchanan.

[5] Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam G. Buchanani, p. 20.

[6] See his Dedications to the king, of his *Baptistes*, *De Jure Regni*, and *Histor. Rer. Scot.* Translations of these may be seen in Dr Irving's Memoirs.

castle, and to carry on their studies along with him; as the young Earl of Mar, Sir William Murray of Abercairny, a nephew of the Countess of Mar, who spent his future life at court, Walter Stuart, afterwards Lord Blantyre and Lord High Treasurer, and the Lord Invertyle.[1] To these may be added Jerom Groslot, a Frenchman, afterwards known by the name of the Sieur de l'Isle,[2] who lived in habits of friendship with the greatest men of his age, and by his attachment to letters, and his exertions in behalf of religious liberty, proved himself worthy of the master under whom he was educated, and of the high commendations which he received from him.[3]

When the education of a young man is intrusted to more than one tutor, it is of the utmost consequence that they harmonise in their views and mode of management. To the want of this is to be ascribed in no small degree the disappointment of the hopes formed from the education of James. Peter Young acted as Buchanan's assistant, and was sufficiently qualified for attending to the more trivial parts of instruction.[4] Young was destitute of Buchanan's genius, and every way his inferior in literature; but he possessed one talent to which his colleague was an utter stranger, that of knowing how to improve the situation which he held to his own advantage. He did not indeed fail in outward respect for Buchanan, nor did he resist his authority, but he injured him more deeply than if he had been guilty of both these offences. Buchanan had undertaken the delicate task of directing the young king's education from the most disinterested motives, and he never suffered himself to be diverted from his duty by the slightest regard to his own emolument. He did not forget that he was training up one who was destined to reign, but he knew that the best way for fitting him to sway the sceptre, when it should be placed in his hands, was to treat him as a boy as long as he was such; and he guarded against fostering those premature or extravagant ideas of

[1] Crawfurd's Officers of State, pp. 393, 402. Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 172.

[2] "Comite itineris Hieronymo Groslotio Lislæo, nobili Gallo, cuius maiores ex Francia Germaniæ oriundi erant, qui cum adolescentulo Jacobo vi. Scotiæ rege, sub Georgio Buchanano, educatus fuerat, Academias, Oxoniensem et Cantabrigiensem, bibliothecasque libris veteribus refertissimas, perlustrasset." Vita Pauli Melissi, in Adami Vit. German. Philosoph. p. 450.

His father, a respectable magistrate of Orleans, lost his life in the massacre of St Bartholomew. Buchanan repaid the civilities which he had formerly received from the father, by the kind reception which he gave to the son, when he took refuge in Scotland. It was doubtless by his influence that the young exile was received at court, and permitted to prosecute his studies along with the prince. In consequence of the connections which he at this time formed with the court of Scotland, the Sieur de l'Isle was afterwards employed in certain confidential communications between James and Henry IV. of France while the latter was king of Navarre. They related chiefly to a proposal of marriage between King James and Henry's sister. Bayle is incorrect in his statement of this affair: Dict., art. Navarre, Jeanne d'Albret Reine de. Note Z. The true state of facts may be learned from Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. pp. 125—127, 624, 648, 656; and Vie de M. Plessis, 122.

[3] Lipsii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 139, 144. Teissier, Eloges, tom. iii. p. 314. Buchanani Epist. pp. 33, 34; and Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 279—282. In 1612 he sat in the National Synod of Privas, as an elder of the church of Orleans, and was one of the deputies appointed to reconcile the Marshal Duke of Bouillon to the Dukes of Sully and Rohan. Quick, Synodicon Galliæ Reformatæ, vol. i. pp. 347, 368.

[4] Young was for some time on the Continent with his uncle, Henry Scrimger, and attended the university of Lausanne. Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4. Adami Vit. German. Theolog. p. 766.

superiority which are but too ready to rise in the breast of a royal youth in spite of the utmost care and vigilance on the part of his tutors. At an early period James discovered symptoms of those vices which afterwards degraded his character, and rendered his administration a source of uneasiness to himself and oppression to his people. Buchanan treated these with a wholesome severity, and accordingly kept the king in great awe.[1] It was Young's duty to have avoided everything which tended, even indirectly, to counteract the influence of such measures; and, provided he had used his endeavours to reconcile the mind of James to the restraints imposed on him by representing them as proceeding from the regard which his preceptor felt for his welfare, the superior mildness of his own manners might have proved highly beneficial. But he was in the prime of life; he had the prospect of a family; he saw the advantages to be derived from ingratiating himself with the young king; and with a cool and calculating prudence, which men of ordinary minds often possess in a high degree, he pursued the course which tended to advance his worldly interests, by flattering the vanity of his pupil, humouring his follies, and conniving at those faults which he ought to have corrected.[2] The consequences were such as might have been expected. The youthful vices of James were confirmed; Buchanan incurred the rooted aversion of his pupil; and Young had his reward in the honours and gifts that were lavished on himself and his family.[3]

At the most critical period of his life James fell into the hands of Lennox and Arran. The great object of those by whom he was now surrounded, was to eradicate any good principles which his instructors had sown in his mind, and to give him habits opposite to those which they had laboured to form. The greater part of his time was spent in pastime. The conversation to which he was accustomed was profane, loose, and mixed with low buffoonery. Monberneau, a French gentleman who had accompanied Lennox to Scotland, and who was equally distinguished by his facetious talents and his licentious manners, was the manager of these scenes, and accompanied the king wherever he went.[4] The odious and abandoned Arran initiated him into youthful debauchery, and with the view of inflaming his passions, scrupled not

[1] Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 159. D'Israeli's Inquiry into the Character of James I., p. 61.

[2] Sir James Melvil (Memoirs, p. 125), has insinuated all that is contained in the text. The charge has been directly brought against Young by Archibald Simson, who had good opportunities of information, as his brother Patrick was minister of Stirling, and lived on an intimate footing with the family of Mar. His words are: "Educationis ejus cura Georgio Buchanano cõmissa est et Petro Junio, qui impares omnimodo erant; quod ille inter literatos fuit literatissimus, iste mediocriter elementa vix gustaverit. Sed in hoc differebant: Buchananus animi candore juvenis Regis naturam præsagiens satis acriter monendo compescebat; alter adulando fovebat. Sed quid eruditionis in Rege erat, hoc Georgio Buchanano debebat." Annales Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, MS. p. 158.

[3] See the places in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland referred to in the Index under the articles, *Young (Peter)*, and his children. Scaliger has remarked, that princes of some learning dislike men of great learning, and delight only in pedantic pedagogues "Principes docti oderunt doctissimos homines, ament tantum pedantes magisterulos." Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 473.

[4] Strype's Annals of the Reformation, ii. 622. Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60. See also the facts and authorities stated in Note V.

to trample on those ties which natural affection and a sense of honour have induced the most profligate to respect.[1] At the same time, the doctrine of absolute power, so flattering and grateful to princes, was poured into his ear. His mind was filled with prejudices against those who had preserved his life and crown during his minority. He was told, that all that had been done during that period, and ever since the Reformation, was obnoxious to the charge of faction and usurpation and rebellion. And he was taught, that the only way to legitimate his authority, and procure the acknowledgment of it by foreign princes, was either to admit his mother to a share with him in the government, or else, by renouncing his crown, to receive it again with her voluntary consent and parental benediction. Strong prejudices were instilled into his mind against the government and ministers of the church. The former was represented as utterly irreconcilable with a pure and absolute monarchy. And if the latter were suffered to retain their liberties, he was taught to believe that he would be liable to be continually checked and controlled in the execution of his will.[2] Historians have dwelt on the arbitrary administration of the favourites; but, pernicious as this was, it appears harmless when compared with their malignant and too successful efforts to poison the principles and corrupt the morals of the prince who had unhappily fallen under their influence. To the impressions which he received at this time we must trace, as their principal cause, the troubles which distracted his administration in Scotland, as well as his arbitrary and disreputable reign in England, which prepared the revolution by which his successor was overwhelmed, and led to the ultimate expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of their ancestors.

When the banished lords returned from England, James was in the twentieth year of his age; and as he early arrived at maturity, his character had already unfolded itself, and his capacity appeared to greater advantage, and perhaps was really greater, than at any future period of his life.[3] He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension and fluency of speech, which had an imposing effect, and impressed strangers with an idea of his talents which subsequent acquaintance invariably tended to diminish. He was not deficient in learning, but his knowledge was of that kind which is often attained by persons of high rank but slender intellect, who have received a good education. The soil being thin but well improved, the abundance of the first crops excited hopes which were not afterwards gratified. The

[1] Cald. MS. apud Adamson's Muse's Threnodie, vol. ii. p. 86. Perth, 1774.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 89. "At that time it was a pitie to sie sa weill a brought vp prince, till his bernhead was past, to be sa miserablie corrupted in the entress of his springall age; baith with sinistrous and fals information of all proceidings in his minoritie, and with euill and maist dangerous grundes and principalles in government of kirk and common welth," &c.

[3] "Encore (says the French ambassador in a letter to the Marquis de Sillery, October 31, 1606), qu'un Gentilhomme d'honneur m'ait dit, que tous ceux de cette maison promettent merveille jusqu'à l'age de 20 ans, mais que de-là en avant ils diminuent bien; m'alléguant à ce propos l'example du Roi présent." He adds, speaking of Prince Henry: "Toutefois ce qui fait contre cela, c'est que celui-ci tient beaucoup de sa mère." Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 402.

taste which he had contracted for study, and which to a vigorous and sound mind would have afforded an innocent and agreeable relaxation, only served to minister to his vanity, and to create a feverish thirst for literary fame which nothing but courtly adulation could gratify. His studies never interfered with his amusements; but they diverted him from the duties of his office, and confirmed and aggravated the errors of his administration. When he should have been learning the art of government he was serving an apprenticeship to the muses; and while his ministers were perverting all the principles of justice, and grinding the faces of his subjects with oppression, he was busied in composing and publishing "rules and cautelis for Scottish poesy."[1] Having little mind of his own, he was moulded by those who were near him, and whom vanity or affection induced him to imitate. Hence the motley and heterogeneous composition of his character—that love of letters which was combined with a passion for low sports and buffoonery; those pretensions to religion which were discredited by vulgar profaneness and the coarsest blasphemy; and those maxims of political wisdom which were mixed up in his speeches and writings with the most undisguised avowal of the principles of absolute authority. The former were instilled into his mind by his early instructors; the latter he drank in from his corrupt favourites and the base companions whom they placed around him. Other princes were in love with despotic power; James thought he could demonstrate its reasonableness, and was not satisfied unless he could produce the same conviction in the breasts of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogmatism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

Poetry, politics, and divinity, were the three subjects on which his majesty was fond of displaying his talents. The poets were more disposed to pay their court to him than to contest his merits; there were few politicians at that time who were so bold as to lay down rules

[1] James's first publication, which made its appearance during the reign of Arran, is entitled, "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine art of Poesie. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautroullier, 1584. Cum Privilegio Regali." Small 4to. P in fours. It consisted of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated; and of "Ane schort treatise conteining some revlis & cantelis to be obseruit & eschewit in Scottis Poesie." This last is in prose. The "Metaphoricall invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix" was intended to commemorate his late favourite the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a part of Lucan was evidently chosen to convey James's high notions of royal power, and to reflect on his nobility who were then living in England. Having said that all the rivers are supplied from the ocean, which could suffer no diminution by their conspiring to withhold their waters, he goes on to say:—

So even siclike; Though subjects do conjure
For to rebell against their prince and king:
By leuing him, although they hope to smure
That grace wherewith God maks him for to ring,
Though by his gifts he shew himself bening
To help their need and make them thereby gaine,
Yet lacke of them no harm to him doth bring,
When they to rue their folie shall be fain.

The best way of making the royal pedant to "rue *his* folly" would have been to have left him to live by his sonnets, in which case he would soon have felt that dependence from which many better poets have not been able to save themselves. James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus, Feb. 27, 1585, mentions that "the King's *Poesies*" had just arrived, and "some sentences and verses are not well liked of, as he being a king of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms. And the verses which are a commentarie to the prose, *Quo duce*," &c. Cald. ii. p. 745.

to kings, or to question the wisdom of their actions; so that the chief opposition which James met with was from divines, who wanted taste to perceive or politeness to applaud the beauties of his sonnets, insinuated their doubts of the political aphorisms which he gave out, and flatly contradicted his theological dogmas. James, on the contrary, plumed himself greatly on his skill in divinity, and verily thought that he could settle a theological question, or make a commentary, or handle a text, better than all the divines of his kingdom. This appeared very conspicuously in the late conferences at Linlithgow. In the same paper in which he disclaimed the right of judging in doctrine, interpretation of Scripture, or heresies, he dogmatised, and interpreted, and created heresies, with the utmost freedom and confidence. And he concluded with throwing down the gauntlet to the whole clerical corps: "Whatsoever I have affirmed, I will offer me to prove by the word of God, purest ancients, and modern neotericks, and by the example of the best reformed kirks." He gave another display of his passion for polemics soon after the dissolution of the parliament. Having gone to Edinburgh, he attended worship in the High Church. Balcanquhal, in the course of his sermon, advanced something which was derogatory to the authority of bishops; upon which James rose from his seat, and, interrupting the preacher, asked him what Scripture he had for that assertion. Balcanquhal said he could bring sufficient proof from Scripture for all that he had asserted. The king denied this, and pledged his kingdom that he would prove the contrary; adding, "I know it is the practice of you preachers to busy yourselves about such causes in the pulpit, but I am aware of your intentions, and will look after you." This interlude continued upwards of a quarter of an hour, to the great edification of the audience; after which James resumed his seat, and heard the sermon to the end. But he was not satisfied with this skirmish. The preacher was sent for to the palace, where his majesty had the satisfaction of engaging him in close combat for more than an hour.[1] Not long after this, he signalised himself in a contest with an adversary of a different description. A great number of ministers and other spectators being assembled in Holyrood House, James Gordon, a Jesuit, was produced; his majesty singly entered the lists with him, beat that practised disputant from all his defences, and was saluted victor by acclamation.[2] James has often been accused of

[1] Henry Widdrington to Secretary Walsingham, January 7, 1585. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237.

[2] Moyse's Mem. p. 132. Johnstoni Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 125. The Jesuit here referred to was uncle to the Earl of Huntly, and is commonly designed "Jacobus Gordonus *Huntlæus*," to distinguish him from "Jacobus Gordonus *Lesmoræus*," who was also a Scotchman and a controversial writer among the Roman Catholics. Spotswood calls him "a simple man, and not deeply learned." Hist. p. 306. But this is a mistake. Gordon was well versed in the controversies of the age, and some of the most distinguished Protestant divines did not look on him as a despicable adversary. Glassii Philol. Sacra Accommod. a J. Aug. Dathio, tom. ii. par. i. p. 48. Charters says, "Peter Blackburn wrote a book against James Gordon the Jesuit." Short Account of Scotch Divines, p. 4, MS. in Adv. Lib. The following extract from the proceedings of the General Assembly, February 1587, relates to it: "Anent the disput had betwixt Mrs James Gordoun and Peeter Blackburne committit to

cowardice; but, at least, he discovered no lack of courage or keenness in fighting for his civil supremacy against popish priests, and for his ecclesiastical supremacy against presbyterian parsons.[1]

The conduct of the nobility, in referring the ministers to the king for an answer to their petitions, instead of transacting the business themselves, produced another evil beside that of fostering the unhappy disposition which James had contracted for controversy. In their censures of public measures, the preachers had hitherto said nothing which implied a reflection upon the king personally, but had uniformly imputed the faults which they condemned, and the grievances of which they complained, to the advice and influence of his counsellors. What had taken place at Linlithgow, joined to the galling disappointment which they had met with, drove some of them to a different course. In particular, James Gibson, minister of Pencaitland, in a sermon which he preached in Edinburgh, made use of the following indiscreet language: "I thought that Captain James Stewart, Lady Jesabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it was the king himself: as Jeroboam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true worshipping of God, so I fear that, if our king continue in his present course, he shall be the last of his race." He was immediately brought before the privy council, and having acknowledged the expressions which he had employed, was declared to have incurred the penalty of treason, and imprisoned until further steps were taken against him.[2] He was afterwards liberated from prison, and suspended from the exercise of the ministry by the General Assembly; but as the king was uncommonly sensitive as to personal affronts, and pardoned them with greater difficulty than an attempt upon his crown,[3] he continued long after to resent the liberty which Gibson had taken with his name.[4]

Though the parliament had passed an act restoring the ejected professors to their places, Melville found it impossible to resume his academical employment. The plague had dispersed the students, and the New College had been completely disorganised during his absence. When James Melville fled into England, Adamson assumed the superintendence of its affairs. At first he attempted to ingratiate himself with

the revieu of Mr Andro Melvill and certaine brether, the said Mr Andro reportit that on the pairt of the said Mr James and the enemies they fand great diligence and sophistrie: alwayes they praised God for the knowledge gevin to thair brother, in whose answer they had found solid judgment and great licht to the praise of God and overthrow of the enemie." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 152, a.

[1] In the language of his ancestor,

"He turned and gave them baith their paikis,
For he durst ding na udir,
Men said."

[2] Record of Privy Council, 21st and 23d December, 1585. An account of a very curious conversation between the king and the prisoner, before the Council, is inserted in Wodrow's Life of Gibson, pp. 2, 3.

[3] Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. v. pp. 437, 489.

[4] Record of Privy Council, Sept. 24, 1586. Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 150, 153. Records of Presbytery of Haddington, July 15, 1590. Gibson being apprehended a second time in November 1590, for resuming the exercise of his office, Duncanson, one of the king's chaplains, said that the people were offended that he was so hardly used, while Jesuits were overlooked. James replied that "no Jesuit had wronged his person so much as James Gibson." Cald. iv. 211, 212. Wodrow's Life of Gibson, p. 6.

the young men by professions of great respect for their Principal; but not succeeding in this, he altered his course. He questioned them in private on the lectures which they had been accustomed to hear, and the doctrine which they had been taught on particular topics; and the information which he acquired in this clandestine way he used to inflame his majesty against Melville.[1] The supremacy of kings and the pre-eminence of bishops formed the leading features of his own discourses from the chair and the pulpit; a mode of teaching which was extremely acceptable to the king and his courtiers: for, though rulers have often complained loudly of clergymen for introducing affairs of state into their sermons, they have never had any objection to the practice when it was employed to exalt the prerogative, or to eulogise their own administration. But the students, who were not altogether strangers to such controversies, and, moreover, had not the greatest confidence in the bishop's honesty, examined the quotations which he made, and the authorities to which he referred in support of his opinions, and triumphantly exposed such infidelities and inaccuracies as they detected.[2] Other arts of annoyance, such as young men are extremely apt to use against those who have incurred their dislike, were employed by them;[3] so that Adamson was glad to give up his prelections, and to avail himself of an order of court to leave St Andrews, and supply the place of the ministers who had forsaken the capital.[4] Irritated by the opposition he had met with, and averse to the system of theological instruction, he procured a warrant to convert the college into a school of philosophy, to invest Robertson, who had become subservient to his purposes, with the office of Principal, and to make such other arrangements in it as he should think proper.[5]

During the early part of the year 1586, James Melville was employed before the Privy Council and Court of Session in getting these deeds reduced, and in taking such other steps as were necessary to restore the college to its former state.[6] His uncle, in the mean time, took up his residence at Glasgow with his old friend the rector, who had requested his assistance in reorganising the university in that city. Hay and the other patrons of the institution urged him to remain with them, and to resume his former situation, which, owing to the public confusions, had continued vacant since the death of Smeton.[7] The most handsome and

[1] Discoursing one day on this subject, he exclaimed, "By the Lord God, Sir," (for the bishop did not scruple to encourage his majesty in his habit of profane swearing), "had that enemy to lawful authority remained another half-year, he had pulled the crown off your head by his seditious doctrine: For he taught that kings should come by election, as the multitude pleased to put them up or down." Cald. iii. 530.

[2] Cald. iii. 530.

[3] Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 78.

[4] Adamson felt himself exposed to similar affronts at Edinburgh. The council ordered a proclamation, "that nane mak prouocation to the archiebischop of Sanctand." He had been called over "to use the pastoral office within the said burgh," and certain of the inhabitants had employed "their wives and bairns" to insult him in various ways, pretending ignorance, &c. Record of Privy Council, Sept. 26, 1584.

[5] See Note A A.

[6] Melville's Diary, p. 180.

[7] On the 10th of January 1585, (*i. e.* 1586, according to modern computation), Mr Patrick Sharp was nominated and presented to the place of Principal of the College of Glasgow, vacant by the decease of Mr Thomas

liberal offers were made to induce him to comply with this request. But though he retained a great affection for that college, which he used to call his *eldest bairn*, and though he was sensible that he had the prospect of enjoying far more personal comfort there than in any other place, yet such were his convictions of the national utility of the New College of St Andrews, as a theological and literary establishment, that he could not think of deserting it, and determined to force himself a second time from Glasgow, against his own inclination and the solicitations of his best friends.[1] He accordingly returned to St Andrews in the month of March, and recommenced his lectures after an intermission of two years.[2]

Next to Arran, no individual in the nation was so universally disliked as Archbishop Adamson. He had been the chief adviser of the laws which overturned the ecclesiastical discipline. He had lent all the influence of his clerical character and episcopal power to the support of the late detested administration; and he had employed his pen in arraigning the exiled noblemen and ministers as traitors, traducing their characters before the world, and attempting to drive them from the asylum which they had found in England. His disgrace ought to have accompanied the fall of the administration with which he had chosen to connect his fortunes. It does not appear that the king ever felt for Adamson that personal favour which he still retained for Arran;[3] but having resolved to maintain Episcopacy, he judged it necessary to protect the individual who was its ablest and most devoted champion.

James Melville preached at the opening of the provincial synod of Fife which met at St Andrews in April 1586. In the course of his sermon, the preacher turned to the archbishop, who was sitting with great dignity in the assembly, and charged him with overthrowing, in violation of his promises, the scriptural government and discipline of the Church of Scotland; and then, addressing himself to the members of the synod, exhorted them to act the part of bold chirurgeons by cutting off such a corrupt member. Adamson complained of this injury; but the synod instantly converted the admonitions of the preacher into formal charges, and put the bishop on his trial. He at first refused to answer, and asserted that it was his prerogative to judge the synod, instead of their sitting in judgment upon his conduct. But after being repeatedly summoned, he attended, and gave in objections to their procedure, accompanied with answers to the charges brought against him. To the charge of having assumed the exercise of an unlawful office, he replied that he

Smeton. Register of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 140.

[1] Melvini Epist. 70, 71. [2] Diary, 180.

[3] The continuance of James's attachment to that worthless favourite after his removal from court, is mentioned by H. Widdrington in a letter to Secretary Walsingham, dated Jan. 7, 1585-6. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237. And by the French ambassador in a letter to d'Esneval, Oct. 31, 1586. Extract of the Despatches of Courcelles. It appears also from the circumstance of his not filling up the office of Chancellor, on the flight of Arran, but committing the discharge of its duties to Secretary Maitland, as Vice-Chancellor, which seems to have been an office created for the occasion. Crawfurd's Officers of State, pp. 140, 143, 146.

was ready to maintain the lawfulness of Episcopacy before the General Assembly; and he defended his conduct in overthrowing the presbyteries, by pleading the acts of parliament, which he dared the synod to impeach. He objected, among other things,[1] that the two Melvilles, and the Master of Lindsay, as his declared enemies, ought not to be permitted to sit as judges in his cause; but the synod allowed them to retain their seats after they had cleared themselves of malice in the usual way. On this ground Adamson protested and appealed to the General Assembly. Notwithstanding this, the synod proceeded with the cause, found Adamson guilty, and ordered him to be excommunicated, which was immediately done at their appointment by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. As soon as the synod was dissolved, the archbishop drew up an excommunication of Melville and some other ministers, which he caused to be read in the church by one of his servants; and then addressed a complaint and appeal to the King, the Privy Council, and the Estates.[2]

Without denying that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introduced the affair was certainly a material prejudging of the cause; and there is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger beforehand to his intentions. At any rate, both had suffered severely from the bishop; and although this does not prove that they had conceived malice against him, and might not have warranted the synod to exclude them judicially from a voice in the trial, yet their voluntarily declining to act as judges would have given to the process an appearance of greater decorum and impartiality. In fine, to gain in any due measure the end proposed, it was fit that the sentence should have had higher authority than that of a provincial synod, and that the cause should have been referred to the General Assembly, especially as the bishop had appealed to that judicature. But the truth seems to be, that the ministers were afraid that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would be overawed by the king, who had summoned it, and in whose presence it was to be held. It is probable, too, that the general odium under which Adamson lay at this

[1] The bishop objected to ruling elders and professors of universities, who had not received imposition of hands, having a voice in the synod; and in particular to Robert Wilkie, who was chosen moderator. In his answer to the bishop's reasons of appeal, James Melville says, "He distinguishes the clergy from the laicks. This smelleth of the pride of papistry and arroganey of the shavelings.—Mr Rot Wilkie was appointed be the act of the reformation of the colleges to teach theology, and to expone the Scriptures, as Origen *in Alexandrina Ecclesia*, being but *Ludimagister*, and yet approved by the best bishops of Palestina before whom he teached in divinity. Mr Robert Wilkie had been upon the exercise sixteen years before, and at the first erection of the presbyterie of St Andrews, be common vote of the brethren, elected and ordained an elder of the samen, and hath from that time still laboured in the word and doctrine." Cald. iii. 869. Wilkie was at this time a professor in St Leonard's College, and in the month of June following was elected minister and pastor of the congregation of St Andrews. Record of Kirk-Session, penult. Junii, 1586.

[2] Cald. iii. 858—865. Melville's Diary, p. 180—182. Spotsw. 345, 346. "April 26, 1586, Bishop of St And^s excommunication, qlk was acted in Fyff, to be intimat and registrat." Abstract of Records of Presbytery of Edinburgh. Wodrow, MSS. Advoc. Lib. vol. xxi. 4to. Adamson himself appears to say that the sentence against him was intimated through the kingdom. Epist. ad Jac. Reg. ante Paraph. Jobi.

time among the principal gentlemen of Fife, pushed on the synod to the adoption of such hasty and decisive measures.[1]

It has been said, that "the personal emulation between Melville and Adamson mingled with the disputes of the church, and heightened them." I confess I have not met with anything, either in the conduct of Melville or of the bishop, which directly warrants this conclusion. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that personal offences had arisen from their having been so often opposed to one another on public questions, and that their mutual alienation was greatly increased by what happened during Melville's banishment. If we are to believe Adamson, the Melvilles, not contented with directing the highest censures of the church against him, were concerned in a conspiracy against his life.[2] He wrote to the king, that James Melville had travelled through the country to excite the gentlemen against him, and that his uncle had convened them in the college, and instigated them by a violent harangue to assault his person. James Melville, on the other hand, informs us, that, at the time referred to, he was confined to his bed with a fever; and he gives the following account of what relates to his uncle. The bishop, to testify his contempt for the sentence of the synod, determined to preach in the parish church on the Sabbath after it was pronounced. Such of the people as scrupled to hear an excommunicated person repaired to public worship in the New College. It happened that the Laird of Lundie had come to St Andrews on business, and he went also to hear Melville, accompanied by his friends and retinue. An individual who observed the crowd thronging into the college, told Adamson, as he was entering the parish church, that a number of gentlemen were assembled from all parts of the country, and intended to take him out of the pulpit and hang him. The bishop, whose courage was not equal to his ambition, was struck with a sudden panic, collected his servants around him, and, not thinking himself safe in the church, took refuge in the belfry, from which the magistrates with great difficulty persuaded him to descend, by promising to escort him home in safety, and

[1] "The bishop is marvileuslie hated of all the protestants, his life very slanderous and shamfull that it's feared that yf the k. stand in his defence, as hitherto he doth, that that will alienate many men's harts or make them judge hardly of him. Full resolucon ys taken by all the gentlemen of the Ffife and the borough townes about them to stand with their ministers and other that have dealt in this cause agaynst the Bishop.—At a word, I never harde man worce spoken of. Ther is a legend wryten of his life, the nearest to that of the abbot of Clunye that was wryten of the death of the Cardinall of Lorrayne, that may be." Randolph to Walsingham, April 22, 1586. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. iii.

The following notice appears to be taken from a diary written at the time: "Upon the 16 of Aprile, Patrick archbishop of Sanct Andrews, was stricken be the Master of Lindsay and Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, and was excommunicated be the ministers. Whereupon both the strickers and excommunicaters were summoned." Cald. iii. 873.

[2] To this the bishop refers in the following rhetorical passage, quoted by his biographer: "Adjuro te, Melvine, per bifurcatā tuam frontem, per tumentes venas, per ardentes oculos, &c. quo die *Barrimontium* conscendisti; Quæ tua mens? quis ille animus? quis ardor oculi? quæ tuæ nefariæ atque impiæ conjurationes cū sceleratis tuis & perditis latronibus undiquaq. coactis, & in scelus omne propensis, in caput nostrum conjurantibus? Ecce duo gladii hic, unus ad excommunicandum, alter ad interficiendum." Tho. Volusenus, Vita Patricii Adamsoni, p. 6.

By *Barrimontium* we are probably to understand *Balrymont*, a place in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, where, it was alleged, the conspiracy against the bishop was formed.

assuring him that there was not the slightest appearance of tumult in the city.[1]

When Adamson's cause came before the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 10th of May,[2] it was agreed to waive the formal consideration both of the sentence of the Synod of Fife, and of the appeal from it, and to remove the excommunication, upon condition that the bishop subscribed a form of submission which was prescribed to him. By this deed he disclaimed all supremacy over the synod, and all right to judge other pastors or ministers, and declared, that if he had claimed this power, he had done wrong, and craved pardon for his oversight and imperious behaviour; and he promised to conduct himself for the future as a moderate pastor, and to submit his life and doctrine to the trial and censure of the General Assembly, without appealing in any way from its determinations. This declaration having been subscribed by Adamson, the Assembly, "to give testimony with what good-will they would obey his highness so far as they might and ought," declared, that, without judging of the appeal or condemning the synod, "they held the said process and sentence as unled, undeduced, or unpronounced, and restored the said bishop to the state he was in immediately before, provided always he observed his promises and behaved himself dutifully."[3] Archbishop Spotswood expresses his surprise that Adamson should have submitted to terms so derogatory to his episcopal authority; and he insinuates that the king temporised with the church, in the hopes that he would be able at a future period to restore the bishops to their legitimate power. The conduct of James gives too much ground for suspecting him of such views. But so far were the court from thinking that they had pledged themselves too far, that they regarded what they had accomplished as a victory; and the act of Assembly restoring Adamson, in which his submission was embodied, was triumphantly proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh by sound of trumpet.[4]

In the month of February preceding, the king had called together certain ministers, whom he judged more moderate than the rest, to confer with a deputation from the privy council on the subject of the ecclesiastical polity. Their consent was obtained to a species of Episcopacy, although of a very limited kind. The result of this conference was

[1] Adamson, De Pastoris Munere, pp. 68, 69, et Vita ejus adject. p. 6. Lond. 1619, 12mo. Melville's Diary, p. 182.

[2] This meeting of the General Assembly was called by a royal proclamation, which declared that the members should incur no danger "notwithstanding any laws, &c. maid in the contrair." Record of Privy Council, April 5, 1586. Before proceeding to choose their moderator, the members received a message to come down to the Royal Chapel, with which they complied after protesting that this should not prejudge their liberties. James having taken his place at the head of a table around which the members were seated, entertained them with a harangue, and then dismissed them to their ordinary house. Cald. iii. 881.

[3] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 141. Cald. 899, 900. Against this decision Hunter, who had pronounced the sentence of excommunication, protested. Spotswood represents Melville and Thomas Buchanan as adhering to Hunter's protest. Hist. p. 347. This is a mistake. The fact is correctly stated, from the minutes, in printed Calderwood, pp. 210, 211. The bishop, in his History, passes over one circumstance which he could scarcely have forgotten, viz., that in the list of those who opposed the absolution of Adamson, is the name of *John Spotswood*. Cald. iii. 916.

[4] Melville's Diary, p. 183.

now laid before the General Assembly, and all the influence of the court was employed to procure its ratification.[1] The king's commissioners protested that if it was not simply adopted, his majesty would retract the concessions which he had made, and leave the late acts of parliament to be carried into execution. Notwithstanding this threat, the Assembly entered upon the examination of the articles laid before them. They declared that bishops were not superior to other pastors; and being asked if they would not allow them a pre-eminence in respect of order, though not of jurisdiction, they answered, that "it could not stand with the word of God, only they must tolerate it in case it be forced upon them." After several conferences with the court, it was at last agreed, that until presbyteries were better constituted, and the General Assembly should take further order in the matter, bishops should admit ministers with the consent of the majority of the members of the presbytery or of assessors to be given them; that they should preside in the presbyteries within which they officiated;[2] and be subject to be tried and censured by the General Assembly only, or by commissioners whom it should appoint for that purpose. At the same time presbyteries were ordered to be re-established, and some of the leading articles in the Second Book of Discipline, concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the powers of general, provincial, presbyterial, and sessional assemblies, were agreed to with the consent of his majesty.[3] Upon the whole, though the proceedings of this Assembly were somewhat at variance with former acts of the church, yet the approbation given to them by the court unquestionably paved the way for the downfall of the bishops and the establishment of Presbytery.

Melville was employed by this Assembly to write in their name to the French Protestant ministers, who had obtained his majesty's license to reside in Scotland during the persecution which raged in their native country, and to assure them that the Assembly would do everything in their power to render their exile agreeable. The letter was delivered to Monsieur du Moulin, who had already arrived, and remained for some years in Scotland.[4]

[1] It appears from Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 60, and Cald. iii. 855, 857, that the resolutions of this conference are correctly given in the printed Calderwood, pp. 197, 199.

[2] Robert Wilkie, however, was appointed Moderator of the Presbytery of St Andrews instead of Bishop Adamson.

[3] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 143. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 6. Cald. iii. 902—905. Spotswood says, "In the mean time was the order of presbyteries set down, and their power defined, *the king taking no notice of their doings in that kind.*" Hist. p. 348. So far was this from being the case, that the platform of presbyteries entered into the register of this Assembly is expressly said to have been "presentit be my Lord Clerk of Register, and sett downe be his Lordship's travells." And with respect to their power, the commissioners deputed to wait on the king reported that "in the haill heads fund, little difficulty except [a little difficulty excepted, *Cald.*] quhilk is noted with his Ma. hand, his Grace aggried." Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 143, a. 144, a.

[4] Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 140, b. 141, a. Joachim du Moulin, minister of Orleans, and father of the celebrated Pierre du Moulin, minister of Paris, appears to be the individual referred to. The magistrates of Edinburgh not only allowed the French refugees to meet for worship in the common-hall of the college, but allotted stipends to their ministers. Reg. of Town Council, May 11, 1586. Collections for them and their brethren in England were made in the differ-

The relaxation of Adamson from ecclesiastical censure was followed by Melville's being laid under civil restraint. That the archbishop might return to St Andrews with suitable eclat, and recover his lost reputation, it was judged necessary that his rival should be removed for some time with as little noise as possible. On the dissolution of the General Assembly, Melville was sent for to the palace, and after being graciously received and allowed to kiss the king's hand, was told that his services in the university would be dispensed with for a season, and he might spend his time in his native place, until his majesty was pleased to recall him. Lest he should refuse compliance with this intimation, he was served, on quitting the palace, with a written charge to confine himself beyond the Water of Tay.[1] The bishop was appointed, besides preaching, to read a Latin lecture in St Salvator's College, which all the members of the university were enjoined to grace with their presence. In consequence of this, the principal duties of the New College were a second time devolved on James Melville. The university sent a deputation to the king, consisting of the Dean of Faculty and a Professor from each college, to solicit Melville's restoration, as a measure necessary to the prosperity of the academy, and conducive to the honour of his majesty and the nation. James testified his willingness to gratify them, provided the bishop was treated with due respect. But although all the security for this that could be required was given, the answer of the request was delayed; and Melville owed his liberty at last to that secret influence which is often exerted by the meanest persons about weak and arbitrary princes. The king spent the summer at Falkland, in his favourite employment of hunting and hawking. He sent several times for James Melville, who was surprised to find that his majesty, after conversing with him on ordinary topics, always left him in company with the master of his hawks. It turned out that this important personage had a friend who was a tenant of the New College, and who wished to have his lease renewed at a low rent; and James Melville was given to understand that, provided this boon was granted, his uncle would immediately be set at liberty. The professors were extremely averse to injure the revenues of the college to gratify such a minion; but there was no remedy, and the king having pledged his word that he would compensate the loss doubly,[2] the lease was subscribed and put into the hands of the hawk-master. Upon this, orders were issued for the liberation of Melville, who, coming to Falkland, was introduced by the Master of Gray, and after a free conversation with his majesty, was restored to favour and sent home to his college.[3]

ent parishes. Rec. of Kirk-Session of St And. Dec. 20, 1587; and Extracts from Records of Kirk-Session of Glasgow, May 23, 1588: in Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 26. "Also the said James (Lamb) delyverit the warrand from the Synodall for the ingaddering of the support to Mr Mwling banest out of France." Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 18, 1589.

[1] See Note BB.

[2] A gift of certain prebendaries, &c. to the New College of St Andrews, passed the Great Seal on the last day of January 1586. It was confirmed in the subsequent parliament. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 488.

[3] Diary, 183—185.

Melville resumed his academical labours, which had been so long interrupted, with fresh ardour, and the consequence was, that the bishop's prelections fell into disesteem and neglect. Adamson was still more mortified by the desertion of his pulpit discourses, in consequence of numbers leaving the parish church when he officiated, and attending sermon in the chapel of the Theological College. To prevent this he had recourse to a measure which was a sure proof of his declining fame. A mandate came from court, prohibiting the masters of the New College from preaching in English, and ordering them to confine their instructions on Sabbath, as well as on other days, to the Latin tongue.[1]

Great occasion has been taken to asperse the Church of Scotland from the circumstance of some of her ministers having refused to obey the king's order to pray for his mother, when she was under sentence of death. They might be too squeamish; but had James been less imperious, and more mindful of his disclaimer of all interference with the immediate acts of worship, he might have obtained ample satisfaction on this head. Instead of this, an act of council was made, prescribing the form of prayer; all ministers were charged by public proclamation to use it on pain of incurring his majesty's displeasure; and commissioners and superintendents were commanded to suspend from preaching such as refused.[2] None of the ministers refused to pray for the queen. The scruples of those who hesitated to comply with the order of the court rested upon the manner in which it was issued, and its implying, in their opinion, that Mary was innocent of the crime for which she was condemned to die.[3] They had not been accustomed, like the English clergy, to pray by book, or to frame their addresses to the Almighty in words which courtiers might be pleased to dictate to them, or to offer them up, like criminals at the foot of the gallows, under the terrors of suspension. They had long entertained an unfavourable opinion of Mary; they had at different times been alarmed for the security of their religion by plans laid for her restoration; and many of them were convinced of her accession to the conspiracy of Babington against Elizabeth. But the truth is, that few, if any of them, refused to pray for the preservation of her life.[4] The order for this was not made

[1] See Note BB.

[2] Record of Privy Council, Feb. 1, 1586.

[3] Cald. iv. 9. The only recusant specified by Spotswood (Hist. p. 354) is Mr John Cowper, "a young man not entered as yet in the function." It is evident, from his narrative of that case, that the archbishop had the Record of Privy Council before him. But he has introduced circumstances not warranted by that record, and which, if true, it would scarcely have failed to mention. It says nothing of the king's giving the preacher liberty to proceed with the service provided he would obey the charge and remember the queen in his prayers; nor of Cowper's replying, that he would do as the Spirit of God should direct him. Cowper was not imprisoned for refusing or declining to pray for the queen, but (as the minute expresses it) "becaus his Matie desyrit him to stay efter he had begwn his prayer in the pulpit within Sanct Geills Kirk in Edinburgh, declaring that thair was ane vther appoyntit to occupy that rewme, that he vtterit thir words following, thay ar to say, That this day suld bere witnes aganis his Mātie in the grett day of the Lord;" and because he denounced a woe against the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Record of Privy Council, Feb. 3, 1583.

[4] Spotswood says, "Of all the number, Mr David Lyndesay at Leith and the king's own ministers gave obedience." Hist. p. 354. The native inference from this is, that Spotswood himself did not "give obedience;" for he was

known to the ministers of St Andrews until the very day of her execution, and it was immediately complied with.[1] But the worst feature in the affair is, that there is reason to suspect that James wished the ministers to act a part in the solemn farce along with himself and Elizabeth. While he was issuing orders to offer up prayers for his mother's preservation, and summoning, imprisoning, and silencing ministers for alleged disobedience to these,[2] strong presumptions are not wanting that his grief for her fate, and his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct, were in a great degree affected and hypocritical.[3] It is certain, at least, that they were neither deep nor lasting. One proof of this, among many others, may be mentioned. Soon after the execution of Mary, Melville happened to be introduced to his majesty. James appeared to be in great spirits; laughed, and frisked, and danced about the room, in the boyish manner which he retained long after he came to man's years. The contrast between this levity and the sable attire of the company and apartment struck Melville's fancy, and brought to his recollection the way in which Mary was said to have mourned for the murder of her husband. He expressed his feelings, in an *impromptu*, to a gentleman of his acquaintance who stood beside him. The king seeing them smile, came forward and eagerly inquired the cause of their mirth. The gentleman excused himself by saying, that it was merely a sally of the Principal's humour which had extorted a smile from him. His majesty then applied to Melville, who felt averse to gratify the royal curiosity; but James, insisting on his demand, and promising not to resent any freedom that might have been used, he repeated the lines:

Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cahinnus?
Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut illa patrem.[4]

In the course of this year, Guillaume de Salluste, Sieur du Bartas, the celebrated French poet, visited Scotland. The king, in a work lately published by him, had given a translation of the *Uranie* of Du

then one of "the number." But Courcelles, the French ambassador, who was in Scotland and took a particular interest in the affair, informs us, that even those who at first refused, yielded. Letter to Henry III., Feb. 28, 1587.

[1] "Die mercurii viii. ferii anno lxxx. sexto. The quhilk day comperit M. Patrick Adamsoun, Bishop of St Andis allegeand him to haif an verbal direction of the kingis maiestie to desyre the minister and redar to pray publiclie for his hienes mother for hir conversioun and amendment of lyfe, and if it be Godis plesor to preserve hir from this present danger quhairin sche is now, that sche may heir efter be ane profitabill member in Chrystis kirk. The session presentlie assemblit being sufficientlie resoluit heirwith, hes concludit that the minister at ilk sermone, and the redar at ilk time quhen he sayis prayers, pray publiclie for the kingis g. mother as is desyrit." Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews.

[2] The two ministers of Aberdeen were brought twice all the way to Edinburgh, on a charge of disobeying the king's order. When they appeared before the privy council, it turned out that they were innocent; but, to save James's honour, one of them was obliged to make a declaration from the pulpit, on his return. Record of Privy Council, March 25, and May 19, 1587.

[3] See Note CC.

[4] Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 52, MSS. vol. i.—Two copies of verses on Queen Mary, by Melville, are inserted in Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regvm Scotorvm, p. 58. Amstel. 1602. The following lines, which he composed on her execution, have not been printed.

Si Scotam Angla ferit, Mariam si mactat Eliza,
Reginam Regina necat, cognata propinquam;
Ecquid agas Mariæque hæres, hæres et Elizæ?
Non abeunt, non advenient sine sanguine regna.
Archib. Simsoni Annal. Eccl. Scotic.
MS. p 47.

Bartas, whom he had invited to his dominions, with the view of engaging him to return the compliment by translating his majesty's *Scottis Poesie* into the French language.[1] Henry IV., then King of Navarre, availed himself of this opportunity to secure the friendship of the King of Scots, by giving the poet a letter of credence to him, and secret instructions to propose a marriage between him and his sister, the Princess of Navarre. A wiser choice of an ambassador could not have been made; for James was flattered by the visit of a man of genius, and felt disposed to concede to his representations what he might have denied to a professional though more dignified negotiator.[2]

In the end of June his majesty accompanied Du Bartas to St Andrews. On his arrival he came to the New College, and intimated that he would return in the course of an hour, along with his learned French friend, to hear a lecture. Melville had already read his ordinary lecture, and was quite unprepared for entertaining such illustrious auditors; but the king would take no excuse. Accordingly the university was assembled, and Melville delivered an extemporary discourse, which gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except his majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church government. Next day the bishop feasted the king and Du Bartas. Previous to this he pronounced an elaborate discourse, containing the substance of his late lectures in support of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville attended on the occasion, and was observed to take notes during the delivery of the discourse. When it was over, he sent information to the royal party, and to the members of the university, that he intended to prelect in the afternoon. Suspecting his intention to answer the bishop's oration, James sent one of his attendants to warn him that if he did not keep within the bounds of moderation, and of the respect due to his presence, he would again lay him under restraint. Melville replied that he was bound to counteract the effects of poisonous doctrine at the risk of his life; but, so far as was consistent with what he owed to truth, he

[1] Courcelles's tenth despatch to the French king, June 24, 1587. MS. referred to in Note CC. Du Bartas did translate one of James's poems into French heroics, and added very grateful encomiums on the "Scots Phœnix:" so he calls him. "La Lepanthe de Jaques vi., Roy d'Ecosse, Faicte Françoise par le Sieur du Bartas. Imprimé a Edinbvrg par Robert Walde-grave, Imprimeur du Roy. Anno Dom. 1591. Auec Priuelége de sa Majesté." 4to. 14 leaves. It was printed, along with the original, in *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises.*

[2] James denied to Courcelles that the King of Navarre had requested military aid. "He (James) will not assist rebellious subjects against their Soveraigne, a thing commendable neither before God nor man, and of evil example to all the world." The Lord of Weimes (he added) "was going with 10 or 12 gentlemen to accompany the King of Navarre in hunting, but to have nothing to do with war." But the ambassador did not feel disposed to place implicit confidence in his majesty's word, which he had already found reason to suspect.—Courcelles's 11th Despatch, compared with his 6th.

"The kinge, besides all his costes which he defraied, gratefyed Dubartas at his departure with a chaine of 1000 li. and as much in redie money, made him knight, and accompanied him to the sea side, wher he made him promise to retourn againe." 13th Despatch, Sept. 28, 1587. Lord Tungland accompanied him to France, to bring James a report of the Princess of Navarre. Ibid., and Sir James Melville's Mem. p. 177. The princess rejected the match in consequence of her ardent attachment to the Comte de Soissons. Mémoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. p. 656. Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 122.

would be most tender of his majesty's honour. James sent a second messenger to say, that he depended on his prudence, and meant to take a repast with him in the college. At the hour appointed, the hall was crowded with auditors, among whom were the king, Du Bartas, and Adamson, who, expecting to be attacked, had obtained liberty from his majesty to defend himself. Melville took no notice of the discourse which had been delivered in the morning, but quoted from certain popish books, which he brought along with him, the leading positions and arguments which the bishop had advanced; and then, as if he had to do only with Roman Catholics, proceeded to overthrow them "with such inimitable force of reason and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed and stricken as dumb as the stock he sat upon!" His majesty afterwards made a speech in English, interposed some scholastic *distinguos*, and concluded by enjoining the members of the university to respect and obey the bishop. He then partook of an entertainment in the college and retired.[1] Du Bartas remained behind to converse with Melville. In the evening James asked his visitor's opinion of the two discourses. Du Bartas said they were both learned, but the bishop's was prepared for the occasion, whereas the Principal had shown that he had a vast store of various learning at command; "besides," added he, "he has far more spirit and courage than the other." In this judgment his majesty professed to acquiesce.[2]

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in June 1587, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament.[3] At this parliament, the temporal lands of bishopries, abbacies, and priories, were annexed to the crown; a measure which paved the way for the abolition of Episcopacy.[4] It virtually divested the bishops of their right to sit in the national judicature, which was founded on their baronial possessions; and, consequently, removed the principal plea upon which the court had hitherto upheld them in opposition to the unequivocal and decided sentiments of the church. This consideration induced the presbyterian ministers to wink at the alienation of the ecclesiastical property. Nor do the bishops appear to have made any formal opposition to this sweeping statute. Existing solely by the favour of the prince, and dreading the entire suppression of their order, they silently acquiesced in a measure which stripped them of such valuable possessions, and left them exposed to the persevering attacks of their adversaries. In the beginning of the year

[1] "The king with Monsieur du Bartas cam to the collage hall, wher I causit prepear and haif in readiness a banquet of wat and dry confectiones with all sorts of wyne; wherat his Matie *campcd* verie mirrilie a guid whill." Melville's Diary, p. 188.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 188, 189. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, pp. 52, 53. Adamson's son-in-law says that his discourse before the king and Du Bartas was *extempore*. Vita Patr. Adamsoni, p. 9.

[3] By this Assembly "Mr Andro Mevill was ordainit to pen a favourable wryting to the ministrie in Danskine [Dantzic] congratulating their embracing of the treuth in the matter of the sacrament." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, folio 148, b. They had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*. Bibliotheca Bremensis, Class. vol. vi. p. 1142.

[4] Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum, vol. iii. p. 431—437.

1588, Melville took an active part in arousing the nation to a sense of its danger from the threatened Spanish Armada. James had received timely warning of the hostile intentions of the King of Spain, and of the correspondence which he maintained with Scotland; but he testified no disposition to adopt the precautions necessary to avert the danger which menaced his dominions.[1] While Jesuits and seminary priests were seducing his subjects from their allegiance, and preparing them for revolt on the first appearance of a foreign force, he was busy commenting on the Apocalypse, and demonstrating by arguments drawn from that book that the Pope was Antichrist.[2] So bold was the faction devoted to Spain and Rome, and so great its influence at court, that it obtained a protection for these dangerous emissaries to remain in the country; a liberty which they improved in maturing a plot to banish or massacre the Protestant statesmen.[3] In these circumstances, Melville, in virtue of the powers vested in him as moderator, called an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. He opened the deliberations with an animated address, in which he acquainted the members with his reasons for convening them. The alarming crisis had drawn an unusual concourse of the subjects to the capital, and all were actuated with the same spirit. It was agreed that the barons, burgesses, and ministers, should meet apart, to consult on the dangers which hung over the church and commonwealth, and on the best means of providing against them. A deputation was appointed to lay the result of their consultations before the king, and to make him an offer of their lives and fortunes. James interpreted this as an interference with his administration, and an implicit censure upon his past conduct; but the deputies having remonstrated with him freely on the dangers of the times, he, after consulting with his advisers, returned them thanks for their zeal, and nominated a committee of privy council to meet with them and concert common measures for the public safety. The consequences of this co-operation were of the happiest kind. Among other steps that were taken, a solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence, approved by his majesty and zealously promoted by the ministers of the church, was sworn by all ranks. In this, they protested that the reformed religion and his majesty's estate had the same friends and foes, and engaged that they would defend and maintain them against all plots and preparations, foreign or domestic, and particularly against the threatened invasion from Spain; that they would assist in the discovery and apprehension of Jesuits and other vassals of Rome; that they would assemble at his majesty's command, and hazard their lives, lands, and goods, in resisting the common enemy; and that they would lay aside all private feuds, and submit every difference that might arise among them in the mean time to the judgment of arbiters to be chosen

[1] Courcelles's Eighth Despatch to the French king, May 12, 1587.
[2] Melville's Diary, p 191.
[3] Cotton MSS. Cal. D. i. 98. Gordon's Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 210—212. Moyse's Mem. pp. 130, 134.

by the king.[1] By these means Scotland was put in a state of defence, and in concert with England waited the result of the formidable preparations of Spain.

James Melville had, some time before this, left the university of St Andrews, and was now minister of Anstruther, a maritime town on the south-east coast of Fife. Early one morning, when the fate of the Armada was yet unknown in Scotland, one of the bailies of the town appeared at his bedside, and informed him that a ship filled with Spaniards was off their harbour; adding, that he needed be under no alarm, as they were come "not to give mercy but to ask it," and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them. The principal inhabitants having convened, it was agreed to give audience to the commander, and that their minister, who had some acquaintance with the Spanish language, should convey to him the sentiments of the town. Intimation of this having been sent to the vessel, a venerable old man of large stature and martial countenance entered the town-hall, and making a profound bow and touching the minister's shoe with his hand, addressed him in Spanish. "His name was Don Jan Gomes de Medina; he was commander of twenty ships, being part of the grand fleet which his master, Philip, king of Spain, had fitted out to revenge the insufferable insults which he had received from the English nation; but God, on account of their sins, had fought against them, and dispersed them by a storm; the vessels under his command had been separated from the main fleet, driven on the north coast of Scotland, and shipwrecked on the Fair Isle; and, after escaping the merciless waves and rocks, and enduring great hardships from hunger and cold, he and such of his men as were preserved had made their way, in their only remaining bark, to this place, intending to seek assistance from their good friends and confederates, the Scots, and to kiss his majesty's hand (making another profound bow), from whom he expected relief and comfort to himself, his officers, and poor men, who were in a most pitiable condition." When James Melville was about to reply in Latin, a young man, who acted as interpreter, repeated his master's speech in English. The minister then addressed the admiral. "On the score of friendship, or of the cause in which they were embarked, the Spaniards," he said, "had no claims on them; the King of Spain was a sworn vassal to the Bishop of Rome, and on that ground they and their king defied him; and, with respect to England, the Scots were indissolubly leagued with that kingdom, and regarded an attack upon it as the same with an attack on themselves: but although this was the case, they looked upon them, in their present situation, as men and fellow-creatures labouring under privations and sufferings to which they themselves were liable; and they rejoiced at an opportunity of testifying how superior their religion

[1] Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 149—152. Printed Calderwood, p. 223—225. Spotswood passes over this transaction entirely. Dr Robertson has confounded this *Band* with the *National Covenant* which was sworn seven years before. Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. b. vii. p. 83.

was to that of their enemies. Many Scotsmen who had resorted to Spain for the purpose of trade and commerce had been thrown into prison as heretics, their property confiscated, and their bodies committed to the flames; but so far from retaliating such cruelties on them, they would give them every kind of relief and comfort which was in their power, leaving it to God to work such a change on their hearts respecting religion as he pleased." This answer being reported by the interpreter to the Spanish admiral, he returned most humble thanks; adding, that he could not answer for the laws and practices of the church to which he belonged, but as for himself, there were many in Scotland, and perhaps some in that very town, who could attest that he had treated them with favour and courtesy. After this, the admiral and his officers were conveyed to lodgings which had been provided for them, and were hospitably entertained by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen, until they obtained a protection and licence from his majesty to return home.[1] Before their departure James Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the Armada, with the names of the principal persons who had perished in the wreck of the galliots on the coasts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On this news being imparted to Jan Gomes, the tears flowed down the furrowed cheeks of the hardy veteran.

The sequel of the story must not be suppressed. Some time after this, a trading vessel belonging to Anstruther was arrested in a Spanish port. Don Jan Gomes was no sooner informed of this than he posted to court, and obtained her release from the king, to whom he spoke in the highest terms of the humanity and hospitality of the Scots. He invited the ship's company to his house, inquired kindly after individuals of his acquaintance in the good town of Anstruther, and sent his warmest commendations to their minister, to whom he considered himself as particularly indebted.[2] The mind feels relieved in turning from "the battle of the warrior, with its confused noise, and garments rolled in blood," to contemplate the image of him who is "a strength to the needy in his distress, and a refuge from the tempest, when the blast of the terrible is as a storm against the wall." It is pleasing to perceive the ardent zeal of our ancestors against popery not interfering with the calls of humanity and charity; and it is consolatory to find that there have always been examples of generosity and gratitude in a country which superstition has chosen for her favourite abode, and where bigotry has so long maintained her intolerant, degrading, and most frightful reign.

The signal overthrow of the Spanish Armament did not repress the fiery zeal of the Papists in Scotland. During the year 1589 they were indefatigable in extending their conspiracy among the nobility; and

[1] The names of the officers were, "Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legaretto, Capitan de Suffera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seignour Serrano." The privates, "to the number of thretin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled, and hungred," were supplied with "keall, pottage, and fishe." Melville's Diary, 193.

[2] Ibid. 192—194.

their agents urged Philip, and the Duke of Parma, his general in the Low Countries, to send an army directly to Scotland, as the best method of invading the dominions of the English queen. An Assembly of the chief ministers was again called; Thomas Craig and other eminent lawyers assisted at their deliberations; and the wise and vigorous measures which they recommended, enabled the government to suppress the insurrection made by the popish lords on the discovery of their traitorous correspondence. Melville took the lead in this affair; and was chosen Moderator of the Assembly, to which his nephew acted as clerk.[1]

It was at this time that the variance which had long subsisted between the court and the church began to be removed. This was chiefly owing to the prudence of the Chancellor Maitland. That able statesman had commenced his political career unhappily under the administration of Arran, and had taken an active part in promoting some of the most obnoxious measures respecting the government of the church. But he was soon convinced of the folly and mischief of that course, and embraced the first opportunity of cautiously retracing his steps. He perceived the danger to which the nation was exposed from the popish faction, and the policy of cultivating a close connection with England. He saw that the peace of the church was necessary to the strength of the kingdom, and that this could not be established so long as the court supported the bishops, who were odious to their brethren and destitute of all influence over the people. And he was convinced that it was a gross anomaly in politics, for the civil authority to uphold one form of ecclesiastical polity, while the church established by law continued to act upon another which was diametrically opposite to it. These views he took every opportunity of inculcating upon the king; and although he was thwarted by those who envied his power, and felt it no easy task to counteract prejudices which he had contributed to infuse into the royal breast, yet as James entertained a high opinion of his talents, and was very dependent on those to whom he intrusted his affairs, the chancellor was ultimately able to execute his plans.[2]

Another individual who had great influence in bringing matters to this desirable issue was Robert Bruce. He was the second son of the Laird of Airth, and after completing the study of the laws abroad, had practised for some years at the Scottish bar with the most flattering prospects of advancement. But after a severe struggle of mind between secular motives and convictions of a higher kind, he abandoned that profession and entered as a student of divinity at St Andrews. In the year 1587 he was introduced to the General Assembly by Melville, who recommended him as every way qualified for filling the pulpit that had been occupied by Knox and Lawson. It was not without great reluctance, and after a considerable trial, that Bruce complied with the

[1] Diary, p. 195—198. Printed Calderwood, pp. 227—229, 230—244. [2] Diary, p. 200.

joint entreaties of his brethren and of the inhabitants of the capital.[1] The nobility respected him for his birth and connections; his eminent gifts as a preacher gained him the affection of the common people; and those who could not love him stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and incorruptible virtue. He acted in full concert with Melville; and his station at Edinburgh, and his influence with the chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the church than any other individual.[2]

The happy effects of this change of policy appeared convincingly while his majesty was in Denmark, on the occasion of his marriage. In the instructions which he left behind him, he nominated Bruce an extraordinary member of the privy council, and declared that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility. Nor was he disappointed. Bothwell was made to give public satisfaction in the church of Edinburgh for his turbulent conduct. The popish lords attempted to excite disturbance; but, finding the council prepared to resist them, they desisted from their practices and remained quiet. During the six months that the king and chancellor were absent, the kingdom exhibited a scene of unwonted tranquillity: scarcely one affray happened in which blood was shed; although, formerly, a week seldom elapsed without instances of such violations of the peace and insults on legal authority.[3] The letters which Bruce received at this time from James remain as proofs of his meritorious services, and of the ingratitude of the monarch by whom he was afterwards treated with the most unmerited and unrelenting severity.[4]

Melville was invited to be present at the ceremony of the queen's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the Chapel of Holyrood House, on the 17th of May 1590, in the presence of the ambassadors of Denmark and other foreign states, and of a great concourse of Scottish nobility and gentry. On that occasion three sermons were preached; one in Latin, another in French, and a third in English.[5] After an interval, during which the royal party retired for a little from

[1] Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says the reason "may be easily guessed at," as he agreed to stay upon "the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 45. If instead of *guessing*, that writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known, that Bruce, at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle at Edinburgh, and had a call to St Andrews which he preferred (Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, May 21, 1589, Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 4); that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis required a stipend much greater than that of his colleagues, inasmuch as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church was devolved on him; and that the independent spirit, and scrupulous honour, which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives.

[2] Cald. iii. 320. Melville's Diary, pp. 106, 200.

[3] Melville's Diary, pp. 204, 205.

[4] Calderwood (iv. 178—194, 445) has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the chancellor, and four by the king, to Bruce. His majesty addresses him as his "trusty and well-beloved counsellor;" and says that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom," that he would reckon himself "beholden while he lived" for the services he had done him, and that he would "never forget the same."

[5] The coronation was on a Sabbath.

the assembly, Robert Bruce performed the ceremony of anointing the queen, and, assisted by the chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the crown on her majesty's head. Melville then rose, and recited a Latin poem in celebration of the joyful event. The solemnity continued from ten in the morning till five at night.[1]

Melville had no information that he was expected to take part in the coronation until two days before it happened. He had therefore little time for preparation. But, although hastily composed, his poem was greatly admired, as well as the spirited and graceful manner in which it was pronounced. In returning him thanks, his majesty said, That he had that day done him and the country such honour as he could never requite. He enjoined him to give the poem immediately into the hands of the printer, adding, that all the ambassadors joined with him in soliciting its publication. It was accordingly printed next day under the title of *Stephaniskion*;[2] and being circulated through Europe, added to the reputation which the author had already gained. Lipsius and Scaliger, who then divided between them the dictatorship in the republic of letters, bestowed on it their warmest commendations.[3] A general regret was expressed that the author of such a poem did not favour the public with larger and more frequent productions of his muse. When this was signified to him by his friends, he repeated the excuse which he had formerly made,[4] but at the same time gave them ground to hope that their wishes would be gratified, if he should find leisure from his more important and pressing avocations.[5]

On the first Sabbath after the coronation of the queen, the king attended sermon in St Giles's Church, and made a harangue to the people, in which he thanked them and the ministers for their conduct during his absence, confessed that the affairs of the kingdom had hitherto been ill administered, and promised to exert himself in the correction of all abuses. At the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly he repeated these professions, lamented the bloody feuds which disgraced the country, and exhorted the ministers to embrace every opportunity of impressing their hearers with the enormity of such crimes. It was

[1] Cald. iv. 196—198. Moyse's Memoirs, p. 170. Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis. Edin. 1590. Spotswood hurries over the affair of the coronation. "The king," says he, "determining to have it done in most solemn manner, *because none of the bishops were present, nor could conveniently be brought against the day*, made choice of Mr Robert Bruce to perform the ceremony." Hist. p. 381. The bishops, forsooth, good men! were all so conscientiously employed in watching their flocks, that not one of them could spare time to wait on the court, but left this business to "idle" ministers. To make amends for the brevity of his description, the archbishop introduces, by way of episode or diversion, an account of a dispute among the ministers respecting the lawfulness of unction, which his majesty put an end to, by threatening that he would "stay till one of the bishops came." James knew very well, that half-a-dozen of them would have started up at a single blast of his hunting-horn.

[2] See Note DD.

[3] On reading it, Lipsius exclaimed, *Revera Andreas Melvinus est serio doctus.* And Scaliger, who was not usually lavish in his praises of others, and did not entertain the lowest opinion of his own abilities, among other complimentary expressions, said in a letter to the author, *Nos talia non possumus.* Melville's Diary, p. 206.

[4] See above, p. 46.

[5] Melville's Diary, *ut supra.* Calderwood represents Melville's *Stephaniskion* as delivered in the presence of the ambassadors on the day of the queen's public entrance into the city of Edinburgh, which was two days after the coronation. Cald. iv. 198. This is incorrect. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 71.

on this occasion that he pronounced his celebrated panegyric on the purity of the Church of Scotland. He praised God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place, as to be king in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva," continued his majesty, "keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them?—they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly."[1] Whether James was seized on this occasion with a sudden fit of devotion and of affection for his mother church, or whether he merely adopted this language to gain the favour of the ministers, may admit of some doubt. But it is certain that the speech was received by the Assembly with a transport of joy: "There was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God and praying for the king."

When the church was enjoying internal peace, and had the prospect of obtaining from the government a redress of her grievances, she met with an unexpected attack from a foreign quarter. Notwithstanding the difference between the churches of England and Scotland, in their external form of worship and discipline, they had hitherto continued on friendly terms. The latter rested satisfied with acting for herself in removing various corruptions which were retained by the former, and did not interfere with the internal affairs of her neighbour; except by interceding, in one or two instances, in behalf of those who were suffering for nonconformity to the ceremonies. Even when engaged in contending against Episcopacy, which the court and a few ambitious churchmen obtruded on them, contrary to the original constitution of their church, the ministers of Scotland had avoided, as far as possible, reflections on the ecclesiastical establishment of England. The English bishops, who were in general men respectable for their piety and talents, had used the same reserve with respect to Scotland, and endeavoured to preserve that union between the two nations which was of the greatest consequence to both, while they were exposed to the restless attacks of a common and dangerous enemy. Of late years, symptoms of an opposite spirit had manifested themselves, in the countenance given to Adamson, and in the industry with which his calumnious libel had been circulated in England. But open hostilities were at this time proclaimed by Doctor Bancroft, an aspiring ecclesiastic, in a sermon which he preached before the parliament, and which was immediately published. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect specimen of the argu-

[1] Cald. iv. 198, 204. When Spotswood has occasion to mention anything said or done by his majesty in favour of Presbytery, he usually adds, that the king temporised with the ministers. But such an apology on the present occasion would have been rather too gross; and, accordingly, he omits entirely that part of the speech which was in commendation of the Church of Scotland. Hist. p. 382.

ment *ad invidiam*, than this oration exhibits. All the topics of declamation calculated to excite prejudice are carefully collected, and employed with no small art. Puritanism is the offspring of a spirit of pride, ambition, covetousness, and insubordination. Puritans are coupled with the worst heretics who had infested the church in ancient or modern times. All those writings which contained sentiments less favourable to monarchical government, whether published in Britain or on the Continent, are imputed to them. The jealousy of the queen is aroused by representing them as enemies to her supremacy: the nobility are alarmed by being told that the recovery of abbey-lands was what they aimed at; and the gentry and commons are frightened with the inquisitorial powers of the presbyterian discipline. All are warned to avoid such pests to society; and magistrates are called on to use their authority to restrain and punish them.[1] Not contented with exposing the evils of Presbyterianism in the way of general argument, and with confuting such as maintained it in England, the author of the sermon makes a direct and wilful attack on the government and discipline of the Church of Scotland. The reformer whom the Scots held in veneration is stigmatised as a man of contentious humour and perverse behaviour. And an odious picture, borrowed from the distorted representations of Adamson and Brown, is given of the proceedings of the ministers and church courts in Scotland during their late dissensions with the court. They took it upon them to alter the laws of the land without the consent of the King and Estates—threatened them with excommunication—filled the pulpits with seditious and treasonable doctrine—utterly disclaimed the king's authority—trode upon his sceptre—laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God nor of man could tolerate, which was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition, and rebellion, and an introduction to anabaptism and popularity;—instead of one pope and some lord bishops in name, they had set up a thousand lordly tyrants who disclaimed the name: On these accounts the king had overthrown the presbyteries; and although it might seem from his recent conduct that he had altered his views of them, yet this could not be the case, and he was to be considered as merely accommodating himself for a time to circumstances.[2] Such was the way in which the chaplain of the Lord Chancellor of England excited the members of the high court of parliament to express their gratitude to Providence, for the deliverance which they had just experienced from the Spanish Armada! And such was the reward which the preachers of Scotland received for their unwearied efforts to preserve amity between the two kingdoms, and for the zeal with which they had

[1] "If they (the puritanical 'geese and dogs') will gaggle and make a noise in the day time without any cause, *opinor iis crura suffringantur*: I think it very fit they be rapt in the shinnes." Bancroft's Sermon, p. 73, edit. 1636.

[2] "A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9th of February; being the first Sunday in the Parliament Anno 1588, by Richard Bancroft—Chaplaine to the L. Chancellor of England." Printed in 1588, and reprinted in 1636.

aroused and persuaded their countrymen to make a common cause with England, during the most alarming danger with which she was ever threatened![1]

It is easy to conceive how the ministers of the Church of Scotland must have felt at this unprovoked attack. They viewed it, not as an attempt to bring the merits of the two forms of ecclesiastical polity to a fair and dispassionate discussion, but as a vile libel, intended to hold them up to detestation before a neighbouring nation; as the work of an interested alarmist, who was regardless of the means which he employed to please his patrons and to protect lucrative abuses; and as an attempt to throw a firebrand into a peaceable community, to rekindle the flame of dissension which was nearly quenched in Scotland, and to revive in the breast of his majesty those prejudices and enmities which had already been productive of so much evil. Under these impressions they appointed a committee to write a letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the indignity which they had suffered;[2] and to draw up an answer to the railing accusations which had been brought against them.[3] The letter and the answer were prepared; but, on a calmer consideration of all circumstances, it was judged proper to suppress them, and to rest satisfied with a small publication by an individual, containing a protest against the rashness of the calumniator, and the reasons of their declining to enter upon a defence of their conduct.[4] They were averse to engage in open hostilities against the Church of England. The falsehood of the charges brought against them was known to several individuals of the English court, who promised to see justice done them. They were loth to offend Elizabeth, whose patronage they had experienced, and of whose aversion to all innovations on the ecclesiastical constitution of her kingdom they were fully aware. And they knew that James, though disposed to consent to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland, was anxious to avoid giving offence to the English bishops, who might be provoked to lay obstacles in the way of his succession. A generous adversary would have scorned to avail himself of the advantage which these circumstances gave him, and would have desisted

[1] The only excuse that can be made for such conduct is, that the bishops were at this time greatly alarmed at the increase of the nonconformists, and at the resolutions of the House of Commons against ecclesiastical abuses. Bancroft gives an extract from "a Letter of P. A." (Patrick Adamson) which throws light on these fears. "Certain of the chiefe Noblemen of England dealt with me to persuade the King of Scotland, my master, to overthrow all the Bishopricks in his country, that his proceedings therein might be an example for England adjoining." Dangerous Positions, p. 5, 2d edit.

[2] Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1589. A copy of the intended letter to Elizabeth is inserted in Calderwood, iv. 171—175.

[3] Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 29, and June 5, 1589.

[4] This was published by John Davidson under the following title: "D. Bancrofts Rashnes in rayling against the Chvrch of Scotland, noted in Answere to a Letter of a worthy person of England, and some reasons rendred, why the answere thereunto hath not hitherto come foorth. By J. D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland. Ex Mvltis Pavca. At Edinbvrgh printed by Robert Walde-grave. Anno 1590." B in eights. The running title is, "A proofe of D. Bancrofts rashnes against the Church of Scotland." It concludes, "Farewell, from Edin. the 18. of September, 1590. Yours in the Lord. J. D." The only copy of this rare tract which I have seen or heard of is in the possession of Mr David Laing.

from assailing persons whom he knew to be restrained from self-defence. Bancroft was of a different disposition. Besides corresponding with Adamson, he employed an English bookseller at Edinburgh as a spy on the ministers, transmitted to him a string of officious queries respecting the conduct of the preachers and the procedure of the church courts, and continued, from time to time, to publish the information which he catered by such means, in books still more inflamed and abusive than his first production.[1] Sutcliff, Saravia, and other English divines, carried on the same mode of warfare in various publications. By remaining silent under these attacks, the ministers of Scotland certainly displayed their moderation:[2] the wisdom of their conduct may be questioned by some who respect the motives from which it proceeded. The fact is mentioned here, as it throws light on the state of parties, and helps to account for events which will afterwards come under our notice.

James took an opportunity of contradicting the insinuation of Bancroft, that he dissembled in the concessions which he had lately made in favour of Presbytery.[3] But various parts of his conduct gave too much reason for concluding that he still retained the anti-reformation principles which he had imbibed from his early favourites. Desirous as the ministers were at this period to cultivate his good graces, it was impossible for them to refrain from censuring the glaring instances in which justice was diverted from its course, and convicted or notorious murderers screened from punishment, by his culpable negligence and favouritism. No instance of this kind raised the indignation of the people to such a pitch, or sunk the character of the king so low, as the murder of the Earl of Moray, the heir of the first regent, by the Earl of Huntly, and the indifference, or rather aversion, which the court testified to avenge the crime. Melville, along with some other ministers, was deputed by the General Assembly to wait on the king, and to stimulate him to the vigorous discharge of his duty in this affair. As was natural, the preachers, in taking notice of the death of the son, had alluded to the father, and mentioned the name of the Good Regent with that regard and veneration with which they continued to cherish his memory. In the course of the present conference James testified his dissatisfaction at such speeches. Melville defended them, and expressed his surprise and sorrow at learning, that there were persons about the court who spoke disrespectfully of those to whom Scotland was under the highest obligations. The conversation growing warm, the chancellor, who did not feel quite at ease on this topic, interrupted Melville,

[1] Cald. iv. 175. Bancroft's publications are entitled: "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline," and "Dangerous Positions, or Scottish Genevating and English Scottizing for Discipline;" printed in 1593, and reprinted in 1662. In the last-mentioned work (p. 30, 2d edit.), Bancroft disingenuously complains of the Scottish ministers as attempting to "cast some of their contentions and disloyal seeds into England." The only proof of this which he is able to produce is Davidson's book, consisting of sixteen small leaves, and extorted by his own virulent invective.

[2] Calderwood quotes from an answer made by John Davidson to Sutcliff, but I do not know that it was ever printed.

[3] Bancroft's Rashnes, sig. A 5.

and told him that that was not the errand on which he came. He answered, that on such a theme he would not be silenced by any individual beneath his majesty. The king said, that none but seditious and traitorous theologues would defend Moray, Knox, and Buchanan. Melville replied, that they were the men who set the crown upon his head, and deserved better treatment. His majesty said, that his crown came to him by succession, and was not given him by any man. "But they were the instruments," replied Melville; "and whosoever informs your majesty sinistrously of these men, neither loves you nor the commonwealth."[1]

Adamson was the only one of the bishops who persisted in opposing the church after the annexation of their temporalities to the crown.[2] In August 1588, a variety of accusations were given in against him to the General Assembly. His extravagance and imprudence had involved him in great pecuniary embarrassments, and his person was liable to be seized by his creditors. He was charged with having abstracted, secreted, and mutilated the registers of the Assembly, and with having celebrated the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, contrary to an express inhibition of the commissioners of the church.[3] The Assembly remitted his trial to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, giving them full power to pass a final sentence in the process, according to the laws of the church. Having proceeded on a libel given in against him by Robert Pont and Adam Johnston, the presbytery found the bishop guilty of falsehood and double-dealing, erroneous doctrine, opposition to the discipline of the church, and contempt of the late public thanksgiving; and therefore deposed him from all function in the ministry, and debarred him from privileges in the church, until he should give satisfaction for his offensive conduct.[4]

[1] Calderwood, iv. 250.

[2] Montgomery having submitted to the church, the trial of his repentance was referred to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who, upon receiving satisfaction from him, removed the excommunication. Record of Presb. of Edin. June 7, 1586; and Aug. 29, 1586. "Anent the supplicatioun of Mr Rot Montgomerie," the General Assembly (February 158⅞) found that "he may be admittit pastour over a flock quhair he hes not been slanderous, provyding he be found qualified in lyfe and doctrine." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 150, a.

[3] The writer of the Life of Archbishop Adamson, in the *Biographia Britannica*, speaking of the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, says: "The not permitting a man to marry without his having first subscribed a confession of faith, is one of the completest instances of ecclesiastical folly and bigotry recorded in history." Biog. Brit. vol. i. p. 41, 2d edit. The reader may pronounce on the wisdom and liberality of this censure, after considering the following circumstances of the case. Huntly was the chief of the popish party in Scotland, and deeply engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain. His proposed marriage with a ward of the Crown, the daughter of the Duke of Lennox, his majesty's favourite, was, for obvious reasons, dreaded by all the Protestants. To accomplish this object the more easily, Huntly feigned (as he afterwards acknowledged) a disposition to renounce the Catholic faith, but affected to stickle at some of the Protestant doctrines. The presbytery of Edinburgh, believing that his object was to drive time, prohibited any of the ministers to celebrate the marriage until he had subscribed the Confession. Notwithstanding this, Adamson performed the ceremony, at the very time that the Spanish Armada was expected to appear on the coast of England. Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, July 3, 1588. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 152, b. The Life of Adamson in the *Biographia* is extremely incorrect. In the second edition, the liberal ideas of the editor, Dr Kippis, joined to the old prejudices of the original author, form a piece of literary patchwork, which is curious, but not singular in such compilations.

[4] Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 153. Cald. iv. 71. Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Oct. 15, and Dec. 17, 1588; and June 5, 1589.

What happened on the king's return from Denmark should have convinced Adamson that he could no longer depend on the royal favour. But he continued to deceive himself with vain hopes; and, being flattered by letters from Bancroft, persevered in his opposition to Presbytery, and in his attacks on Melville.[1] Nor was he undeceived until his annuity was sequestered and given to the Duke of Lennox. In vain did he remonstrate against this deed; in vain did he address elegant and plaintive verses to his majesty, in which he reminded him of the zeal with which he had served him from his birth, and was ready still to serve him.[2] James remained insensible to his entreaties, and withheld from him even that assistance which was necessary to preserve him from want. The unhappy bishop, deprived of his only support, sunk into deep dejection of mind, aggravated by poverty and sickness. So little reliance was placed on his sincerity, that few would believe that he was really in such a miserable situation; and he was reduced to the humiliating step of writing a letter to Melville, in which, after professing sorrow for his former conduct, he disclosed to him his destitute circumstances. Melville immediately visited him, supported his family out of his own purse for some months, and afterwards procured a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. When the provincial synod of Fife met, Adamson applied to them to be released from the sentence of excommunication which they had formerly pronounced against him. His petition was granted; and he subscribed several papers, in which he recanted his episcopal sentiments, retracted the famous declaration which he had published in defence of the acts of Arran's parliament, and professed his deep sorrow for the opposition which he had made to the judicatories and discipline of the church. He died on the 19th of February, 1592.

The circumstances in which the archbishop subscribed his recantation necessarily throw a degree of suspicion over the sincerity with which it was made, and detract from its value as a testimony in favour of Presbytery. But there is not the least reason to doubt the genuineness of the document itself.[3] The presbyterian writers have done ample

[1] In his Dedication of his Paraphrase of the Revelation in Latin verse ("Sanctiandreæ, Cal. Maijs, 1590"), he informs the king that he had prepared a work, entitled *Psillus*, in which he had "sucked out the seditious poison infused by the *Melvinian faction*, defended the episcopal authority and the royal supremacy, and warned the neighbouring kingdom of England of the rocks on which the Church of Scotland had struck." Opera Adamsoni.

[2] Auspiciis i musa bonis, pete limina Regis,
Difficiles aditus non habet ille locus.
Invenies illic castas, tua vota, sorores;
Musarum Princeps præsidet ipse choro.

After mentioning the various services which he had rendered to the king, in France, in England, and in Scotland, he concludes:—

His dictis, postquam surgentes ordine musas
Viderit ad lacrymas ingemuisse tuas,
Et tristi aspiciens BARTASSIA NUMINA vultu,
Haud dubie votis annuet ille tuis.
Tu voti compos, caveas ne decide penna
Segnior in laudes repperiare suas.

Epigram., T. 4., Oper. Adam., 4to.

[3] Wilson passes it over, and says that the ministers took advantage of an ambiguous expression of his father-in-law, to circulate the report that he had renounced Episcopacy. Vita Patr. Adamsoni, pp. 16, 17. Spotswood allows that he subscribed the articles "which were afterwards imprinted under the name of Mr Patrick Adamson's Recantation;" but he alleges, that "when it was told him that such a recantation was

justice to Adamson's talents, but it has been alleged that their prejudices induced them to injure his character. If they did so, they acted not merely an unjustifiable, but also a foolish and preposterous part; for, in proportion as they detracted from his reputation, they diminished the honour of the victory which they had gained over the chief of their antagonists.[1] Nothing can be more absurd, although nothing is more common, than to identify the merits of a public cause, good or bad, with the private qualities of individuals by whom it may happen to be supported. There have been learned and pious bishops; and there have been illiterate and worthless presbyters. That the opponents of Adamson exaggerated his faults, and accused him of some things which were not criminal, I allow; but, on the other hand, I am satisfied that those who feel most respect for his talents and station will be pained to find, on examination, that the leading charges brought against him are supported by evidence too strong to admit of being controverted. In his works is a beautiful little poem, breathing a spirit of warm piety, which his son-in-law informs us was composed by him a short time before his death.[2]

The death of Adamson was followed by the legal establishment of Presbytery. In June 1592, the parliament passed an act, ratifying the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the church; and declaring them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in all time coming most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding whatsoever statutes, acts, and laws, canon, civil, or municipal, made to the contrary. This act ratified and embodied some of the leading propositions in the Second Book of Discipline, relating to the power of these judicatories. It appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion should require; the time and place of next meeting to be

published in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year. Hist. p. 385. The recantation was subscribed April 8, 1591. Cald. iv. 214. It was sent to the presbytery of Edinburgh in the course of that month, that they might "give thair advys gif they vald the said Patrick suld add ony thing thairto—as also gif they sall think it expedient to be prentit." Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 20, 1591. Adamson survived this ten months. Th. Volusenus, Vita P. Adamsoni, p. 23. By its being "published," Spotswood must mean its being made publicly known; and surely Adamson knew, when he subscribed the paper, that this was the use to be made of it. It does not appear to have been printed until the year 1598. Ames by Herbert, p. 1519. At that time several, if not all, of the witnesses in whose presence it was subscribed, were alive; and among them were the most respectable gentlemen of the county.

[1] This is allowed by James Melville. "The man haid manie grait giftes, bot speciallie excellit in the toung and pen.—If he haid bein endowit bot withe a commoun civill piece of honestye in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to haiff wrought mischieff in a kirk or countrey nor anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland." Diary, p. 215.

[2] Adamsoni Opera, 4to. Vita Adamsoni, p. 16, 12mo. James was the eldest, and Patrick the second, son of Patrick, archbishop of St Andrews. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 355, 480. His daughter was married to Thomas Wilson, an advocate, who wrote a life of his father-in-law, and published a collection of his works in 1619. The bishop married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthour and Margaret Martine. Inventory of goods and books belonging to Mr William Skene. Margaret Martine, after the death of "Mr Williame Arthor of Kernis her first husband," married "Mr William Skene, commissar of Sanctandrois." Record of Privy Council, Jan. 17, 1582. Commissary Rec. of St Andrews, Jan. 2, 1572; May 8, and 24, 1594.

appointed by his majesty or his commissioner, or, provided neither of them should be present, by the Assembly itself. And it appointed provincial synods to be held twice a-year. It rescinded an act authorising the observance of Christmas and Easter, and some other acts favourable to popery, which had hitherto been allowed to remain in the statute-book. It declared that the act of the parliament 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privileges of the office-bearers of the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures warranted by the word of God. And it declared the act of the same parliament, granting commission to bishops and other judges appointed by his majesty in ecclesiastical causes, to be null, and of no avail, force, or effect in time coming ; and ordained presentations to be directed to presbyteries, who should have full power to give collation to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by his majesty or other lay patrons.[1]

This settlement was not without its defects. Not to mention some important pieces of reformation, craved in the Second Book of Discipline, which were entirely left out, the supreme court was deprived of the right which it had hitherto possessed of appointing its own meetings ; and the power of presbyteries and the liberties of the people were fettered by the continuance of lay patronage. At a posterior period, when the reformation of the church was carried to a higher degree of perfection, and a settlement made upon more liberal principles, these restrictions were abolished. But at present this could not be obtained ; and the church waived her demand in consideration of the advantages which the act conferred on her. Nor were these restrictions found to be so hurtful in effect as might have been imagined. So long as the court was disposed to respect the law, and to allow the church to meet annually in General Assembly, the settling of the particular time and place of meeting was of minor importance ; and the arrangement made respecting this might be viewed as an accommodation to the ideas that then generally prevailed as to all public conventions. Nor was the law of patronage attended with very serious evils at a period when the church courts held, that the consent of the people was to be obtained previously to the settlement of a minister among them, and when, actuated by this principle, they were studious, by the influence which they used with patrons, and by the regulations which they made as to presentees, to lighten, instead of aggravating, a yoke which has always been felt to be oppressive and degrading.[2]

The Act of Parliament 1592, which still continues to be the charter of the Church of Scotland's liberties, has always been regarded by Presbyterians in an important light, and as a great step in national

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 541. This statute has the vague and undescriptive title of "Act for abolishing of the actis contrair the true religioun."

[2] See Note EE.

reformation. It repealed several statutes which were favourable to superstition, and hostile to the independence of the kingdom. It reduced the prerogative of the Crown, which had lately been raised to an exorbitant height; and, by legally securing the religious privileges of the nation against arbitrary encroachments, it pointed out the propriety and practicability of providing similar securities in behalf of political rights. It gave the friends of the presbyterian constitution the advantage of occupying legal ground, and enabled them, during a series of years, to oppose a successful resistance to the efforts of the court to obtrude on them an opposite system. And as often as the nation felt disposed to throw off the imposed yoke of Episcopacy, they appealed to this charter, and founded upon it a "claim of right" to the recovery of their ancient liberties.

The Church of Scotland did not regard the present or any other parliamentary grant as the basis of her religious constitution. This had been already laid down from Scripture in her Books of Discipline. For all her internal administration, she pleaded and rested upon higher grounds than either regal or parliamentary authority. What she now obtained was a legal recognition of those powers which she had long claimed as belonging to her by scriptural institution and the gift of her Divine Head. She had now a right *in foro poli et soli*, by human as well as divine law, to hold her assemblies for worship and discipline, and to transact all the business competent to her as an ecclesiastical society, without being liable to any challenge for this, and without being exposed to any external interruption or hinderance whatever, either from individuals or from the executive government. Without entering on the question of civil establishments of religion, which might be shown to be consonant with the soundest principles of policy and Christianity, I shall only remark, that when the sanction of civil authority is given to a church properly organised and duly reformed, it may prove one of the greatest national blessings, and be no less beneficial to the power which confers it than to the society on which it is conferred. Had the Church of Scotland been remiss in her exertions to obtain this sanction, or had she declined to accept it when offered, she would have acted an unwise and criminal part. Had the statutes which were directly opposed to her discipline been simply abrogated, without its receiving a positive and legal ratification, it would have been still liable to be interrupted and hindered, whenever the court chose to take offence at any part of ecclesiastical management, or to advance the plea that it fell under the civil jurisdiction. And if the system of some modern theorists had been adopted—if all laws relating to the church had at once been swept away, the ecclesiastical property totally secularised, and a universal freedom in matters of religion proclaimed—the consequences would have been, that many parts of the country would have been thrown destitute of religious instruction and worship; ignorance, and crime, and atheism, would have spread through the land; and, within a short time, popish

superstition and tyranny would have regained that power which had been wrested from them with such difficulty, and at the expense of so much toil and blood. The folly of such a course would scarcely have been less than that of abolishing all public institutions for education and the promoting of learning through the kingdom, and of leaving the object of these to be gained entirely by individual exertion or voluntary association; a measure which would be preposterous and hurtful at any time, but which, at the period under consideration, would have been productive of ruinous and irremediable mischief.

This important act was not obtained without a final struggle. It was keenly opposed by some of the nobility from motives which had long been no secret, and they suffered it at last to pass, in the hopes that it would be suppressed by the king. There is little reason to doubt that this would have been its fate, had it not been for the peculiar situation in which the court was then placed. The murder of the Earl of Moray, and the impunity extended to the murderer, had excited universal indignation among the people. Ballads and placards were published, accusing the principal courtiers, and even James himself, as accessary to that foul deed; and Bothwell was in arms to revenge it. In these circumstances, the chancellor, who had incurred a great share of the popular odium, prevailed on the king to assent to the act ratifying Presbytery, as a deed which more than any other would conciliate the public favour to his administration. The royal assent was accordingly given to it, to the great joy of the commissioners of the General Assembly, who had been in constant and active attendance, but despaired of being able to carry the measure until the parliament was on the eve of dissolution, and were not fully relieved from their fears until they heard the act proclaimed among others at the market-cross of Edinburgh.[1]

Melville must have been highly gratified with this act of the legislature. He had now procured the sanction of the state as well as of the church, to a form of ecclesiastical polity which he regarded as agreeable to the Scripture pattern, and eminently conducive to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the nation. Principles, for the maintenance of which he had often been branded as seditious and a traitor, were now not merely recognised as innocent and lawful, but pronounced "most just, good, and godly," by the highest authority in the land. It was the triumph of the cause which had cost him so much labour and anxiety during eighteen years. He could now cherish the hope of being permitted to apply himself with less interruption to his studies and academical duty; although he must have been aware, that it would be necessary for him to watch with the utmost vigilance over the safety of an establishment which still had many enemies, by whose efforts it might be secretly undermined or violently overthrown.

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 216, 219. Cald. iv. 252.

CHAPTER VI.

1592—1596.

SINCE the year 1586, Melville had met with no interruption in the performance of his academical duties. Nor did anything deserving of particular notice occur in the college until the year 1597, except the changes of the professors who taught under him.

James Melville had all along intended to devote himself to the service of the church as a parochial minister; and the only thing which prevented him from gratifying his predilection for this employment, was a conviction that his assistance was necessary to his uncle at the commencement of his literary operations. In the end of the year 1586, the affairs of the theological seminary at St Andrews were brought to such a settled state, that, with the consent of all parties, he accepted of a call from the parish of Anstruther, to which he was soon after admitted by the presbytery.[1] His predecessor, William Clark, a pious and laborious minister, had been burdened with the care of the neighbouring parishes of Kilrenny, Pittenweem, and Abercrombie; according to a vicious arrangement which the court, in concert with the spoilers of the ecclesiastical revenues, had sanctioned.[2] James Melville entered on the same extensive charge, but it was with views very remote from those of a necessitous and mercenary pluralist. By his exertions with the parishioners, and with the proper courts, separate ministers were settled at Pittenweem and Abercrombie, in whose favour he relinquished the proportions of stipend due to him from these places. He had brought with him Robert Dury as an assistant.[3] To him he demitted the charge of Anstruther with all its emoluments, while he himself removed to Kil-

[1] "1586. 22. day Oct. being Sonday, Mr James Melvill, our ministair, now began and ministered the sacrament of Baptisme as aftir follows in Anstruther." — Register of Births, &c. in Anstruther. In the records of that session the name of *Andrew Melville*, an elder, frequently occurs: and as the witnesses at baptisms were generally the relations of the parents, it is probable, from the following minute, that he was allied to the Principal. "1588. 25 Junii. Andro Melvill, a chyld baptisit, called Andro. Witnes Mr Andro Melvill." Ibid. "3 November 1590. Androu Melvill, ane child baptizit, called Robert. Witnesses Thomas Morton of Cambo and Sr Joa Melvill of Carnbie." Record of Kirk-Session of Anstruther.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 1, 101. "Mr Wm Clerk, minr of the kirkis of Kylmarynnie and Anstruther, deceissand in the month of Febr 1583." No person was placed in his room on the 8th of June, 1585. Reg. of Present. of Benef. vol. ii. f. 133.

[3] James Melville had married Elizabeth the daughter of John Dury minister, first of Edinburgh, and afterwards of Montrose. Robert Dury appears to have been a relation of that minister. He married Elizabeth Ramsay, and one of his children was presented to baptism by George Ramsay of Langraw, Session Rec. of Anstruther, May 18, 1605. and March 8, 1607. "Mr Andro Meluill" was a witness to the baptism of a son of Robert Dury's, named Andrew, and a daughter, named Margaret. Ibid. March 18, 1592.

renny. Thus, in the course of three years, he provided a minister for each of these four parishes, which had been long deprived of the dispensation of divine ordinances, or had enjoyed that benefit but partially and occasionally.[1] On his settlement in Kilrenny he built a manse almost entirely at his own expense. The legal funds for supporting the minister having been alienated, the parish voluntarily bound themselves to pay him an annual stipend. This he relinquished for a sum of money; with which, added to what he could borrow from his friends, he purchased from the family of Anstruther the right to the tithes of the vicarage. Instead of taking his title to these from the Laird of Anstruther as tacksman, in which case he would have secured the repayment of what he had expended, he entered to the benefice, by presentation and institution, as actual minister; thus securing it to his successors in office, and leaving his family to Providence, and to the sentiments of justice and gratitude by which the future incumbent might be actuated. He paid the salary of the schoolmaster out of his own purse; and as the parish was populous, and he was often called away on the common affairs of the church, he constantly maintained an assistant. His whole conduct in this affair exhibits a rare example of ministerial disinterestedness, which, in this calculating age, will be in danger of passing for simplicity, not only with the secular clergy, but with those whose spirituality is so exquisitely sensitive as to shrink from the very idea of a legal or fixed provision for ministers of the Gospel.[2]

James Melville was succeeded, as professor of Hebrew, by his cousin Patrick Melville, who had held the same situation at Glasgow.[3] About the same time John Caldcleugh was employed to teach as a fourth professor.[4] Robertson continued in the college until the year 1593,

[1] The town of Anstruther-Easter belonged to the parish of Kilrenny. The minutes of the kirk-session of Anstruther-Wester, contain the following most natural expression of disappointed love, on their minister's leaving them. "Mr James Melvill touk his guid nyght from the cõgregation the said monet of October 1590 years, and touk him to Kylrynnie to be thair minister. God forgif him that did sa, for I know and saw him promes that he suld never laif ws for any varldlie respect sa lang as he lyvit except he var forssit be the kirk and his Majestie, bot nevir being forsit aither be kirk or his Majestie, leift ws." Ib. October 6, 1590. Had the minister taken that step "for any worldly respect," could he have read this extra-judicial minute of the honest session-clerk without a pang of remorse?

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 2—9. After stating that he had expended 3500 merks on the manse, and 2400 merks on the teinds, he says: "My frind wald ask, What I haiff for my relieff of sic soumes. I answer, the favour and prouidence of my guid God. For giff he spear my dayes, with rest in his kirk, I hope he sall utreade all my dettes.—Gif not, and the Intrant be worthie of the roum of this ministrie, God and his conscience will moue him to pay the deat resting; giff he will not, the grieff and los will be graitter to haiff sic a man in the roum, nor of myne to pay my deattes whowbeit they sell the books and plenessing for that effect.—As for the Town and paroche the benefit indeed is thairs: let them thairfor, as I hope they will, consider thair dewtie. I man ernestlie admonische the hous of Anstruther nevir to mein to acclame againe the tytle and possessioun of thay teinds—for I promise heir a curse and malediction from God upon whosoever sall intromet and draw away the commoditie thairof from the right vse of sustening of the ministrie of Gods worschipe and of the saluation of Gods peiple."

[3] "M. Patricius Melvin" signs the Articles of Religion in the University of St Andrews in 1587, and in the following year he was chosen one of the Rector's assessors. Papers of Univ.

[4] Grant by James to Mr John Caldcleugh, anno 1588. MS. in Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. Jac. v. i. 12. This ratifies and dispones to him "the 3d place of the Lectors and professors of the said new Colledge," and assigns to him "for his stipend yearly Three chalders of victuall together with a Hundred pounds money." It states that he had been chosen

when, on occasion of his death or resignation, he was succeeded by John Jonston, a native of Aberdeenshire, and of the family of Creimond.[1] After finishing the ordinary course of study at King's College, Jonston went abroad, and continued during eight years to cultivate polite and sacred letters at the most celebrated universities on the Continent.[2] Having gained the friendship of the chief literati in France and Germany, and spent some time in England, he returned to his native country. Jonston was a poet and divine as well as a scholar. Melville had heard of the reputation which he had gained abroad, and was so much pleased with him on a personal interview, that he never ceased until he procured him as a colleague in the work of theological instruction.[3] His admission was opposed by Caldcleugh, who thought himself entitled to Robertson's place, and had recourse to legal measures to enforce his claim; but he not only lost his cause, but was also deprived of the situation which he already held in the college.[4]

About this time the king invited Hugh Broughton, the celebrated Hebrew scholar, to Scotland.[5] I should have mentioned before, that Melville joined in an invitation to Cartwright and Travers, the two well-known English nonconformists, to come to St Andrews, on the erection of the theological college in that city.[6] None of these invitations was accepted.

In the year 1590, the venerable James Wilkie, principal of St Leonard's College, and rector of the university, died. Robert Wilkie succeeded to the former of these places. Melville was elected rector; and continued to hold the office, by re-election, for a number of years.[7] He had more than one opportunity of showing his resolution and prudence as chief magistrate of the university. In these times, when the students formed a separate community, under a jurisdiction inde-

by the Commissioners for the reformation of the University, and had taught within the said college continually since that time. But it appears from the Commissary Records that Andrew Melville, James Melville, and John Robertson were the only professors between 1580 and 1584.

[1] John Jonston calls himself "Aberdonensis" in the title-page of his *Heroes;* but this does not necessarily imply that he was born in the town of Aberdeen. In his Last Will he constitutes Robert Johnston of Creimond one of his executors, and bequeathes a small legacy to the Laird of Caskiben. "Item, I leave to Mr Robt Merser persoun of Banquhorie, my auld kynd maister, in taiken of my thankeful dewtie, my quhyit cope wt the silver fit."

[2] Consolatio Christiana, per Joan. Jonstonum, p. 4. In 1587, he was at the university of Helmstadt, whence he sent a MS. copy of Buchanan's *Sphæra,* to Pincier, who published a second edition of that poem, with two epigrams by Jonston. Sphæra, a Georgio Bvchanano Scoto. A 5, 6. Herbornæ, 1587. In 1588 he was in the university of Rostock, whither Lipsius wrote to him in very flattering terms, acknowledging the receipt of a letter and a poem from him. Lipsii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 49, 50. In 1591 he was studying at Geneva. Hovæus De Reconciliatione: Epist. Ded. ad Joan. Jonstonum. Basil. 1591.

[3] Consolatio Christiana, *ut supra,* pp. 4, 5. In the Dedication of that work, 4 id. Feb. 1609, Jonston says he had then been only fourteen years in the university of St Andrews—"binas annorum hebdomadas." But "Mr Jhone Jhonesoun, maister in ye new college," was elected one of the elders of St Andrews, "Die xxviiio mensis Novembris 1593." Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews.

[4] Melville's Diary, p. 226.

[5] Strype's Life of Whitgift (anno 1595), p. 432.

[6] Fuller's Church History, vol. ii. p. 215. That historian has inserted the letter, of which he possessed the original, under the year 159–; but it bears internal marks of having been written in 1580, before Melville left Glasgow. It was subscribed, according to Fuller, by "Jas Glasgney (Glasguen). Academiæ Cancellarius. Alaynus (A. Hayius) Rector. Thomas Smetonius Decanus. Andreas Melvinus Collegij præfectus. Mr David Wems minister Glascoviensis."

[7] Papers of the University.

pendent of the town in which they resided, frequent feuds occurred between them and the inhabitants. The students of divinity at St Andrews had fitted up a place in the garden of their college, in which they might enjoy the favourite amusement of shooting with the bow. Caldcleugh, "one of the masters of theology, but scarce yet a scholar in archery," amusing himself one day with this exercise, overshot the mark so far, that his arrow, flying over several houses, lighted in the neck of one Turnbull, a maltman, who happened to be passing through an adjoining lane. The wound was neither mortal nor dangerous; but some individuals who were inimical to the New College laid hold on this incident to inflame the minds of the inhabitants. A mob, collected by the ringing of the town-bell, forced the gate of the college, and finding Melville's chamber secured, called for fire, and threatened to burn the house, with all that were in it, unless Caldcleugh was instantly delivered up to them. By addressing them from a window, and flattering some and threatening others, Melville succeeded in gaining time, till his friends assembled and rescued him from his perilous situation. The town-council, yielding to the popular clamour, took up the cause, and insisted that the rector should renounce all right to judge in the affair, and find security to produce the aggressor before them or the lord of regality, provided Turnbull's wound proved mortal.[1] Some of his friends, alarmed at the storm raised against the university, went and gave the security which was demanded; but he refused to compromise his authority or allow the outrage to pass unpunished. The magistrates were accordingly called to account, and obliged to delete the obligation from their records. The ringleaders of the riot were brought to trial, and would have been severely punished, had not Melville put a stop to the prosecution, upon their submission and giving bond for their peaceful conduct for the future.[2]

He was no less ready to support the authority of the magistrates of the town, when assailed by the turbulent and ambitious, than he was to assert the rights of the university. The affairs of the burgh had been grossly mismanaged under the direction of Learmont of Dairsie, a neighbouring gentleman, who had for many years held the office of provost. In the year 1592 the burgesses, availing themselves of their right, elected another individual as chief magistrate. Incensed at being excluded from an office which he considered as hereditary in his family, Dairsie sought to revenge himself in a way which was then too common; and Balfour of Burley, one of his friends, repeatedly entered St Andrews during the night at the head of an armed force, and committed depredations upon the inhabitants. On one occasion, Dairsie, having approached the town at the head of a strong band of his retainers, the magistrates, despairing of being able to oppose him, proposed to capitulate. But Melville encouraged them to stand out for their independence. Having assembled the members of the university, he persuaded them

[1] See Note FF.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 225, 226.

to take arms in defence of their brethren, put himself at their head, with a white spear, the badge of his rectorial office, in his hand, and joined the forces of the town and of some neighbouring gentlemen who went out to meet Dairsie, and gave him such a reception as discouraged him from repeating his turbulent and illegal aggressions.[1]

Among his other employments, Melville acted for several years as a ruling elder in the congregation of St Andrews. It was a matter of importance, at that early period, that kirk-sessions should contain such individuals within their bounds, as, in addition to religious qualifications, possessed superior knowledge and influence. In burghs it was the almost invariable custom to have some of the elders chosen from among the magistrates. This circumstance, connected with the nature of the offences usually tried and the punishments decreed against them by the legislature, led to that apparent confounding of the two jurisdictions, which is apt to strike those who happen to look into the ancient records of kirk-sessions as an anomaly, and a contradiction to the principles of the presbyterian church. At the beginning of the Reformation, the kirk-session of St Andrews were in the habit of calling in the principal professors of the colleges, and taking their advice, in the decision of the most difficult causes which came before them.[2] From experience of the benefit derived from their advice, it came to be the common practice to choose a certain number of elders from the university every year.[3] Upon the same principle, ministers or preachers who happened to reside in the town were taken into the session; and it may startle our southern neighbours to learn that even archbishops were chosen to be ruling elders, and did not think themselves degraded by occupying an inferior form in the lowest court of the presbyterian church.[4] The general law of the church was, that the elders and deacons should be chosen by the voice of the congregation over which they were placed. But deviations were made from this law at an early period, and in some congregations the formal election was assumed by the session; although the people still retained a right to add to the leet or list of nominees, as well as to object to those who were chosen upon "the serving of their edict." The office of an elder in those times was far from being merely nominal. Those who accepted it were bound

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 226.

[2] Causes of divorce were tried before the reformed church-courts, previously to the erection of the commissary courts. In the cause, Rantoun against Gedde, the sentence runs in the following terms: "We the minister and seniors of this our Christian cõgregation within the parochin of Sanctandrois Judges in the actioun and caus moved—In pus [presence] of Mr Johne Dowglass rectour of the vniversitie of Sanctandrois, Johne Wynrame Supprior, men of singular eruditioun and vnderstanding in the Scriptures and word of God, with Mrs. Williame Skene and Johne Rutherfurde men of cunning in sundry sciences, with quhome we cõmunicatet the secretes of the merits of the said actioun and caus being be ws and them hard and seane," &c. Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, March 21, 1559.

[3] The same practice was observed at Glasgow. Extracts from Records of Kirk-Session of Glasgow. Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28, MSS. vol. iii.

[4] "The names of Eldars and Deaconis chosin vpon ye xii dayc of October 1571. Eldars. Mr Johne Douglas, archbishop & rector of Sanctandr., Mr Thomas Balfour, Mr John Rutherfurd, Mr Wm Cok, Mr James Wylkie," &c. Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews. Mr Robert Wilkie was chosen an elder immediately after he resigned the pastoral inspection of the congregation. Ib. Jan. 20, 1590.

to give regular attendance on the meetings of session, which were held at least once a-week. The town and parish of St Andrews was divided into districts, and over each of these a certain number of elders and deacons were appointed as inspectors and visitors, whose duty it was to report to the session on the state of morals and the necessities of the poor. Such elders as were professors appear to have been exempted from this part of duty, in consideration of their academical charge; but they were required to assist the pastors in the examination of the congregation before the communion.[1] The session took cognisance of all open violations of the moral law—not only unchastity, but also non-attendance on religious ordinances, profane swearing, sabbath-breaking, undutifulness to parents and other relations, neglect of the education of children, drunkenness, slander, backbiting, and even scolding. In some sessions it was the custom, as a preparation for the communion, to nominate a certain number of elders as arbiters; and such members of the congregation as were at variance with one another, were publicly warned to attend on a particular day, and submit their differences to an extra-judicial decision. And there are examples of their proceeding in certain causes by way of inquest and the nomination of a jury. The session was no less strict in the inspection which it exercised over its own members. At their entrance to office they were sworn to observe the sessional statutes, and a day was annually fixed for administering the *privy censures*, which, at that period, were something more than a form. On that occasion, the ministers, elders, and deacons were removed, one after another; their conduct, both in and out of court, was judged of by the remainder; and each was commended, admonished, or rebuked, as his behaviour was thought to have merited.[2]

Melville had been instrumental in procuring for St Andrews two faithful and laborious ministers, David Black and Robert Wallace. The former of these, in particular, was most indefatigable in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and exerted himself in reviving the ecclesiastical discipline, and in taking care that the different members of his session performed their respective duties in the most efficient manner. By these means he produced, during the short period of his incumbency, a striking reformation on his people, by checking vice, promoting religious knowledge, and diminishing pauperism. To strengthen the hands of this zealous minister was one great object which Melville had in view in undertaking the office of an elder, which he accepted in 1591, and continued to hold until Black was forced from St Andrews.[3]

As a member of presbytery, Melville attended and took part in *the*

[1] Record of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, April 16, 1584, and April 9, 1589, compared with the minute of Dec. 5, 1593.

[2] See Note GG.

[3] Melville's Diary, pp. 215, 237. Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 167, a. Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, Nov. 11, 1590—Dec. 1596, passim. "Erat hic Blackius" (says Calderwood), "et vitæ et sinceri animi laude omni memoria dignus. Delectus ad Fanum Andreæ Minister, ita Ecclesiam illam administravit, ut in tanto populo (sunt enim plures quam 3000 qui Sacram Cœnam percipiunt) *nemo mendicus conspiceretur, nemo Sabbatum auderet violare.*" Altare Damasc. p. 751.

weekly exercise. Two members, according to the order of the roll, delivered each a discourse at the weekly meeting of presbytery. The one explained a passage of Scripture, and the other stated and briefly illustrated the doctrines which it contained; after which the presbytery gave their opinion of the performances. In their form these discourses bore a resemblance to *the Exercise and Addition* in our divinity-halls, and on trials for license and ordination. Such students of divinity as were recommended by their professors were allowed to take part in them, after they had given a satisfactory specimen of their gifts before the presbytery in what was called the *private exercise.* A contribution was sometimes levied from the members to purchase commentaries on those parts of Scripture which were thus explained, for the use of such as were deficient in books; and this laid the foundation, in several instances, of presbytery libraries. In the year 1597, the General Assembly enjoined an additional exercise to presbyteries. Once every month a question relating to some point in divinity controverted by the adversaries of the truth, was substituted for the ordinary subject of presbyterial exercitation. One of the members in his turn discussed the question; after which, he defended his thesis against the objections started by his brethren. The discourse was delivered before the people, and in English; the disputation was held in private, and in the Latin language. In point of form, our modern *Exegesis* corresponds to this performance. The presbytery of Aberdeen were considerably later than their brethren of the south in opening this theological palestra, but they appear to have entered very much into the spirit of the exercise; for they agreed that "the head of controversy should be handled every fourteen days," and their minutes inform us that the brother who took the lead in it "did marvellous." This fact may perhaps help to account for the superior dexterity which the *Doctors of Aberdeen* afterwards attained in the use of controversial weapons, and which they displayed so conspicuously in their celebrated contest with the champions of the Covenant. Whatever may be in this, it cannot be doubted that the presbyterial exercises were useful in sharpening the judgment, and stimulating the ardour of the ministers, and particularly the younger part of them, in their private studies.[1]

The exertions made at this time show that the fathers of our church, in seeking to substitute Presbytery in the room of Prelacy, stretched their views beyond the establishment of a mere form of ecclesiastical polity, and that it was their grand object to provide an evangelical ministry which should be efficient for the purposes of diffusing the knowledge and promoting the power of religion. During the period of the Tulchan Episcopacy, a number of persons had been inducted into parishes who were destitute of gifts, or who laboured under other disqualifications. Presbyteries, for some years after their erection, were employed in remedying this evil. The General Assembly repeatedly appointed com-

[1] See Note HH.

missioners to assist in the work; giving them power, along with the respective presbyteries which they visited, to try all actual ministers, and to suspend or deprive those whom they found unqualified. In consequence of this, several individuals, in different parts of the country, were deposed from the ministerial office: some were suspended for a time, or translated to more obscure corners; and others were admonished of their deficiencies and exhorted to give themselves to reading and study. The measure was unquestionably an extraordinary one, and may be blamed by some as an undue and unwarrantable stretch of authority. But it shows the zeal for the credit and usefulness of their order with which the ministers were at that time animated; and it will be difficult to prove that the essential end of the pastoral function—the instruction and edification of the people—ought to be sacrificed to forms, or that it should be indefinitely postponed from respect to personal claims which had been irregularly and unjustly acquired during a corrupt administration.[1] So far as a judgment can be formed from the records which remain, this delicate trial appears to have been conducted with impartiality, and with all that tenderness to individuals which was consistent with justice to the public.

Melville exerted himself with much success in the plantation of vacant parishes within the bounds of the presbytery of which he was a member. When he first came to St Andrews there were not above five parishes provided with ministers; but, in the course of a few years, the number had increased to sixteen. This object was affected chiefly by his exertions, joined to those of his nephew and Black.[2] Spotswood takes no notice of this meritorious service; but he details with great minuteness the particulars of a dissension which arose in that presbytery on occasion of the settlement of the parish of Leuchars. The presbytery (he says) was divided in opinion as to the candidate most fit for the charge; Melville being at the head of the one party, and Thomas Buchanan of the other. Impatient of contradiction, and irritated at being left in the minority, Melville made a secession from the majority, and, along with those who supported him, constituted another presbytery in the New College. At the desire of the provincial synod of Fife, the synod of Lothian sent three of their members to compose this disgraceful strife. Melville defended himself by pleading, that the candidate preferred by his opponents was not to be compared with the individual whom he supported, and that votes ought to be weighed and not numbered. And the umpires could find no other way of restoring peace than that of dividing the presbytery into two, and appointing the one to meet at St Andrews and the other at Cupar.[3] It has been shown by a contemporary writer that the archbishop has misrepresented and grossly exaggerated this affair.[4] To gain the greater credit to his

[1] See the authorities brought forward in the last-mentioned Note.

[2] Melville's Diary, pp. 237, 243.

[3] Spotswood's History, p. 386.

[4] Calderwood, Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altaro Damasc. p. 722. The tract referred to is an answer to *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which Spotswood publish-

narrative, after it was contradicted, Spotswood states in his history that he was himself one of the delegates appointed by the synod of Lothian to reconcile the parties. The minute of that appointment is now before me. It mentions that "a little dissension had fallen out among the members of the presbytery of St Andrews, who had agreed to submit the matter in dispute to certain brethren belonging to other presbyteries; it specifies the four ministers whom the synod "licentiated" to go to Fife on this business, and also those who were appointed to supply their place during their absence; but Spotswood was none of them, nor does his name occur in the minute.[1] It is possible that the archbishop might be present at St Andrews on the occasion referred to; but it is also possible, that, owing to the multiplicity of secular employments in which he was afterwards involved, his memory deceived him, and that he imagined he had been a witness of what he had only heard by report.

The archbishop does not conceal that he introduced this story to show that Melville was incapable of brooking submission to the parity which he had established, and that presbyterian government natively tends to produce discord and division. But who does not perceive that such a mode of reasoning is inconclusive and weak? Did the archbishop forget the "contention," not unlike that which he describes, between Paul and Barnabas about the choice of a minister, which was "so sharp that they departed asunder the one from the other?" or, would he have pronounced *it* also "to be ominous, and that the government, which in the beginning did break forth into such schisms, could not long continue?" Wherever affairs are decided by a plurality of voices, a difference of opinion, and consequently opposition, may be expected to arise. In supporting measures which they believe to be conducive to public good, men of honest and independent minds will display a warmth and an earnestness which will appear excessive and intemperate to the lukewarm and temporising. And as they are men of like passions with others, their zeal will occasionally hurry them beyond the bounds of reason and moderation. But the enlightened friend of a free government will not be moved by objections founded on the partial inconveniencies or incidental evils to which it may lead. Though not more in love with discord and contention than other men, he knows that ebullitions of this kind are inseparable from the spirit of liberty, and that they are often productive of good. He is convinced that there is a necessary and honourable, as well as a hateful and ungodly strife. He is aware, that where all things are decided by the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows, also, that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion and even uproar by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken and con-

ed in 1620, and in which he first brought forward this accusation against Melville.

[1] Record of the Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, October 3, 1592.

vulsed, to the appalling tranquillity and deathlike stillness which reigns in the courts of despotism.

Before resuming the narrative of public transactions, it is proper to notice the death of John Erskine, the venerable superintendent of Angus. This enlightened and public-spirited baron will be remembered as one of the early and most distinguished patrons of literature in Scotland. In the wars against the English he had displayed his courage and love to the independence of his native country.[1] He embarked with great zeal in the struggle for the Reformation; and after the triumph of that cause, served the church first as a superintendent and afterwards as a parochial minister.[2] If at a later period he suffered himself to be entangled by the politics of the court, and lent the influence of his name to the support of measures injurious to the church, his advanced age and the difficulty of the times may be pleaded as an extenuation of his fault. When incapacitated for active employment, he retained his literary habits, and continued in his closet to pursue the studies connected with the sacred profession to which he had devoted himself.[3] His death took place on the 16th of October 1592, and in the eighty-second year of his age.[4]

The affairs of the kingdom were still in a very unsettled state. His majesty, after his return from Denmark, had promised to reform his administration, and having assembled the chief barons, exacted from them a pledge that they would lay aside their deadly feuds; but he held the reins of government with such a weak and unsteady hand, that these scenes of lawless disorder were renewed, and murders, accompanied with circumstances of shocking atrocity, were perpetrated with

[1] Beague's History of the Compagnes 1548 and 1549, pp. 10, 40, 57—62.

[2] On the 24th of March, 1574, "Thomas Erskine lauchfull sonne to Johne Erskine of Dwn" was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn." On the 6th of August 1575, "Our sourcine lord being informed—of his weilbelouit Johne Erskine and of his lang travellis in the ministerie wtin the kirk of God," presents him to "the personage and vicarage of Dwn—vacand be deceis of M. *James* Erskine;" and requires the superintendent of Fife to admit him, "seeing it is knawin he is qualifeit." Register of Present. to Benefices.

[3] Dedicatory verses to *The Winter Night*, a poem. The dedication is inscribed, "To the right godly worshipfvll and vigilant pastor in Christs kirke, Johne Erskin of Dun,—James Anderson, minister of Collace, wisheth grace," &c. The excellence of this small work certainly does not lie in the poetry; but it went through several editions. That of 1599, mentioned by Herbert, I do not consider as the earliest one. I quote from Andro Hart's, printed about 1614. The following is the concluding stanza in the address to Erskine:

I can not dite as thou hast done deserue,
In Kirk and court, countrey and commonweale
Carefull the kirk in peace for to preserue:
In court thy counsell was stout, and true as steele,
Thy pollcie decores the country well,
In planting trees, and building places falre,
With costly brigs ouer waters plaine repaire.

The poem itself begins thus:

The winter night I think it long,
Full long and teugh, while it ouergang
The winters night I think so long
Both long and dreigh till day.
Full long think I the winters night,
While daye breake up with beams so bright
And banish darknesse out of sight
And works of darknesse, Aa.

The winter night that I of meane
Is not this naturall night I weine,
That lakes the light of the sunneshine
And differs from the day.
But darknesse of our minde it is
Which hides from us the heavens blisse
Since Adam first did make the misse
In paradise that day.

[4] Act Buik of the Commissariat of St Andrs, Oct. 25, 1593, and Apr. 19, 1594.—Spotswood fixes his death, by mistake, on the 12th of March, 159½. He also represents him as "leaving behind him a numerous posterity." Hist. 384. But his will mentions only "his son and air and Margaret Erskine his dochter" who were minors, and whose "tuitioun, gyding, & keeping" he left to "his weilbelovit spous, Margaret Kaith, thair mother." "The noble and potent Lord Robert Lord Altrie" (probably Mrs Erskine's brother) was one of their "tutouris testamentaris."

impunity in the very heart of the kingdom.[1] He had pledged himself to his parliament to rule by the advice of his counsellors, and "to suffer none to intervene betwixt his highness and them in the credit of their offices.[2] But the spirit of favouritism was too strong in his breast to suffer him to adhere long to this course, and his ablest statesmen found their measures defeated by the secret influence of the companions of his amusements, and of such as had otherwise insinuated themselves into his good graces. Captain James Stewart, who had formerly rendered himself so hateful to the nation under the name of Earl of Arran, presumed at this time to present himself in the palace; and the reception he met with showed that he still retained a place in his majesty's affections. With the view of establishing himself at court, and in the hopes of regaining his former station, he applied to the presbytery of Edinburgh, professed great regard for the church, and offered to give satisfaction for any offences which he might formerly have committed. But the presbytery met his advances with the most discouraging coldness, declined receiving his suspicious submissions, and told him that the sincerity of his repentance required to be demonstrated by more visible tokens of reformation, and a longer course of trial, before they could indulge a good opinion of his character.[3] They at the same time appointed a deputation to wait upon his majesty, and to warn him against admitting such a dangerous person into his counsels. In consequence of this, Stewart retired in despair of being able to accomplish his purpose. This firmness on the part of the ministers was highly applauded by all who understood the true interests of

[1] Richard Preston of Craigmillar, a gentleman of excellent character, was basely stabbed to death, when he was in the act of giving alms to his murderer, David Edmonston, who had accosted him under the disguise of a pauper. Simsoni Annales, p. 62. The Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh at this period furnish examples of a similar kind. [2] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 562.

[3] The presbytery refused, on the request of his nephew, Lord Ochiltree, to appoint a committee to converse with him in private; upon which he appeared before them. After hearing what he had to say, and informing him that it belonged to the General Assembly to judge of his conduct, "the brether assurit him that they culd haif na opinion bot euill of him for ocht that zit they saw; and schew that it wald not be woordis bot gude deidis that wald chang thair myndis, and thairfor as they judgit euill of the things that ar past, sua they culd not judg weill of him for the tyme to cum, till they saw alsmekle of his gud eas they [had] sene of his euill. And thairfore was exhortit that gif thair was ony kind of pieti, ony godlines or religion into him, that he suld schaw the fruict thairof be a better repentance nor they had sene, and wtter the effect in gude deidis, quhilk gif he suld doe, as thair is mercie with the Lord, sua the brether wald judg of him according to his warkis; bot in cais he had cum thair for the fassones sake to insinuatt him self into the bosome of the kirk that thairby he myght creip in the fauour of the prince, and sua mak a coullour of all to the end that he my accomplische the rest of the mistereis of his iniquities & euill warkis, Then he was scharpely aduertisit that that God whom he had hitherto mockit, and for that caus had hitherto dejectit him with schame, sua gif he continewit in his mocking that sam God sall dciect him and cast him down agane with greiter schame & confusioun nor of before." Lest a false report of their proceedings should be given, the presbytery appointed certain of their number to go to the palace, "to inform his maitie of the things that wer done, and to schaw that they as zit culd persaif na appearance of gude in that man, bot rather that he continewit still in his former pryde, and thairfore desyrit thame to exhort his maitie that as he luiffit the weill of the kirk, the weill of countrey, and respectit his awin honour, that he suld geive na countenance nor place to that man to be about him, or haif ony publict charg in this countrey, quhilk gif he did, to protest that the kirk was innocent of all the euill that was able to ensew thairupon." Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, December 5, 1592.

the nation ; but it exposed them to the undisguised resentment of the king.[1]

In the latter part of the year 1592, the uncommon activity of trafficking priests within the kingdom, joined to obscure intelligence received from abroad, excited strong suspicions that the popish party were about to renew their treasonable attempts against the public peace. In these circumstances Melville came over to Edinburgh, to attend an extraordinary meeting of his brethren. The precautionary measures suggested by him were unanimously agreed to by this meeting, and carried into effect with the consent of the king. It was agreed to advertise presbyteries of the apparent danger, and to desire them to prepare the well-affected gentlemen within their bounds for resisting it ; and with this view to endeavour to compose any feuds or quarrels which might subsist among them. An individual in each presbytery was nominated to collect information from his brethren respecting the secret or open practices of the papists, and to transmit this with the utmost despatch to a committee which was appointed to sit in Edinburgh during the present emergency, and which was charged to watch *ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti caperet.* The information thus procured was immediately to be communicated to his majesty and the privy council, who were requested to adopt such other measures as were necessary for detecting the conspiracy, and providing for the public safety.[2]

The wisdom of these precautions, and the justice of the suspicions which had dictated them, were soon made apparent to all. On the 27th of December, in consequence of secret intelligence which he had received, Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, accompanied by a number of students from the college of Glasgow, and neighbouring gentlemen, seized George Kerr, a doctor of laws and brother of Lord Newbattle, in the island of Cumbray, as he was about to take ship for Spain. On searching him there were found in his possession letters from certain priests in Scotland, and blanks subscribed and sealed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, with a commission to William Crichton, a Jesuit, to fill up the blanks and address them to the persons for whom they were intended. Graham of Fintry, an associate of Kerr, was soon after apprehended ; and being both examined before the privy council, they testified that the signatures to the blanks were genuine, and laid open the nature and extent of the conspiracy. The King of Spain was to have landed thirty thousand men on the west coast of Scotland, part of whom were to invade England, and the remainder, in concert with the forces which the three earls promised to have in readiness, were to suppress the Protestants, and procure the re-establishment, or at least the full toleration, of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland.[3]

[1] Cald. iv. 269—271.

[2] Melv. Diary, 219—224. Cald. iv. 262—268.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 219—225. A Discoverie of the unnatural and traiterous Conspiracy of Scotish Papists. Edinburgh, 1593. This book, which contains the intercepted letters and the confessions of Kerr and Graham of Fintry, was published under the direction of the ministers of Edinburgh. Record of Presb. of Edin., May 15, 1593. John David-

James was absent from the capital when this conspiracy was discovered. Having arrived at the urgent entreaties of his privy council and the ministers of Edinburgh, he betrayed his characteristic weakness and obliquity of mind. Instead of sympathising with his people, whose feelings had been wound up to a high pitch of alarm and indignation by the recent discovery, and thanking them with frankness for the vigilance and zeal which they had shown in his service, he renewed his petty and provoking complaints as to the encroachments which they had made on his prerogative by their precipitate measures; as if they had been bound to sit still and suffer themselves to be spoiled of their lives, liberties, and religion, merely because he thought that these were in no danger, or because he chose to neglect his duty and give himself up to idle and frivolous amusements. He found fault with the magistrates of Edinburgh for apprehending the Earl of Angus, who had entered the town without knowing that his treasonable correspondence was discovered. A deputation from the barons and ministers of the church having been sent to congratulate him on his escape from the conspiracy, and to offer him their advice and assistance in bringing the conspirators to justice, he, in a tedious and formal harangue, blamed them for assembling without waiting for his call; pointed out the difference between the times of the Queen-Regent, when the country was under a sovereign addicted to Popery, and the present, when they had a Protestant king; and upbraided the ministers, in particular, by saying, that they were not wont to assemble with such alacrity, or in such great numbers, at his call. They replied, that they had the authority of the privy council for their meeting, and that it was not a fit time to stand upon forms, when they saw his person, the church, and commonwealth, brought into extreme jeopardy. Upon being made more fully acquainted with the nature of the plot, however, he professed himself convinced of the magnitude of the danger, promised to pursue the conspirators with all severity, and requested the barons and ministers who were assembled to favour him with their best advice. A proclamation was issued, declaring that Providence had mercifully discovered a dangerous conspiracy, contrived by the crafty practices of pernicious trafficking papists, seminary priests and Jesuits, who had seduced a number of his majesty's subjects to apostatise from their religion, and to subject their native country to "the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation, which hath made such unlawful and cruel conquests in diverse parts of the world, as well upon Christians as infidels;" and commanding all who loved God, wished well to their prince, and did not desire to see "their wives, children, and posterity made slaves in souls and bodies to merciless strangers," to abstain from all intercourse with popish priests under the pain of treason, and to "put themselves in arms by all good means they can, remaining in full readiness to pursue or defend, as they shall be certified

son. who wrote the Preface to it, recorded, in his Diary, that one of the intercepted letters was suppressed, because it "touched the king with knowledge and approbation of the traffiquing, and promise of assistance." Cald. iv. 322.

by his majesty or otherwise find the occasion urgent."[1] To remove the suspicions of the nation, which had been raised by the conduct of James, an act of council was made, prohibiting all from attempting to procure indemnity to the conspirators, and authorising the king's chaplains to exact an oath from his domestics that they should not intercede in their behalf.[2]

Confiding in the faith of the court, all classes now vied in demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism. The gentlemen voluntarily agreed to form themselves into a guard to defend the king's person and preserve the public peace. And a sacred bond, in defence of religion and the government, was everywhere subscribed with the utmost zeal and unanimity. But the hopes of the nation were soon disappointed. Graham of Fintry, the least guilty of the conspirators, was, indeed, executed; but the Earl of Angus and Kerr were allowed to escape from prison. James having advanced to Aberdeen, attended by a large body of his faithful subjects, the conspirators concealed themselves, and those whom they sent to intercede for them were received. The parliament, which met in July 1593, listened to their offers of submission, and rejected the bill of attainder against them, on the pretext of its informality.[3] They were suffered to repossess their castles, and enjoyed every degree of liberty except that of appearing in some of the principal towns of the kingdom. This injudicious lenity to persons who had repeatedly conspired against their native country, accompanied as it was with a breach of the royal faith, gave universal dissatisfaction, and excited strong suspicions in the breasts of not a few as to the soundness of his majesty's attachment to the Protestant religion.[4]

Alarmed at the tendency of this policy, the provincial synod of Fife, which met in September 1593, came to the resolution of excommunicating the four popish noblemen, Huntly, Angus, Errol, and Home, with their two principal adherents, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindown, and Sir James Chisholm of Dundurn.[5] This sentence was communicated to the other synods, and being unanimously approved and intimated in all the pulpits, contributed to repress the boldness of the conspirators, who, confiding in the royal favour, had begun to behave themselves with extreme audacity. Melville was appointed by his synod to attend a meeting of the gentlemen and burgesses of the county at Cupar; and measures were taken to have a general meeting held at Edinburgh on the 17th of October, consisting of commissioners from the different counties.[6]

[1] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 169.

[2] "Quhilk was done," says the Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 168, a.

[3] The act of parliament makes no mention of informality (Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 15); but a reference is made to it in the proceedings of the subsequent convention. Ibid. p. 44. Spotswood says, their process was remitted to the king and privy council (Hist. p. 397), but the record is silent on this head.

[4] MS. Historie of Scotland from 1566 to 1594 under the year 1592. This is a copy of the work, a part of which was published by Mr Laing, under the title of *Historie of King James the Sext.* Melville's Diary, p. 225. Cald. iv. 291—293. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 168.

[5] The grounds upon which this synod considered it as competent for them to proceed to this censure, may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 290, 291.

[6] See Note II.

James was highly dissatisfied with the excommunication of the popish lords, as tending to counteract his intentions of pardoning them, and he dealt importunately with Robert Bruce to prevent the intimation of the sentence in Edinburgh. Unable to succeed with the ministers, he had recourse to the most popular of the barons, and endeavoured to gain them over to an approbation of his scheme. In dealing with some of them he urged the necessity of the case, and with others the claims of humanity. Among other arguments, he availed himself of the specious plea of liberty of conscience; a plea which, as applied, was a *felo de se*, and, had it been then acted upon, would have led to the overthrow of liberty, both civil and religious. A curious conversation between him and Lord Hamilton on this subject has been preserved. James paid a visit to Hamilton House, for the purpose of sounding that nobleman's views. He introduced the conversation by saying, that he was confident that he enjoyed the friendship of his lordship, notwithstanding some reports which had been circulated to the contrary. "Ye see, my lord," continued he, "how I am used, and have no man in whom I may trust more than in Huntly. If I receive him, the ministers will cry out that I am an apostate from the religion; if not, I am left desolate."—"If he and his associates be not enemies to the religion," said his lordship, "ye may receive them; otherwise, not." "I cannot tell," replied his majesty, "what to make of that, but the ministers hold them for enemies. Always, I would think it good, that they enjoyed liberty of conscience." Upon this Lord Hamilton exclaimed with great fervour, "Sir, then we are all gone! then we are all gone! If there is not another to withstand them, I will." Alarmed at his earnestness, and perceiving the servants at hand, the king put an end to the conversation by saying, with a forced smile, "My lord, I did this to try your mind."[1]

The dissimulation of James was so gross, and so frequently practised, as at last to forfeit him the confidence of the most credulous. Before setting out on a journey to the Borders, he renewed his promise to the ministers of Edinburgh not to show favour to the conspirators. Yet, on the very day on which he gave this pledge, they were admitted to his presence at Fala, and made arrangements with him respecting their trial. A convention held at Edinburgh a few days after this appointed commissioners to go to Jedburgh, and lay their representations before his majesty.[2] They were instructed to complain of his having admitted the popish lords into his presence, to request that the arrangements made respecting their trial, so far as they were calculated to defeat the ends of justice, should be altered; and to inform him that all his faithful subjects were aggrieved at the favour shown to traitors, and determined to sacrifice their lives sooner than allow the land to be overrun with idolatrous and bloody papists. James gave them a very different reception from that which he had lately vouchsafed to the rebels. He

[1] Calderwood, iv. 338.

[2] The commissioners were James Melville, Patrick Galloway, Napier of Merchiston, the Laird of Calderwood, and three burgesses.

challenged the meeting from which they were deputed as unlawful. He inveighed against the synod of Fife for excommunicating the popish lords. He expressed great displeasure at Melville for the active part which he had taken in that affair, at different meetings held in the county of Fife. He alleged that the persons assembled at one of these meetings had entered into a protestation, in which they declared that they would not acknowledge him as their lawful king, unless he adhered to the religion presently professed and punished such as sought to overthrow it; and that they had endeavoured to bring their brethren in the southern part of the kingdom under the same treasonable engagement. And he concluded with threatening that he would call a meeting of parliament, to chastise the insolence of the ministers and restore the estate of bishops. James Melville, in the name of the commissioners, replied to this royal philippic, and defended his constituents; after which his majesty grew calmer, returned a fair answer to their petition, and dismissed them with promises that were never to be performed.[1]

It is unnecessary to detail all the deceptious methods taken by the court in the course of this pretended judicial process. The Convention of Estates held at Linlithgow in October 1593, after preparing matters for the acquittal of the conspirators, referred their trial to certain individuals named by them, along with the officers of state, whom they appointed to meet in the following month at Holyrood House. Melville attended on this occasion as one of the commissioners of the church,[2] and used his wonted freedom in uttering his sentiments. He reproved the king for the manner in which he allowed himself to speak of those who had been the chief instruments of the Reformation and the best friends of his throne, and for the uniform partiality which he had shown to the avowed enemies of both, and particularly to the house of Huntly. He challenged those who advised his majesty to favour the popish noblemen to come forward and avow themselves before the Estates; pledging himself to prove them traitors to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, provided they were made liable to punishment if found guilty, and engaging that, if he failed in his proof, he would himself go to the gibbet. The king and courtiers smiled at his offer, and said that he was more zealous than wise. After his majesty had made a speech, in which he urged the danger which might arise to the country from proceeding to

[1] Cald. iv. 338—342. Melville's Diary, pp. 227, 228. Spotswood's History, pp. 398, 399. MS. Historie, *ut supra*. Gordon's Geneal. History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 222, 223. The last-mentioned writer says that it was resolved by the court, in the year 1593, to re-establish Episcopacy. Spotswood, in his account of the interview at Jedburgh, says that the commissioners "humbly besought his majesty to vouchsafe the Assembly some answer in writing, but he absolutely refused, and so they took their leave." Hist. p. 399. On the contrary, James Melville, who was present as one of the commissioners, expressly says, "Sa that night delyvering our petitiones in wryt, be tymes on the morn we gat our answers in wrait fear aneuche, and returned on the thride day." Melville's Diary, p. 227.

[2] Six ministers were nominated by the Convention of Estates, and allowed to be present at the trial. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 44. Gordon states that this nomination was opposed by the church as an encroachment upon her liberties; upon which the king caused their names to be deleted, and ordered that in future the ministers should have no place on such occasions but as suppliants. Geneal. Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 223.

extremities against the powerful individuals who were accused, the Assembly agreed to "the act of abolition" which had been previously drawn up by the counsellors. By this act the popish lords were ordained, according to the offer which they had made, to give satisfaction to the church and embrace the Protestant religion, or else to leave the kingdom within a limited time; the process against them was dropped; and they were declared "free and unaccusable, in all time coming," of the crimes laid to their charge, provided they did not for the future enter into any treasonable correspondence with foreigners.[1]

This mode of issuing the process was a gross imposition on the nation. No intelligent person believed that the popish earls were sincere in their offers, or that they would comply with the terms prescribed to them. The plain tendency of the measure, and their evident object in agreeing to it, was to obtain for them an interval of repose to strengthen their party, and to establish their influence at court, that they might renew their intrigues and embroil the country on the first favourable opportunity that occurred. Various reasons may be assigned for James's adopting this line of policy, without having recourse to the supposition that he was secretly inclined to popery. Huntly, the head of the popish party, had great interest at court, in consequence of his family alliance with Lennox, the king's favourite, which was increased by the recent marriage of his sister-in-law to the Earl of Mar.[2] James was now looking eagerly forward to the English succession, and was desirous of gaining the Roman Catholics, who formed a considerable party in that kingdom, and had conceived a rooted antipathy against Elizabeth. His timidity made him averse to vigorous measures; and he piqued himself on his superior skill in that secret of the art of government which lies in balancing the different parties in the state so as to render them all dependent on the sovereign,—although he was destitute of the talents requisite for this delicate task, and could neither poise the scales with judgment nor hold them with a steady and impartial hand. The political principles of the papists were agreeable to James; and the chiefs of the party paid assiduous court to him by flattering his love of power, and inveighing against the levelling doctrines and republican spirit of the reforming ministers. But, from whatever causes it proceeded, it is clear that he had adopted a line of policy which led him to protect and favour a foreign faction, addicted to popery and arbitrary power; while the best friends of the Reformation, who were at the same time the natural and surest friends of a Protestant government, became the objects of his jealousy and aversion. This absurd and criminal course he pursued throughout his reign, in spite of all the admonitions which he received; and it was persisted in, with hereditary fatuity, by his successors, who carried on a secret and illicit intercourse with the Church of Rome, which

[1] Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum, vol. iv. p. 46—48. Calderwood, iv. 351—357. Melville's Diary, p. 229. Spotswood, pp. 400, 401.

[2] James was feasting at the marriage of the Earl of Mar when he received information of the discovery of the late conspiracy. Spotswood, p. 391.

issued at length in their laying their triple crown ingloriously and irrecoverably at her feet: an example to all British sovereigns who may be tempted to form such an unnatural and unhallowed attachment!

While the country was agitated by this affair, the court was kept in a state of continued and disgraceful alarm by the attempts of the Earl of Bothwell, who repeatedly besieged the palace, and on one occasion forced his way into the royal presence, and extorted a pardon for his rebellious practices. Inflamed with personal resentment against the chancellor, he had formerly associated with the popish lords; and, availing himself of the odium which the court had incurred by favouring them, he changed sides, and now affected great concern for the preservation of the Protestant religion. He was unable, however, to make a dupe of more than one of the ministers of the church. The vices of his private character, his known selfishness, versatility, and turbulence, were sufficient to put them on their guard against his loud but hollow professions, even although they had been disposed to abet any hostile attempt against the government.[1] But this did not prevent them from being aspersed as favourable to him. With the view of gaining partisans among the people, Bothwell circulated the report that he acted in concert with the principal preachers; and those who were about the king were either so jealous as to credit the slander, or so politic as to employ it by way of retort to the charge brought against them of countenancing the popish conspirators. In a conference with the magistrates and ministers of Edinburgh, the king complained that Bothwell had been suffered to remain in the capital, and upbraided the ministers for maintaining silence respecting his treasonable conduct, while they were loud in their invectives against Captain Stewart and the popish earls. He charged Bruce, in particular, with having conspired, along with some of his brethren, to place the crown on Bothwell's head, and with having harboured a traitor who sought the life of his sovereign. The rest of the ministers contented themselves with denying the charge, and appealing to their hearers as to their innocence; but as the accusation against Bruce was specific and more serious, he insisted that he was entitled to know the individuals who had slandered him to his majesty, and declared that he would not again enter the pulpit until he was legally cleared of the crime imputed to him. After some shifting, James named the Master of Gray and one Tyrie, a papist, as his informers. But on the day fixed for investigating the affair, no person appeared to make good the charge; and Gray, having left the court, sent word that he had given no such information against Bruce, and offered to fight any individual, his majesty excepted, who should affirm that he had defamed that minister.[2]

The activity of the Melvilles in thwarting the wishes of the court respecting the popish lords, subjected them to the same odious imputation. It had been the laudable custom of the Church of Scotland to

[1] Cald. iv. 241—246, 271, 305.

[2] Ibid. iv. 269—272.

make contributions in their different parishes for the relief of their brethren in foreign countries who were persecuted for religion. Since the year 1589, the city of Geneva had been involved in a dangerous war with the Duke of Savoy, which reduced it to the necessity of applying for foreign aid.[1] Liberal collections were accordingly made for this purpose throughout Scotland. James Melville was collector for the province of Fife, and it was surmised at court, that he had, with the concurrence of his uncle and some other ministers, given the money intended for Geneva to Bothwell, to enable him to raise troops to harass the king. Setting aside the acknowledged probity of the individuals accused, the supposition of their having committed such an act of sacrilegious fraud involves the highest improbabilities. Who can believe that Melville, who felt so enthusiastically attached to Geneva, who regarded that city as one of the bulwarks of the Reformation, and who, at the solicitation of his most revered friends in it, had exerted himself to obtain collections for its relief, would have given his consent to rob it of those very succours which were so urgently required to preserve its independence, nay, its very existence as a Protestant state? Who can believe that he or his nephew, who was as his own soul, would have done this in behalf of a nobleman of irregular habits and of no principles, with whom, although he courted the friendship of both, their keenest adversaries could not prove that either of them had ever had the slightest political connection, even for a single day?[2] But James Melville, whose character was immediately attacked, had direct evidence to produce in defence of his honour, and of the strict fidelity with which he had acted in this business. He had in his possession the receipts granted by those for whom the money with which he had been intrusted was contributed;[3] and during his lifetime no individual durst convert the calumnious surmises circulated to his prejudice into a direct and manly charge. In the General Assembly held in May 1594, some members objected to his being nominated as one of the commissioners to the king, on the ground that he had incurred the suspicions of the court as a favourer of Bothwell. His conduct on that occasion

[1] Spon, Histoire de Genève, tom. i. p. 334—393, edit. 1730.

[2] "About the spring tyme in the yeir following, 1594, the outlaw Boduell kythe openlie with forces at Leithe and at Preistfield bot with lyk success as oftentymes befor, he tuk vpe men of war in secret vpe and down the countrey and gaiff out that it was at the kirks employment against the papists, whilk maid me, being then mickle occupied in publict about the kirks effeares, to be greatly suspected be the king and bak-speirit be all meanes, bot it was hard to find quhilk was neuer thought. For I never lyket the man nor haid to do with him directlie or indirectlie. Yea, efter guid Archbald Erle of Angus, whom God called to his rest a yeir or twa befor this, I kend him not of the nobilitie in Scotland that I could communicate my mynd with anēt publict affears, let be to haiff a delling with in action." Melville's Diary, p. 230.

[3] After mentioning the liberality with which the people under his charge contributed for the relief of their brethren in France, he says, "The soum of the haill collection quilk the Frenche kirks gat (from Scotland) extendit bot till about x thowsand merks, as their acquittances and Letters of thanksgiffing beares, quhilk I haiff in custodie delyverit to me be the Generall Assemblie to translet in Scottes and sett furthe to close the mouthes of invyfull sclanderers wha gaiff out that the collection was maid for an vther purpose; as also the collection maid for Geneva, whar for we gat mair thankes by a letter of Theodore du Bez in the name of the Senat and kirk thairof nor it was all worthe, readie to be producit." Melville's Diary, p. 194.

was such as became a man who was conscious of innocence, and who felt what was due to his reputation. He told the Assembly, that so far from having courted appointments of that kind, he had often, as they knew, entreated to be excused from them; but, at present, he thought it incumbent upon him to insist that his name should be put on the list, that he might have an opportunity of clearing himself from the slander; and if they declined doing this, he was determined to repair to the palace of his own accord, and to demand an investigation of his conduct. He was accordingly included in the commission.[1] After the commissioners had transacted their business with the king, and were about to retire, James Melville rose, and requested to be informed if his majesty had anything to lay to his charge, or if he harboured suspicions of his fidelity. The king replied, that he had nothing to say against him more than against the rest, except that he found his name on every commission. James Melville thanked God that this was the case; for in all his public employments he had studied the good of the king as well as that of the church; and if there were any that traduced him to his majesty as having engaged in secret, unlawful, or undutiful practices, he desired that they would now come forward and show their faces, when he was present to answer for himself. No reply was made to this challenge. After this the king took him into his cabinet, and, having dismissed his attendants, conversed with him on a variety of topics with the greatest familiarity, sent his special commendations to his uncle, the Principal, and declared that he looked upon both of them as faithful and trusty subjects. "So," says James Melville, "of the strange working of God, I that came to Stirling the traitor, returned to Edinburgh a great courtier, yea a cabinet counsellor."[2] Spotswood had good opportunities of becoming acquainted with this honourable exculpation, and yet after the death of the individual whom he was bound to revere, he embodied, in his History, this slander on his master's memory, not as a report, but as if it had been a well-authenticated fact.[3] And it has been retailed from his time down to the present, as scandal is usually propagated, by the prejudiced, the gossiping, and those who have neither patience to examine the grounds of a report, nor sagacity to perceive the most palpable marks of its improbability.

The General Assembly, which was held in May 1594, testified its sense of the important public services which Melville had lately performed, by placing him again in the moderator's chair. Lord Home, one of the popish noblemen, presented himself at the bar of this Assembly, and made such professions of sorrow for his past conduct as induced the members to agree to his being absolved from the sentence of excommunication which the synod of Fife had passed against him. From suspicions of the sincerity of these professions, and from the

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f 171, a.
[2] Melville's Diary, 231, 232. Calderwood, iv. 371, 389, 390.
[3] Spotswood's History, p. 430. See above, p. 66.

consideration that his former adherents were still in arms, the moderator hesitated to absolve Home; and the Assembly, after hearing his reasons excused him, and appointed David Lindsay to supply his place in pronouncing the act of absolution.[1] This is not the only instance in which we find the ecclesiastical courts at this period paying such deference to the private convictions of their members, and even of those whose province it was to carry their sentences into execution.[2] Nor does it appear that the practice led to any decidedly bad consequences. Even in the ordinary management of affairs in the best regulated churches, instances will occur in which conscientious individuals may entertain serious scruples as to the lawfulness of particular decisions, and may decline to take an active part in executing them, without being guilty of a contempt of the court, or maintaining a factious opposition to the measures which they condemn. By giving place to such scruples, at the expense of deviating a little from the strict line of ordinary procedure, a court neither testifies its weakness nor compromises its authority: it merely evinces that moderation which becomes a tribunal confessedly subordinate and fallible, and does homage to the sacred rights of conscience and private judgment. Obstinacy and pride will screen themselves under this plea; but it is better that these evils should be overlooked and tolerated, than that the spirit of independence should be crushed, that there should be no medium left between absolute submission and endless separation, and that a despotical administration should be grafted on an authority which is immediately conversant about the affairs of the mind and conscience.

The Assembly unanimously ratified the sentence which the synod of Fife had pronounced against the other popish lords. These noblemen had refused to take the benefit of the act of abolition, continued in arms, and persevered in their treasonable correspondence with Spain. To a faithful and spirited exposition of the state of the country which the Assembly laid before him, the king returned a very favourable answer. He acknowledged the dangers which they had pointed out, and declared his resolution to adopt the most prompt and decisive measures against the common enemies of the religion and peace of the kingdom. All his desires were most cordially granted by this Assembly. They renewed an act of a former Assembly, enjoining ministers, under the pain of deposition, not to utter from the pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against the king or his council.[3] They censured a preacher of the name of Ross who had been guilty of this offence. They pronounced the sentence of deposition against the minister of Carnbee, who had taken part with Bothwell.[4] And they enjoined all ministers to warn

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 230.

[2] In 1586, Robert Wilkie, the moderator of the provincial synod of Fife, having declined pronouncing the sentence of excommunication against Archbishop Adamson, the synod appointed one of the members to act for him in that instance. Printed Calderwood, 201, 203.

[3] Some judicious and pertinent remarks on this act, and on the subject to which it relates—the freedom used by the ministers in their sermons—may be seen in Dr Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, ii. 18—20.

[4] The language employed by James in requesting this may be referred to as an ex-

the people under their charge not to concur with that turbulent nobleman, or others who might engage in treasonable practices against his majesty, and not to receive military pay, without the royal warrant, from any individual under the pretext of defending the cause of religion.[1]

Indeed, there is not the slightest ground for calling in question the loyalty of the ministers of the church, or their decided and steady attachment to the person and government of James. Had he ceased from favouring a faction equally hostile to his crown and the established religion; had he exerted a reasonable superintendence over the administration of the state, and abstained from encroachments on the jurisdiction of the church; and, above all, had he maintained his word and promises inviolate, he would have found the ministers disposed to give him all due satisfaction, and might have derived from them the most essential and efficient support. The submission which the nobility yielded to him was always partial and precarious. In the dispute which soon after arose between him and the queen, as to the disposal of the person of the young prince, he was deserted by some of his principal courtiers. His favourites engaged in cabals against him, and Lennox, for whom he had done so much, repeatedly connived at the audacious attempts of Bothwell. The preachers were inclined to favour no faction in the state. The selfishness and avarice of the barons had weaned them from any dependence which they might once have been disposed to place on that order; and there was not at that time a single nobleman to whom they looked up as a protector, or who possessed any considerable share of their confidence. Had their jealousies not been awakened and kept alive by the misconduct of the king, the leading men among them possessed too much sense, and were too well aware that the safety of the church, including their own, depended on the stability of his government, to indulge in or countenance any freedoms from the pulpit that tended to embarrass his administration, or to bring his person into contempt.[2] The joint influence of their doctrine and discipline presented to James a powerful instrument, not possessed by any of his predecessors, for suppressing the feuds of the nobility, purifying the administration of justice, and civilising and reforming the morals of the people. Had he known how to avail himself of this, his reign in Scotland might have been tranquil and happy.

Although the popish noblemen were now in a state of open rebellion,

culpation of the ministers from the charge often brought against them: "3. That they will excommunicat Mr Andro Hunter for bringing in ane scandall upon thair professioun, as the *first* opin traitour of thair functioun agains ane Christian king of thair religioun and thair naturall soveraigne." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 174, a. James Melville says that the presbytery of St Andrews had previously deposed Hunter. Diary, p. 231.

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, fol. 167—174. Melville's Diary, p. 230—232. Spotswood, 406.

[2] Bruce, at the time he was using the greatest freedom in rebuking the court, said: "It is our parts to crave it (wisdom to the king): becaus, for as louss as he is, he is the greatest blessing that ever we shall see." And in another sermon: "Surely the only band temporall that holds up the commonweill here, quhilk is ruinouse on all sides, and is like to fall down, stands upon that prince. Suppose he be many wayes abused, out of question an he war removed—I look to see confusion multiplied on confusion." MS. Notes of Sermons by Robert Bruce: Wodrow's Life of Bruce, pp. 14, 15.

they found advocates in the parliament which was held in the month of June. Melville was present, and appeared for the church before the Lords of Articles. He urged the adopting of decisive measures against the delinquents, as necessary to the security of religion and the peace of the kingdom. "Sir," said he, addressing the king, "many think it a matter of great weight to overthrow the estate of three so great men. I grant it is so: but yet it is a weightier matter to overthrow, and expel out of the country, three far greater; to wit, true religion, the quietness of the commonwealth, and the prosperous estate of the king. If ye can get us a better commonwealth than our own," continued he, directing his speech to the lords, "and a better king, we are content that the traitorous lords be spared; otherwise, we desire you to do your duty." He objected, that some who were present and prepared to vote, were excluded by law, and particularly the Prior of Pluscardine. One of the lords said that the Prior was a man of honourable place, being President of the Court of Session. "More honourable men than he are debarred from a place among the Lords of Articles," replied Melville. The king acknowledged that this was true, and promised to attend to the matter. Melville went on to say, that there were other individuals on the Articles who were strongly suspected of partiality in this cause, and of being almost as guilty as those who were under process. The abbots of Kinloss and Inchaffray smiled to each other. "Whom do you mean?" said the king. "One who laughs across the table," replied Melville. "Do you mean me?" said Kinloss. "If you confess yourself guilty, I will not clear you; but I meant Inchaffray." "Mr Edward," said his majesty to Kinloss, "that is Judas's question, *Is it I, Master?*" a remark which excited laughter. The majority of the Lords of Articles voted for the forfeiture of the three earls, and their judgment was ratified by parliament.[1]

On the defeat of the Earl of Argyll by the popish lords at Glenlivet, the king set out for the north, at the head of some troops, to oppose the rebels. At his express request, he was accompanied by Melville, his nephew, and two other ministers. Had it not been for their presence, the expedition must have ended disgracefully. The popish chiefs retired into their fastnesses, and the royal forces were ready to disband for want of pay. So great was the distrust of his majesty's professions, that the nation testified no disposition to raise the supplies necessary to insure the success of an expedition of which they highly approved. In this emergency, James Melville was despatched to the south, with recommendatory letters from his brethren, to procure contributions in the principal towns. He had scarcely left the camp, when measures were proposed which would have disgraced his mission, and contradicted the assurances which he was authorised to give in the name of the king. But, after the greater part of the privy counsellors had given their

[1] Calderwood, vol. iv. pp. 392, 393. The Form and Probation of the Summonds of Treason, p. 398. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 56—61.

opinion that it was not fit to proceed to extremities against the insurgents, Melville reasoned so forcibly against the proposal, and his arguments made such an impression upon the minds of the officers of the army who were present, that his majesty deemed it prudent to dissent from the majority of his council, and issued immediate orders for throwing down Strathbogie, a castle belonging to the Earl of Huntly. This decisive measure produced the expected effect upon the popish earls, who soon after quitted the kingdom.[1]

In the midst of the confusions caused by the rebellion of the popish lords, great joy was diffused through the nation by the birth of an heir to the crown. Melville celebrated that event in an elegant little poem, in which he predicted that the infant prince would unite the crowns of Britain, and humble the pride of Spain and Rome :

Fastu donec Iberico
Latè subacto, sub pedibus premas
Clarus triumpho delibuti
Geryonis triplicem tiaram.
Qua nunc revinctus tempora Cerberus
Romanus atra conduplicat face
De rupe Tarpeja fragores
Tartareos tonitru tremendo.
Quo terram inertem, quo mare barbarum,
Orcumque, et oras territat igneas
Septem, potitus verna sceptris,
Et solio, gemini draconis.[2]

The poet, however, lived to see his prediction contradicted, and to sing in other strains the premature death of a prince whose rare virtues and talents had excited universal expectation. David Cunninghame, bishop of Aberdeen, was employed to celebrate the baptism of Prince Henry ; a circumstance which, when compared with what took place at the coronation of the queen, may be viewed as indicating that the court had altered its intentions as to the government of the church, and already meditated the gradual restoration of the episcopal order.[3]

In the course of the year 1595, Melville was involved in trouble through his friendship for David Black. Black had commenced a process against Balfour of Burley, who retained possession of a house in the Abbey which had been assigned as a manse to the minister of St Andrews.[3] Fearing that he would lose his cause, Burley stirred

[1] Record of Privy Council, Oct. 19, and 28, 1594. Melville's Diary, p. 232—236. Cald. iv. 402, 407—418.

[2] This poem was published under the following title : "Principis Scoti-Britannorvm Natalia. Edinbvrgi Excudebat Robertus Walde-graue, Serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus. Anno 1594." 4to, four leaves. A poem entitled "Amvletum" is subjoined to it.

[3] The Account of the Baptism of Henry, Prince of Scotland, has been frequently printed. I do not know that the concluding orations of the bishop were ever published, but they are preserved in MS. in the British Museum : "Frederici Henrici Principis Scotorum Sacra Lustralia, actore atque auctore Davide Cuninghamo, Episcopo Aberdonensi, celebrata Niucoduni Sterlingorum Septembris 1594." Harl. MSS. 4043, 4044. They consist of a "Votum," in verse, and "Eucharisteria," addressed to the ambassadors, in prose. The former contains the following encomium on the royal parents :—

Sin te exempla sequi juvat aut vestigia regum,
Nequicquam antiquata petas, quæ occlusa vetustas
Occulit, ast unum patrem mireris, et unum
Patrem qui reges tantum super altior omnes,
Astræos quantum Phœbus super emicat ignes.
Nec parum matre est, tantaque viragine nasci
Filia quæ regis conjunxque sororque parensque.
Sed superans meritis sortem sexumque genusque.

[3] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, b.

up the court against his prosecutor, whom he accused of reviling the late queen in his sermons. Melville was charged with abetting him in his seditious harangues, and both were summoned before the king at Falkland. At their arrival, Black was brought before an assembly consisting partly of members of the privy council, and partly of ministers called together from the neighbouring parishes. He expressed his willingness to give an account of his doctrine for the satisfaction of his majesty and the individuals present, but objected to being put on his trial before an assembly which was neither civil nor ecclesiastical. His objections were, however, summarily overruled, and the examination of witnesses was already begun, when Melville, suspecting the irregular proceedings which were going on, knocked at the door and was admitted. Having obtained permission to speak on a mode of procedure which tended to prejudge the rights of the church and his own cause, he told his majesty, what he had often rung in his ears, that though he was the King of Scotland, he was not the king of the Church in Scotland; and that there was no court assembled there which had a right to try the cause which he had brought before them. "But," continued he, "if King James the Sixth has any judicature or cause here, it should be to judge, not the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, but (turning to Burley) *this* traitor, who has committed diverse points of high treason against his majesty's civil laws, by taking his peaceable subjects in the night out of their houses, and resetting in his own house the king's rebels and forfeited enemies." Burley fell on his knees before his majesty, and craved justice. "Justice!" exclaimed Melville, "would to God you had it! You would not then be here to bring a judgment from Christ upon the king, and thus falsely and unjustly to vex and accuse the faithful servants of God." James attempted to silence him by assuming an air and tone of authority, but the feelings of Melville were wrought up to too high a pitch to suffer him to pay regard to frowns or threats; and his majesty was fain to allay the heat by addressing the parties in a jocular strain, and telling them "that they were both little men, and their heart was at their mouth." By this affray the trial was suddenly broken off, as it had been irregularly begun. The affair was at last brought to a happy termination by the wisdom of James Melville, who had been sent for by his uncle to be present on the occasion. He acquainted the Earl of Mar with the real circumstances of the case; set before him the injurious consequences which would arise from a breach between the church and the king, at a time when the court was divided and the country far from being in a settled state; and persuaded him to mitigate his majesty's resentment, and bring about an accommodation on reasonable terms. The consequence was, that Black, being admitted to a private interview, satisfied the king that he had spoken with great respect of his mother, and touched very gently on the errors of her administration; professed that he had no design of insinuating that the extraordinary

measures taken by the nation during her reign should be adopted in the present ; and, as his majesty was afraid that the seditious would put such a construction on his words, promised to abstain for the future from such forms of speech as he had used. Melville, too, was admitted to an audience, and after free but amicable reasoning with James, was graciously dismissed.

All parties professed to be satisfied with the conduct of James Melville in this affair, but he observed that from this time his credit with the king declined. His object in cultivating the interest which he had at court was to persuade his majesty that the ministers loved him, and were disposed to please him as far as was consistent with their sense of duty ; that so the affairs of church and state might be conducted harmoniously, or with as little jarring as possible. His majesty, on the other hand, was anxious to gain him over to an approbation of the court measures ; but finding, after an experiment of two years, that he could not detach him from his brethren, he withdrew the marks of regard and confidence with which he had hitherto honoured him. Among those who are to be found in kings' courts few are like-minded with James Melville. He annually expended the half of his stipend on the public service : and as for gifts from the crown, "I sought none," says he, "and I got none unsought."[1]

In the end of this year, Melville, along with his nephew and Bruce, visited Lord Thirlstane, the Chancellor, in his castle beside Lauder. His lordship was then on his death-bed, and the conversation which he held with them was highly satisfactory to his visitors. The loss of this able statesman was quickly felt by the nation, and must be viewed as a principal means of bringing on those evils with which the church was soon after assailed.[2]

The year 1596 is memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland. "It had," says James Melville, "a strange variety and mixture ; the beginning thereof with a show of profit in planting the churches with perpetual local stipends ; the midst of it very comfortable for the exercise of reformation and renewing the Covenant ; but the end of it tragical in wasting the Zion of our Jerusalem, the church of Edinburgh, and threatening no less to many of the rest." The first of these measures was defeated by the same cause which had opposed its adoption in every shape since the Reformation.[3] The second measure commenced under more favourable auspices, and, though interrupted by the confusions which ensued, was productive of good and lasting effects. It

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 237—242.

[2] Ibid. p. 242. Simsoni Annales, p. 73. Spotswood, p. 411. Melville testified his respect for the memory of the Chancellor, in an epitaph. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. vol. ii. p. 116.

[3] The plan of providing fixed stipends here referred to was drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, and has been preserved at length by James Melville. Melville's Diary, p. 244—254. Those who wish to be acquainted with its provisions may consult printed Calderwood (p. 325—328), or the more abridged account of it given by Dr Cook. Hist. of the Church of Scotland, ii. 55—59. The *constant plat*, as it was called, became a convenient engine in the hands of the court, who set it in motion whenever they wished the concurrence of the ministers in any of their measures.

originated with that pious and honest minister of the gospel, John Davidson.[1] His mind had for a considerable time been deeply affected with various corruptions in the church. He lamented the inefficacy of the means which had hitherto been used to correct them. He was apprehensive of the consequences which might ensue, if the constancy of ministers and people, in adhering to their religious profession, should be subjected to any severe trial. And he was anxious that a great and general effort should be made to bring about such a reformation as all good men wished to see accomplished. Accordingly, he laid a proposal to this purpose before the Presbytery of Haddington, who transmitted it, in the form of an overture, to the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh in the month of March. The overture was unanimously approved of by the Assembly ; and a writing was immediately drawn up, containing an enumeration of the evils to be reformed, under the four following heads : Corruptions in the persons and lives of ministers of the Gospel ; offences in his majesty's house ; the common corruptions of all estates ; and offences in the courts of justice. Great moderation was used in specifying the offences of the royal household, and of the civil courts. The ministers did not spare their own order, and that part of the statement which related to them was larger than all the rest taken together.[2] On the motion of Melville, the means to be employed for reforming ministers, and the censures to be inflicted on them for particular acts of delinquency, were condescended on. As a primary step to reformation, and according to an approved practice in the best times of the church, the members of Assembly agreed to meet by themselves for the purpose of jointly confessing their sins, and "making promise before the majesty of God" to amend their conduct. This meeting was accordingly held in the Little Church, on Tuesday the 30th of March, 1596. John Davidson, who was chosen to preside on the occasion, preached so much to the conviction of his hearers, and made confession of their sins to Heaven with such devout fervour, that the whole Assembly melted into tears before him ; and rising from their seats at his desire, and lifting up their right hands, they renewed their covenant with God, "protesting to walk more warily in their ways, and to be more diligent in their charges." The scene, which continued during three hours, was solemn and affecting beyond anything that the oldest person present had witnessed.[3]

As the greater part of the ministers were not present to join in this sacred action, the General Assembly ordained that it should be repeated in the several provincial synods and presbyteries, and that it should

[1] He was admitted minister of Prestonpans on the 7th of January, 159⅝. Rec. of the Presb. of Haddington.

[2] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. This record contains the offences of the ministers only ; but the entire paper may be seen in printed Calderwood, p. 314—320. The following is the only specification of personal vice in the king : "His Maj. is blotted with banning and swearing, which is common to courtiers also."

[3] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 178, 179. Melville's Diary, p. 261. Calderwood, v. 47—49.

afterwards be extended to congregations. This ordinance was obeyed with an alacrity and ardour which spread from synod to synod, from presbytery to presbytery, and from parish to parish; "the inhabitants of one city saying to another, Come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant that shall not be forgotten," until all Scotland, like Judah of old, "rejoiced at the oath."[1] Nowhere was the service performed with more affecting solemnity than at Dunfermline by the members of the synod of Fife. After they had plighted their faith to God and to one another, James Melville, who had the direction of the exercise, called up some of the most judicious members to address the assembly. David Ferguson, the oldest minister of the Church, rose and gave an account of the first planting of the reformed church in Scotland. He was one of six individuals (he said), who engaged in that work, when the name of stipend was unknown, when they had to encounter the united opposition of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and could scarcely reckon on the countenance and support of a single person of rank and worldly estimation; yet they firmly and fearlessly persevered, and Providence crowned their labours with success. Davidson, who was present by appointment of the General Assembly, said that the opposite emotions by which the Jewish convocation was agitated at the founding of the second temple, were at that moment blended in his soul: he rejoiced at what he saw that day, but he was at the same time filled with sadness when he reflected how far he and his brethren had degenerated from the godliness, zeal, gravity, love, courage, and painfulness, which shone in the first reformers, and which he had witnessed in his youth. Melville, at the moderator's desire, delivered the concluding address. In warning his brethren against defection and breach of covenant, he put them in mind of the humbling example of human frailty which had been given in the year 1584, when the greater part of the ministers, after swearing the National Covenant, were induced, by the mere dread of losing their stipends, to ratify by their subscription those acts which subverted the liberties and whole discipline of the church. "What should be looked for, then," said he, "if the Spaniards, who have lately taken Calais, from which in a few hours they might easily transport themselves to this island, yea, into our own Frith, should essay our constancy with the fine and exquisite torments of their Inquisition,—a piece of service upon which our excommunicated and forfeited earls are attending?"[2]

[1] Ibid. Row's Historie, p. 61. The Covenant was renewed by the Synod of Fife on the 13th of May (Melville's Diary, p. 262); by the Presbytery of St Andrews "upon the penult Furisday of the moneth of July" (ib. 268); by the congregation of Kilrenny on the 5th of September (ib. p. 271); and by the congregation of Anstruther soon after: "We thot meet to enter in tryell of ourselfes for the better preparation to the Covenant and Lordes supper." Rec. of Kirk-Session of Anstruther, Sept. 5, 1596. James Melville laments that the ministers of Edinburgh omitted this exercise in their congregations. Diary, p. 274. If they did so, the presbytery cannot be blamed for the omission: "It is concluditt, according to the act of the Generall Assemblie, a covenant salbe renewitt in all the boundis of this presbitrie, and that upon the vii of October next." Rec. of Presbytery of Edinburgh, Sept. 21, 1596.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 261—267.

The satisfaction felt in this exercise was like a gleam of sunshine before a storm; and the principal persons engaged in it were soon after involved in a severe conflict, attended with a train of consequences distressing to them and disastrous to the church. The ministers were informed, by letters from their friends abroad, of the active exertions which the Scottish priests were making on the Continent against their native country.[1] The King of Spain again threatened the invasion of Britain. Elizabeth had put her kingdom in a posture of defence to meet the meditated attack.[2] James was fully apprised, by intercepted letters, of the treasonable correspondence which the popish lords continued to hold with Spain, and of the plans which they had suggested for getting possession of the principal ports in Scotland.[3] He had made this information public by repeated proclamations; had given orders for military musters and reviews in the several counties; and had urged the ministers to exhort their people to take arms, and to assist him in raising supplies, to repel the intended invasion.[4] In these circumstances the nation was thrown into a state of alarm and confusion by the news that the popish lords had secretly entered the kingdom. James protested that they had come without his consent or knowledge; but this, instead of relieving men's minds, placed them in the most distressing dilemma. If they disbelieved his majesty's asseveration, what confidence could they have in anything that he said or did? If they gave credit to it, what could they think but that the noblemen, in coming home, must have received assurances of aid, both domestic and foreign, to enable them to set at defiance the royal authority? The state of matters was now much altered from what it had formerly been, when the prime minister was decidedly favourable to the interests of religion and the church. Since the death of the chancellor, the administration of affairs had been intrusted to eight individuals, commonly called *Octavians;* the greater part of whom, including the Lord President and the King's Advocate, were either known or suspected Papists. That they were privy to the return of the forfeited noblemen, could scarce admit of a doubt; that their interest would be used to procure for them an indemnity and admittance to his majesty's counsels, there was the strongest reason to suspect. In that case, the days of Lennox and Arran would return; and the religion and lives of the Protestants would be exposed to the most imminent hazard. Such were the apprehensions entertained by the nation. Their fears might be too highly raised; but none who

[1] Letter from Augsburg, April 27, 1596, by Mr D. Anderson; in the Appendix.

[2] Calderwood, iv. 443.

[3] Printed Calderwood, pp. 353, 372.

[4] "Being surlie informit that the foraine preparatiouns threatnit of lang tyme for prosequtioun of that detestable conspiracie aganis Christ and his evangill ar presentlie in readines and intendis to arryve in this Iland—Quairfoir his maiestie, with aduise of the lordis of his secreit counsall, ordains and commandis as alsua effectuouslie requiris all ministers of Godis worde and presbiteries w^tin this realm Eirnestlie to travaill w^t all his hienes subjectis of all estatis—to convene in armes with his maiestie, his licutenantis or commissionaris," &c. Record of Privy Council, November 4, 1595. Proclamations for arming and weaponshawing, in which language equally strong, and even more alarming, is used, are contained in the Council Minutes of 2d of December, the 5th of February, and the 11th of March.

attends to all the circumstances will pronounce them groundless, or wonder that the preachers should have exerted their utmost influence to avert the dangers with which they saw themselves and the country threatened.

Soon after his arrival in the country, Huntly sent an offer of submission for himself and his associates; and an extraordinary meeting of the privy council was summoned at Falkland, to take his proposals into consideration.[1] Certain ministers whom the court judged more complying than the rest, were desired to be present at this meeting, to give their advice. Though not invited, Melville judged it his duty to attend as one of the Commissioners of the General Assembly. On hearing of his arrival, the king sent a messenger to know his errand, and to charge him to depart; but he excused himself from complying with this private mandate, by pleading the public commission which he had received. When he made his appearance along with his brethren, the king asked him what call he had to be there. "Sir," replied he, "I have a call from Christ and his church, who have a special interest in this convention; and I charge you and your estates, in their name, that you favour not their enemies, nor go about to make citizens of those who have traitorously sought to betray their country to the cruel Spaniard, to the overthrow of Christ's kingdom." Being interrupted by his majesty, and ordered to remove, he retired, thanking God that he had enjoyed an opportunity of exonerating his conscience. Encouraged by his boldness, the other ministers resisted the proposals of the court; but, in the end, as James Melville acknowledges, they were induced to relax in their opposition. The president made a plausible speech, in which he defended the policy of calling home the exiled noblemen, lest, like Coriolanus and Themistocles, they should join the enemies of their country. And the council agreed, that although the propositions made by Huntly were too general, yet he might be restored upon his acceding to such conditions as the king and privy council should prescribe.[2] This agreement having given general offence, his majesty took an early opportunity of declaring that he did not mean to act upon it. The presbytery of Edinburgh voted him an address of thanks for this declaration, and the persons who presented it received from his own mouth the strongest assurances that he would adhere to the determination which he had avowed.[3] Understanding that a Convention of Estates was to be held at Dunfermline to deliberate on the affair, the presbytery sent two of their members to request that the royal promise made to them should be kept; but their petition was disregarded, and the resolution taken at Falkland was approved of and ratified.[4]

In consequence of this the commissioners of the General Assembly, assisted by some public spirited gentlemen, met at Cupar in Fife; and being assured by the royal chaplains that his majesty was not privy to

[1] Errol did not return till September.
[2] Record of Privy Council, August 12, 1596. Melville's Diary, p. 275.
[3] Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, vltimo Augti 1596.
[4] Ibid. 28 Sept. 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101.

the return of the popish lords, they appointed a deputation to go to Falkland, and exhort him to prevent the evil consequences which would ensue from the measures which his council were pursuing. The deputies were admitted to a private audience of the king. They had agreed that James Melville should be their spokesman, on account of the courteousness of his address, and the superior degree of respect which his majesty had uniformly expressed for him. But he had scarcely begun to speak when the king interrupted him, and in a tone of irritation challenged the meeting held at Cupar as illegal and seditious, and accused them of infusing unreasonable and unfounded fears into the minds of the people. James Melville was preparing to reply in his mild manner, when his uncle, unable to restrain himself, or judging that the occasion called for a different style, stepped forward and addressed the king. His majesty testified the strongest reluctance to listen to his discourse, and summoned up all his authority to silence him; but Melville persevered, and taking hold of the sleeve of the king's gown in his fervour, and calling him *God's silly vassal*, he proceeded to address him in the following strain, perhaps the most singular, in point of freedom, that ever saluted royal ears, or that ever proceeded from the mouth of a loyal subject, who would have spilt the last drop of his blood in defence of the person and honour of his prince. "Sir, we will always humbly reverence your majesty in public; but since we have this occasion to be with your majesty in private, and since you are brought in extreme danger both of your life and crown, and along with you the country and the church of God are like to go to wreck, for not telling you the truth and giving you faithful counsel, we must discharge our duty, or else be traitors both to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse times before I have told you, so now again I must tell you, there are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is King James, the head of this commonwealth, and there is Christ Jesus, the King of the church, whose subject James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. Sir, those whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over his church, have power and authority from him to govern his spiritual kingdom both jointly and severally; the which no Christian king or prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist; otherwise they are not faithful subjects of Christ and members of his church. We will yield to you your place, and give you all due obedience; but again I say, you are not the head of the church: you cannot give us that eternal life which we seek for even in this world, and you cannot deprive us of it. Permit us then freely to meet in the name of Christ, and to attend to the interests of that church of which you are the chief member. Sir, when you were in your swaddling-clothes, Christ Jesus reigned freely in this land in spite of all his enemies: his officers and ministers convened and assembled for the ruling and welfare of his church, which was ever for your welfare, defence, and preservation, when these same enemies were seek-

ing your destruction and cutting off. Their assemblies since that time continually have been terrible to these enemies, and most steadable to you. And now, when there is more than extreme necessity for the continuance and discharge of that duty, will you (drawn to your own destruction by a devilish and most pernicious counsel) begin to hinder and dishearten Christ's servants and your most faithful subjects, quarrelling them for their convening and the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did? The wisdom of your counsel, which I call devilish, is this, that ye must be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant: and because the Protestants and ministers of Scotland are over strong and control the king, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them, and, the king being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him. But, Sir, if God's wisdom be the only true wisdom, this will prove mere and mad folly; his curse cannot but light upon it: in seeking both ye shall lose both; whereas, in cleaving uprightly to God, his true servants would be your sure friends, and he would compel the rest counterfeitly and lyingly to give over themselves and serve you." During the delivery of this confounding speech his majesty's passion subsided. On recovering from the surprise into which he was thrown, along with all who were present, he repeated his asseverations, that he had no previous knowledge of the return of the popish lords, and pledged his word, that the proposals which they had been allowed to make should not be received till they left the kingdom, and that, even then, he would show them no favour before they satisfied the church.[1]

But "the church got only words and promises; her enemies got the deed and effect."[2] The design of restoring the popish noblemen was persevered in; the Countess of Huntly was invited by the king to the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth; and Lady Livingstone, an adherent to the Roman Catholic religion, was appointed to have the care of the person of the young princess. Upon this the presbytery of Edinburgh, at the desire of their brethren in Fife, called together the commissioners of the General Assembly.[3] They, with the advice of deputies from the different synods, drew up a representation of the dangers of the country, and of the measures best calculated for averting them. This was transmitted to every presbytery. It proposed that the sentence of excommunication against the popish lords should be intimated anew; and that a certain number of ministers from the different quarters of the kingdom should sit at Edinburgh, during the present crisis, as an ordinary council of the church, to receive information, and to convoke, if they should see cause, a meeting of the General Assembly.

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 276—278. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. 754, 755.

[2] This was the saying of Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of the king's house; at which James was so much offended that he refused for a considerable time to admit him into his presence. Printed Calderwood, p. 336.

[3] Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 5th October, 1596.

Despairing of being able to overcome the resistance of the ministers of the church to the scheme which it was bent on accomplishing, the court resolved to put them on their own defence, by attacking their privileges. This was first ascertained by the commissioners on the 9th of November, at an interview which they had requested with the king for the purpose of removing the jealousies which had arisen between them. On that occasion, his majesty told them that there could be no agreement between him and them, till the marches of their jurisdiction were rid, and unless the following points were conceded to him: that the preachers should not introduce matters of state into their sermons; that the General Assembly should not be convened without his authority and special command; that nothing done in it should be held valid until ratified by him in the same manner as acts of parliament; and that none of the church courts should take cognisance of any offence which was punishable by the criminal law of the country. If, after this declaration, any doubt as to the intentions of the court still remained on the minds of the ministers, it was removed by the information that David Black had been served with a summons to answer before the privy council for certain expressions used by him in his sermons. Satisfied that the overthrow of their liberties was aimed at, the commissioners resolved on making a firm and united resistance to this premeditated attack. They wrote to the several presbyteries to put them on their guard against any attempts that might be made to disunite them; they exhorted them to turn their attention particularly to those points which were likely to become the subjects of controversy; and they appointed certain individuals to make a collection of all the acts of privy council and parliament which had been made in favour of the liberties and discipline of the church. Having in vain used means to prevail on the king to desist from the prosecution of Black, the commissioners, after deliberation, agreed that the rights of the church were inseparably connected with his cause, and advised him to decline the judgment of the privy council, as incompetent to decide at first instance on the accusation brought against him. A declinature having been drawn up in this form, it was sent through the presbyteries, and subscribed in a very short time by upwards of three hundred ministers. The contest between the civil and ecclesiastic authorities now became open; each had recourse to its own weapons in defence of its claims; and high and strong measures were taken on both sides.

According to Spotswood's representation, it was chiefly through the persuasions of Melville that the commissioners of the church were induced to make a common cause with Black. He adds that, when it was proposed to give in a declinature, "this was held a dangerous course, and earnestly dissuaded by some few, but they were cried down by the greater number."[1] I have no doubt that Melville joined in advising this step. His friendship for Black, his conviction of the

[1] Spotswood's History, pp. 420, 421.

innocence of his friend, and his having formerly adopted the same course when a similar charge was brought against himself, put this beyond all reasonable doubt. But that there was anything like an opposition among the ministers to the course which was taken, I have seen no good reason to believe. The fact is, that there never was more unanimity in the church than was displayed in this cause. All seemed to be animated with the same sentiment as to the dangerous tendency of the encroachments of the court, and the necessity of resisting them. Rollock, Lindsay, and Buchanan, who were most distinguished for moderation, and Gladstanes, Nicolson, and Galloway, who were afterwards most active in advancing the views of the king, testified the greatest zeal and forwardness in defence of the rights of the church on the present occasion.[1]

It is commonly taken for granted, even by those who are favourable to the cause of the ministers, that during the disputes between the king and the church respecting the popish noblemen, Black preached a sermon in which he used a number of freedoms with the royal family, the counsellors, and judges, which, to say the least, were very unseasonable, and afforded the court a handle against him and his brethren.[2] But this is not a correct view of the case. Black was summoned *super inquirendis;* and when, at his appearance before the privy council on the 10th of November, he objected to this mode of procedure as inquisitorial and illegal, he was told, and told for the first time, that the general charge was restricted to the particular one contained in a letter from the English ambassador, complaining of liberties which had been taken with the character of his mistress.[3] His summons bore that he was to be examined, not concerning alleged treasonable or seditious language, but "touching certain undecent and uncomely speeches uttered by him in diverse his sermons made in St Andrews."[4] So trivial were the delations, or so suspicious the channels through which they came, that his majesty professed to the commissioners that "he did not think much of that matter; only they should cause him appear and take some course for pacifying the English ambassador; but take heed (said he) that you do not decline the judicatory; for if you do, it will be worse than anything that has yet fallen out."[5] Black gave an explanation which satisfied Bowes, the English ambassador, who had been pushed on to complain of him.[6] But, instead of dropping the process, the court served Black with a new libel, containing articles of charge which had been collected since his former appearance, and which

[1] Spotswood, 423—430. Printed Calderwood, 333—336.

[2] Spotswood says, "Whilst things thus past betwixt the king and the church, a new occasion of trouble was presented by Mr David Blake, one of the ministers of St Andrews, who had in *one* of his sermons cast forth diverse speeches full of spight against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had called the Queen of England an atheist, a woman of no religion." History, p. 420. The Minutes of the Privy Council, to which the archbishop had access, do not warrant this statement.

[3] See the Minute of the Privy Council, in Note KK. [4] Ibid

[5] Spotsw. 421. [6] Moyse's Memoirs, 246.

related to his sermons and conduct during the three preceding years. In short, it appears from the whole proceedings, that the offence was not offered, but eagerly sought; and that "the process against Mr Black was but a policy to divert the ministers from prosecuting their suit against the popish earls."[1] The accusations in the second libel were odious; but, although it is probable that he had used expressions which gave some occasion for them, there can be little doubt that his language was wrested and his meaning misrepresented. At his appearance, he protested that the charges were utterly false and calumnious, and had been devised by informers who were filled with resentment against him for bringing them under church censure for their faults.[2] He produced, in support of his innocence, the testimonials of the provost,[3] bailies, and council of St Andrews, and of the rector, dean of faculty, professors, and regents of the university. He declared his readiness to submit immediately to the trial of the privy council on that article of the libel which charged him with having raised companies of armed men in June 1594. And he requested that the other articles should be remitted to the presbytery of his bounds, to which, and not to the privy council, it belonged to judge, in the first instance, of the doctrines which he had delivered from the pulpit. On the 30th of November, the day fixed for hearing his cause, Black was assisted in his defence by Pont and Bruce. The council rejected the declinature, and, disregarding the testimonials which he produced in his favour, proceeded to sustain themselves judges of the whole libel; upon which Black refused to plead. At a subsequent diet they found all the charges against him proved, and sentenced him to be confined beyond the North Water, until his majesty resolved what farther punishment should be inflicted on him.[4]

I have already inquired at some length into the merits of this question, which had formerly been the subject of litigation between the church and the court.[5] It is common to censure the ministers for imprudence in entering with so much warmth into Black's defence, when they were involved in another dispute with the king. But from the preceding statement it appears that they were forced into it. Besides, the question respecting the liberty of the pulpit, considered in all its bearings, was of more importance than that which related to the popish lords. These noblemen, if restored, might have distracted the country, but they would not have been permitted to ruin it, so long as the preachers were allowed to retain their wonted freedom of speech. A law which would have had the effect of restraining the ministers of

[1] Spotswood, p. 421.

[2] The principal informer was John Rutherfurd, minister of Kilconquhar, whom Black had prosecuted before the presbytery for non-residence. Altare Damasc. p. 425. Crawfurd's MS. Hist. Church of Scotland, i. 193.

[3] The Laird of Dairsie, who could not be suspected of partiality for Black, was at that time provost.

[4] See Note KK. Cotton MSS. Cal. D. ii. 96. Spotswood, 424—427. A full account of the proceedings in this affair is given in printed Calderwood, p. 345—356.

[5] See above, p. 95—101.

Edinburgh alone from expressing any opinion on matters of state, was more to be dreaded at that time than the presence of ten thousand armed Spaniards in the heart of Scotland. The question was important in another point of view. The indefinite restraint of public rebukes and censures of immorality, at least so far as concerned all who had any connection with the court, was ultimately aimed at.[1] Persons may declaim at their pleasure on the insufferable license in which the preachers indulged; but it will be found, on examination, that the discouragement of vice and impiety, the checking of the most crying abuses in the administration of justice, and the preserving of common peace and order in the country, depended upon the freedom of the pulpit, to a degree which no one who is not intimately acquainted with the state of things at that period can conceive.[2]

I cannot refrain from quoting here the following energetic, and, I must say, affecting passage, which no person can read without feeling that he reads the heart of the writers: it is taken from an address which the commissioners of the church presented to the king and council on the morning of Black's trial. "We are compelled, for clearing of our ministry from all suspicion of such unnatural affection and offices towards your majesty and the state of your majesty's country, to call that great Judge who searcheth the hearts, and shall give recompense to every one conform to the secret thought thereof, to be judge betwixt us and the authors of all these malicious calumnies. Before his tribunal we protest, that we always bare, now bear, and shall bear, God willing, to our life's end, as loyal affection to your majesty as any of your majesty's best subjects within your majesty's realm, of whatsomever degree; and according to our power and calling shall be, by the grace of God, as ready to procure and maintain your majesty's welfare, peace, and advancement, as any of the best-affectioned whatsomever. We call your majesty's own heart to record, whether you have not found it so in effect in your majesty's straits, and if your majesty be not persuaded to find the like of us all, if it fall out that your majesty have occasion in these difficulties to have the trial of the affection of your subjects again. Whatsoever we have uttered, either in our doctrine or in other actions toward your majesty, it hath proceeded of a zealous affection toward your majesty's welfare above all

[1] "Because impiety dare not be yet so impudent to crave in expresse terms that sinne be not rebuked (say the commissioners of the church), it is sought only that his majesty and council be acknowledged judges in matters civil and criminal, treasonable and seditious, which shall be found uttered by any minister in his doctrine; thinking to draw the rebuke of sinne, in the king, councell, or their proceedings, under the name of one of these crimes." Printed Calderwood, p. 362.

[2] The author of a letter, which was given in to the palace under the fictitious name of the Minister of Kilconquhar, and which fretted James exceedingly, says, "Had not the discipline of the kirk been more reverently and better executed than the civill policy was these years bygane, the countrie had been cast in a barbarous confusion. Sir, wise men would have your majesty to ponder that saying, 1 Tim. iii. 5. 'If anie man cannot rule his own house, how sall he care for the kirk of God?' And wise men think and say, that had the ministers winked and been silent att mens proceedings, and suffered you to runne from tyme to tyme your intended course, the crowne long ere now had not been on your head." Calderwood, v. 157, 161, 165.

things next to the honour of God, as we protest; choosing rather by the liberty of our admonitions to hazard ourselves, than by our silence to suffer your majesty to draw on the guiltiness of any sin that might involve your majesty in the wrath and judgment of God. In respect whereof we most humbly beseech your majesty so to esteem of us and our proceedings as tending always, in great sincerity of our hearts, to the establishing of religion, the surety of your majesty's estate and crown (which we acknowledge to be inseparably joined therewith), and to the common peace and welfare of the whole country. We persuade ourselves that howsoever the first motion of this action might have proceeded upon a purpose of your majesty to have the limits of the spiritual jurisdiction distinguished from the civil, yet the same is entertained and blown up by the favourers of those that are and shall prove in the end the greatest enemies that either your majesty or the cause of God can have in this country; thinking thereby to engender such a misliking betwixt your majesty and the ministry as shall by time take away all farther trust, and in end work a division irreconcilable, wherethrough your majesty might be brought to think your greatest friends to be your enemies, and your greatest enemies to be your friends. There is no necessity at this time, nor occasion offered on our part, to insist on the decision of intricate and unprofitable questions and processes; albeit, by the subtile craft of adversaries of your majesty's quietness, some absurd and almost incredible suppositions (which the Lord forbid should enter in the hearts of Christians, let be in the hearts of the Lord's messengers) be drawn in and urged importunately at this time, as if the surety and privilege of your majesty's crown and authority royal depended on the present decision thereof. We most humbly beseech your majesty to remit the decision thereof to our lawful Assembly that might determine thereupon according to the word of God. For, this we protest in the sight of God, according to the light that he hath given us in his truth, that the special cause of the blessing that remaineth and hath remained upon your majesty and your majesty's country, since your coronation, hath been and is the liberty which the gospel hath had within your realm; and if your majesty, under whatsoever colour, abridge the same directly or indirectly, the wrath of the Lord shall be kindled against your majesty and the kingdom, which we, in the name of the Lord Jesus, forewarn you of, that your majesty's and your council's blood lie not upon us."[1] Had James possessed half the wisdom which he laid claim to, he would have perceived that the rights of his crown could be in no danger from the attempts, or from the faithful and affectionate though sometimes officious and rough reproofs, of such men as these: he would have revered their integrity, and been proud of their spirit.

During the process of Black, and after it was brought to a termination, daily communings were held between the court and the ministers,

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 344, 345.

and various proposals were made for removing the variance which had unhappily arisen.[1] Different accounts are given of the causes which defeated the success of these proposals; but from what the king had already avowed, and from the whole tenor of his proceedings, there is reason to conclude, that, if the ministers had yielded the point in dispute, the concession would have been followed by additional encroachments on their rights. As it was, the court was determined against any reconciliation which did not imply an absolute submission to its claims on the part of the church. The proposals made by the commissioners were listened to, and hopes of conciliation were held out to them; but when they were flattering themselves that they were on the eve of an amicable arrangement, some new difficulty was started, or some new symptom of hostility manifested.[2] Finding that they had been amused and deceived, the ministers expressed their dissatisfaction from the pulpit; upon which the court had recourse to the most irritating measures. An act of council was passed, ordaining the ministers, before receiving payment of their stipends, to subscribe a bond, in which they promised to submit to the judgment of the king and privy council as often as they were accused of seditious or treasonable doctrine. An old act of council was renewed, prohibiting all from uttering, privately or publicly, in sermons or in familiar conferences, any false or slanderous speeches to the reproach or contempt of his majesty, his council, proceedings, or progenitors, and from meddling with affairs of state, "present, bygane, or to come, under the pain of death;" commanding all magistrates in burghs, and noblemen and gentlemen in country parishes, to interrupt and imprison any preachers whom they should hear uttering such speeches from pulpits; and threatening with the highest pains all those who should hear offences of this kind committed without revealing them.[3] At the same time a proclamation was issued, ordering the commissioners of the General Assembly to leave the capital, and declaring the powers which they claimed to be unwarranted and illegal.[4]

Melville left Edinburgh, along with the rest of the commissioners, on the 15th of December; but as the events which followed made great noise, and had an important influence on the affairs of the church, it would be improper to pass them over.

The *Octavians*,[5] by the rigid economy which they had introduced into the management of the finances, restricted his majesty from lavishing money upon his private favourites. Irritated at this, the latter, known at that time by the name of *Cubiculars*, or gentlemen of the bed-

[1] Calderwood, p. 348—356; compare Spotswood, p. 423—427.

[2] "In those treatyis with the king (says the English ambassador) the commissioners alwayes returned satisfyed, reporting to the rest that the K. was pleased to enter in calme [conference] and sundry particular overtures were layde forth and l; ked therin, and as it [seemed] that the saune should have been allowed and authorised perfectly by the K. the next day: so that every night a full end and conclusion was looked to." Despatches by Robert Bowes. Edinb. Dec. 14, 1596. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. II. 96.

[3] Record of Privy Council, Dec. 13, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 101, 102.

[4] Record of Privy Council, Dec. 9, 1596.

[5] See above, p. 179.

chamber, were desirous of driving these statesmen from their places, and to accomplish this object they industriously fomented the dissension between the king and the church. They insinuated to the Octavians, that the friends of the ministers were engaged in a plot against their lives. They, at the same time, privately assured the ministers that the Octavians were the advisers of the return of the popish lords and of the prosecution of Black; that it was through their influence that the mind of the king was alienated from the church; and that they intended nothing less than the overthrow of the Protestant religion.[1]

On the morning of the 17th of December 1596, information was conveyed to Bruce, that the Earl of Huntly had been all night in the palace, and that his friends and retainers were at hand, waiting for orders to enter the capital. This communication, which was partly true, excited the more alarm, as a charge had just been given to twenty-four of the most zealous citizens to remove from Edinburgh. It being the day of the weekly sermon, the ministers agreed that the barons and burgesses who were present should be desired to meet in the Little Church, after public worship, to advise on what ought to be done.[2] They met accordingly, and deputed two persons from each of the estates to wait on the king, who happened to be then in the Tolbooth with the Lords of Session. Having obtained an audience, Bruce told his majesty that they were sent to lay before him the dangers which threatened religion. "What dangers see you?" said the king. Bruce mentioned what they had been told as to Huntly. "What have you to do with that?" said his majesty; "and how durst you convene against my proclamation?"—"We dare do more than that," said Lord Lindsay, "and will not suffer religion to be overthrown." Upon this the king retired into an inner apartment, and shut the door upon them. The deputies returned, and made their report to the Assembly. During their absence, Cranston, a forward minister, had been reading to the people in the church certain passages from the Bible, and among the rest the story of Haman and Mordecai. Perceiving that their minds were somewhat moved, Bruce proposed that they should defer the consideration of their grievances, and merely pledge themselves at present to be constant in the profession and defence of their religion. This proposal having been received with acclamation, he besought them, as they regarded the credit of the cause, to be silent and quiet. At this time, an unknown person (supposed to have been an emissary of the Cubiculars) hastily entered the church, exclaiming, "Fy, fy, save yourselves! the papists are coming to massacre you!" At the same time a cry was raised in the street, "To arms! to arms!" Some one exclaimed in the church, "The sword of

[1] Calderwood; v. 127. Spotswood, 428.

[2] It is not commonly adverted to, that, besides long usage, the ministers had the authority of an express act of privy council for calling meetings of this kind. The king was aware of this, and accordingly procured the repeal of that act. But this was not done until the 5th of March 1597. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 116; compare Bruce's Apology, in printed Calderwood, p. 272.

the Lord and Gideon!" "These are not our weapons," cried Bruce, who attempted to calm the Assembly; but the panic had seized them, and they rushed into the street, where they found a crowd already collected. For a time all was confusion. Some, hearing that their ministers were slain, ran to the church; others, being told that the king was in danger, flocked to the Tolbooth. One or two called for the President and Lord Advocate, that they might take order with them for abusing the king. All accounts that are entitled to any credit agree in stating that this was the greatest offence that was committed during the uproar. The ministers immediately called in the aid of the magistrates, and, by their joint persuasion, the tumult was speedily quelled. Within less than an hour, not an offensive weapon, nor the least symptom of a disposition to riot, was to be seen on the streets. The barons and ministers resumed their deliberations in the church, and sent Lord Forbes, the Laird of Bargeny, and Principal Rollock, to lay their requests before the king, who continued to transact business with the Lords of Session. His majesty directed them to come to him in the afternoon, when they would have an opportunity of laying their petition before the council; after which he walked down the public street to the palace, attended by his courtiers, with as much quietness and security as he had ever experienced on any former occasion.[1]

Such are the facts connected with the tumult of *the seventeenth of December*, which has been related in so many histories, and magnified into a daring and horrid rebellion. Had it not been laid hold of by designing politicians as a handle for accomplishing their measures, it would not now have been known that such an event had ever occurred; and were it not that it has been so much misrepresented to the disparagement of the ministers and ecclesiastical polity of Scotland, it would be a waste of time and labour to institute an inquiry into the real state of the facts.[2] "No tumult in the world was ever more harmless in the effects, nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein."[3] It never was seriously alleged that

[1] Cald. v. 128, 176. Spotswood, pp. 428, 429. James Melville's History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland, pp. 4, 5. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. iii. 2, 12. Row's Historie, p. 64—66. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 68—71. Bishop Guthrie represents the tumult as suppressed by a company of musketeers sent from the castle by the Earl of Mar, and he describes their circuitous march with as much minuteness as if he had accompanied them. Memoirs, p. 6. If there was any foundation for this story, it is strange that Spotswood, who was present, should have passed it over. But the blunders which Guthrie has committed in his narrative of this affair are sufficient to discredit his statement, so far as it differs from those of other writers. Calderwood and Spotswood agree in all the material circumstances. Compare Simsoni Annal. p. 76.

[2] Adrian Damman, the Resident of the States-General at the court of Scotland, transmitted a false and exaggerated account of the affair to his constituents. He was not in Scotland when the tumult happened, and it is evident that his information was derived from James and his courtiers, or rather that his letter was written at their desire and dictation. Damman's letter was published in *Epist. Eccles. et Theologicæ* (p. 35—37, edit. 3tia), and the substance of it was afterwards adopted by Brandt. History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 457. Among the writers of this country who were most industrious in circulating calumnies on this head was Bishop Maxwell in his Issachar's Burden, reprinted in Phœnix, vol. i. p. 307—309.

[3] Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 71.

there was the most distant idea of touching the person of the king. Had there been any intention of laying violent hands on the unpopular statesmen, there was nothing to have prevented the populace, at the commencement of the tumult, from forcing the house in which they were assembled. No assault was made upon the meanest creature belonging to the court; no violence was offered to the person or the property of a single individual. So far from partaking of the nature of a rebellion, the affair scarcely deserves the name of a riot. Nor did it assume the appearance of one of those dangerous commotions by which the public peace is liable to be disturbed in large towns, and to which a wise government seldom thinks of giving importance, by inquiring narrowly into their origin, or punishing those who, through thoughtlessness or imprudence, may have been led to take part in their excesses.

CHAPTER VII.

1596—1603.

Unpremeditated in its origin, and harmless in its effects as the uproar in Edinburgh was, it offered a pretext, which was eagerly laid hold of by the court, for commencing an attack on the government of the church. A tumult had taken place in the capital, which would necessarily make a noise through the kingdom. It would not be difficult to magnify it into a dangerous and designed rebellion, and to involve the ministers who were present on the occasion in the odium attached to that crime. This would enable the court to get rid of men who proved a disagreeable check on its proceedings; the severities used against them would strike terror into the minds of their brethren; and thus measures might be carried which otherwise would have met with a determined and successful resistance. Nothing could be more congenial to the character of James than this piece of Machiavellian policy, which had a show of deep wisdom in the device, and required a very slender portion of courage in the execution.

To secure the success of his plan, he began by promoting a reconciliation between the two parties at court. He induced the Octavians to resign the invidious office of managing the revenue, and the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to join in punishing a riot which they had raised for the express purpose of driving their rivals from their places.[1] Having accomplished this object, the king hastily quitted the palace of Holyrood House. As soon as he was gone, a proclamation was issued, requiring all in public office to repair to him at Linlithgow, and commanding every person who had not his ordinary residence in the capital to leave it instantly. This was followed by severer proclamations. The ministers of Edinburgh, with a certain number of the citizens, were commanded to enter into ward in the castle; they were summoned before the privy council at Linlithgow to answer *super inquirendis;* and the magistrates were ordered to seize their persons. The tumult was declared to be "a cruel and barbarous attempt against his majesty's royal person, his nobility, and council, at the instigation of certain seditious ministers and barons;" and all who had been accessary to it, or who should assist them, were declared to be liable to the penalties of treason. In the beginning of January his majesty, with great pomp,

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.

and in a warlike attitude, returned to Edinburgh, where he held a convention at which these proclamations were ratified, and measures of a still stronger kind were taken. It was ordained that the courts of justice should be removed to Perth; and that no meeting of general assembly, provincial synod, or presbytery, should henceforth be held within the capital.[1]

A deputation from the town-council had waited on his majesty at Linlithgow, to protest their innocence, and to implore forgiveness to the city for a tumult which had ended without bloodshed, and which they had done everything in their power to suppress. Their supplication was rejected, and they heard nothing, while they remained at court, but denunciations of vengeance. They were told that the Borderers would be brought in upon them—that their city would be razed to the ground and sowed with salt—and that a monument would be erected on the place where it stood, to perpetuate the memory of such an execrable treason. Intimidated by these menaces, and distressed at the loss of the courts of justice, they came to the resolution of surrendering their political and religious rights. The magistrates, in the name of the community, subscribed a bond in which they engaged not to receive back their ministers without the express consent of his majesty, and to give him for the future an absolute negative over the election of both magistrates and ministers. This pusillanimous and abject submission encouraged the court to treat them with still greater indignity. "The magistrates and body of the town" were declared to be "universally guilty of the odious and treasonable uproar committed against his majesty;" and thirteen individuals, as representatives of the burgh, were ordered to enter into prison at Perth, and stand trial before the Court of Justiciary. One of the number, who had obtained a dispensation from his majesty, being absent on the day appointed, a sentence of non-compearance was pronounced against the whole, the citizens were declared rebels, and the property of the town was confiscated. Being thus entirely at the royal mercy, the members of the town-council received his majesty's gracious pardon on their knees, after paying a

[1] "Comperit George Todrik one of the baillies of Edinr with cõmissioners from the kinges Matie and chargit the presbyterie in his Maties name to depart outwith the boundis of the jurisdiction of Edr. The presbyterie for obedience to his Maties lawis concludit to depart and to keip the presbyterie at Leyth." Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, 11mo Jarii 1596. "Mr Michael Cranstone" was moderator of this meeting of presbytery, in the absence of Robert Bruce, the ordinary moderator, who had been obliged to abscond. This circumstance throws no small light on the motives of the king's behaviour on the present occasion. Cranston was the minister who had read the story of Haman on the day of the tumult, and the only one whose behaviour had any tendency to inflame the minds of the people. He had been summoned, but was already received into favour; for if this had not been the case, the presbytery would not have thought of putting him into the chair at this time. It was not the conduct of the ministers on the 17th of December, it was the resistance which they had previously made to his measures, at which James was so much offended. Calderwood, in his account of what preceded the tumult, says, "Mr Michael Cranston, then a very forward minister, *but now key-cold*, readeth the history of Haman and Mordecai." MS. vol. v. p. 129.

The minutes of presbytery are dated "Apud Leyth" from Jan. 11, to the 8th of Feb. 1596; *i.e.* 1597, according to modern computation. After that they are dated "At the Quenis-colledg." On the 9th of August, 1597, they begin to be dated "Apud Edr."

fine, and giving a new bond, containing articles of submission still more humiliating than those which they had already subscribed.[1] In the mean time, the court was unable, after the most rigid investigation, to discover a single respectable citizen who had taken part in the riot, or the slightest trace of a premeditated insurrection. When we consider the mixture of hypocrisy and tyranny which runs through these proceedings, it is impossible to read the remark with which Spotswood closes his account of the affair without derision. "Never," says the sycophantish prelate, "did any king, considering the offence, temper his authority with more grace and clemency than did his majesty at this time; which the people did all acknowledge, ascryving their life and safety onely to his favour."[2]

While the court was breathing out threatenings against the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and particularly against its ministers, the latter were advised by their friends to withdraw, and conceal themselves for a time.[3] As soon as it was known that they had taken this step, they were publicly denounced rebels. Great keenness was shown to find some evidence of their accession to the tumult; and when this failed, recourse was had to fabrication in order to criminate them. On the day that the king left Edinburgh with such marks of displeasure, the barons who remained behind met, and agreed to "take upon them the patrociny and mediation of the church and its cause;" and at their desire Bruce wrote a letter to Lord Hamilton, asking him to come and "countenance them in this matter against those councillors" who had inflamed his majesty against them.[4] Hamilton having conveyed a copy of this letter to the king, some person about the court (for I do not believe that his lordship was capable of such a dishonourable act) altered it in such a manner as to make it express an approbation of the late tumult, and consequently an intention of embodying an armed resistance to the measures of government.[5] Conscious of the fraud which had been committed, the court did not dare to make any public use of the vitiated document; but it was circulated with great industry in private, with the view of blasting the reputation of Bruce and his friends.

[1] Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. f. 104—117. Record of Privy Council, from December 18 to March 21, 1596. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 103—109, 114. Cald. v. 131, 137, 147, 151, 238. Spotswood, pp. 431—434, 444. Melville's Diary, pp. 288, 289.

[2] Spotswood's Hist. p. 444.

[3] Bruce and Balcanquhal went into England, Balfour and Watson concealed themselves in Fife. They wrote apologies for their conduct, in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions thrown on them, and assigned reasons for their flight. The apology of the two former is inserted in Cald. v. 168—191. That of the two latter is inserted in Melville's Diary, p. 280—288.

[4] According to Spotswood, (Hist. p. 432), the letter was signed by Bruce and Balcanquhal only; but the copy of it inserted by Calderwood has also the subscriptions of Rollock and Watson. Vol. v. p. 132.

[5] Both the genuine and the falsified copies of the letter are inserted by Calderwood. MS. vol. v. pp. 132, 133. Speaking of the tumult, the former says, "The people animated, as effaires, partly be the word and violence of the course, took armes, and made some commotion, fearing the invasion of us y^r^ ministers; but, be the grace of God, we repressed and pacified the motions incontinent." In the vitiated copy this is altered in the following manner: "The people animated, no doubt, be the word and *motion of God's spirit*, took arms;" and what was said of the ministers repressing the commotion is omitted. Spotswood, in his account of the letter, has followed the falsified copy, without so much as hinting that its genuineness was ever

Matters being thus prepared, a publication appeared in the name of the king, consisting of fifty-five questions. They were drawn up by Secretary Lindsay, after the model of the questions which Archbishop Adamson had framed when the Second Book of Discipline was composed; and were intended, by bringing into dispute the principal heads of the established government of the church, to pave the way for the innovations which the court intended to introduce.[1] A Convention of Estates and a meeting of the General Assembly were called by royal authority, to be held at Perth in the end of February, to consider these questions. This measure had been previously resolved on, and the questions were prepared before the 17th of December; although the publication of them was deferred to this time.[2]

The leading ministers throughout the kingdom prepared for a vigorous defence of the established discipline. Though grieved at the advantage which the court had gained by the late occurrence in the capital, they did not suffer themselves to fall under an unmanly dread of its menaces. The presbytery of Haddington suspended one of their members for agreeing, without their consent, to an arrangement of the privy council for supplying the pulpits of Edinburgh.[3] The synod of Lothian virtually

called in question; and at the same time that he quotes from a letter to Lord Hamilton, in which Bruce complains of the vitiation. History, p. 432, compared with Cald. v. 150. It is impossible to reprobate such conduct too severely, especially when it is considered that Spotswood had hitherto co-operated with his brethren. According to the accounts of different writers, he had evinced a more than ordinary zeal in forwarding their measures: he subscribed and promoted the subscription of Black's declinature; he called out his patron, Torphichen, to defend the ministers on the day of the tumult; and he transcribed Bruce's apology with his own hand, and had even given it a sharper edge. Cald. MS. vol. v. p. 175. Printed History, p. 339. Epist. Philadelphi Vindiciæ: Altare Damasc. p. 753. Archibald Simson (Annales MSS. p. 76) agrees with Calderwood, and charges Spotswood with acting treacherously previously to the 17th of December, by informing the court of all that passed in the private meetings of the ministers. This last charge might, however, proceed from undue suspicion. But he appears to have declared for the court-measures soon after the tumult. I find the following references to him in the record of the presbytery of Edinburgh: "Maij iij 1596. Anent the desyre of M. Johnn Spottiswood craving that seing he was resident within the burgh, and was admitted to the ministerj, that thairfoire he myght be licentiat to exercise in this presbyterie. Quhais desyre being considerit, it is grantit."—"Apud Leyth xxv° Jaⁿⁱj 1596. The exerceis made be M. William Birni, and additioun be M. Johnn Spottiswood. The text Exod. 16, beginnand at the 1 vˢ. to the 4. The doctrine judged, the haill brether were offended with the doctrine delivered be the said M. Johnn, refussit to let him mak the nixt day, and appointit M. Henrie Blyth to mak the exhortatioun the first of Feᵃʳ nixt." It is highly probable that Spotswood had given offence to the presbytery, by some allusions to the differences between the court and the church.

[1] "The questions to be resolvit at the Convention of the Estaits and Generall Assemblie, appointed to be at the Burgh of Perth the last day of Februarie next to come. Edinbvrgh, Printed be Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's Majestie. Anno Dom. 1597." 4to. Subscribed at the close "James R." In the College Library at Glasgow is a copy of this book, which appears to have belonged to Melville, and has on the margin, in his handwriting, short answers to some of the questions. They agree, in general, with the answers of the synod of Fife. Spotswood has inserted all the questions in his History (p. 435—438). Two slight inaccuracies in the 13th and 53d questions may be corrected by printed Calderwood (p. 381—389), where the address *To the Reader*, prefixed to the publication, will also be found.

[2] Calderwood has shown this from the minutes of the commissioners of the General Assembly, which he had in his possession. After referring to various minutes between the 11th of November and the 11th of December, he adds, "So that it is clear that the king intended before the 17th of December to work ane alteration in discipline, and to sett the ministers on work to defend themselves that they might be diverted from persueing the excommunicated Earls, which was also the ground of calling Mr David Black before the counsell for speeches uttered three years before." MS. Hist. v. 193—194.

[3] Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 29, Jan. 12, and Feb. 9, 1596.

approved of the conduct of that presbytery, and testified their dissatisfaction at his majesty's proposing that they should advise the infliction of censure on their brethren who had fled.[1] Notwithstanding the royal threat, that those ministers who refused subscription to the lately-imposed bond should not have their *pensions* (as James insultingly called their stipends), not an individual of any note could be induced to subscribe; and papers were circulated, in which the bond was commented on with becoming freedom, and shown to be ambiguous and ensnaring.[2] One of these papers, which is written with much ability and temper, concludes with these words: "Howsoever it shall please God to dispose of his (majesty's) heart, the ministry, I dowte not, will keepe themselves within the boundis of their calling, and neither directly nor indirectly attempte any thing that shall not be lawfull and seeming for them, but with patience committ all the successe unto the Lorde; remembring the saying of Ambrose, that, when they have done their duties, *preces et lachrimæ arma nostra sunt*, and we have no warrant to proceede farther."[3]

The synod of Fife set an example to their brethren in the other provinces on this interesting occasion. Having met *pro re nata*, they appointed a committee to draw up answers to the king's questions.[4] They sent a deputation to request his majesty to refer the decision of them to the regular meeting of the General Assembly, and to prorogue the extraordinary meeting which he had called. In case he should not comply with this request, they advised the presbyteries under their inspection to send commissioners to Perth, in testimony of their obedience to the royal authority; but they at the same time drew up instructions for the regulation of their conduct. The commissioners were instructed to declare that they could not acknowledge that meeting as a lawful General Assembly, nor consent that it should call in question the established polity of the church. If this point should be decided against them, they were to protest for the liberties of the church, and keep themselves free from all approbation of the subsequent proceedings. In any extra-judicial discussion of the questions that might take place, they were instructed to adhere to the following general principles: that the external government of the church is laid down

[1] Instructions to Mr John Preston, Mr Edw. Bruce, and Mr Wm. Oliphant, commissioners for the K. of Sc. to the Synod of Lothian, to be convened at Leith, Feb. 1, 1596. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 97. This paper contains also the answers which the synod returned to his majesty's propositions.

[2] In one of the papers it is objected, that the bond was so expressed as to imply, that the king by himself, and independently of the courts of justice, might decide on all civil and criminal causes; and that he had a right not only to inflict civil punishment on ministers, but also to deprive them of their office. And it is pleaded that, as the word of God declares the duties of all civil relations, and as idolatry, adultery, murder, &c., are criminal offences, so ministers, for inculcating the former and rebuking the latter, might be charged with a violation of the bond. Cald. v. 139—145. It would be easy to justify these interpretations. For example, the late Convention declared, that his majesty had "power upon any necessitie to command any minister—to preiche or to desist—from preiching in particular placeis." Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 107.

[3] Objections to the subscription that is obtruded upon the ministers of Scotland. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 100.

[4] Their answers may be seen in printed Calderwood, p. 382—390.

in the word of God; that it belongs to the pastors and doctors of the church to declare what the Scriptures have taught on this head; and, as a scriptural form of government and discipline had after long and grave deliberation been regularly settled in Scotland, as the church had for many years been happily preserved by means of it from heresy and schism, and as none of the ecclesiastical office-bearers moved any doubts about it, that his majesty should be requested not to disturb such a rare, peaceable, and decent constitution by the agitating of fruitless and unnecessary questions.[1] The presbytery of Edinburgh limited and instructed their representatives in the same manner.[2] These instructions display much wisdom, and point out the true way of resisting innovations which were sought to be introduced, not by reason and argument, but by the combined influence of fraud and force.

His majesty was convinced by these proceedings, that, in order to carry his measures, it behoved him to employ other arts besides those of intimidation. The ministers in the northern parts of the kingdom had rarely attended the General Assembly, owing to their distance from the places of its meeting, and the deficiency of their incomes. They were comparatively unacquainted with its modes of procedure, and strangers to the designs of the court; not to mention their general inferiority in point of gifts to their brethren of the south. Sir Patrick Murray, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, was now despatched on a mission to them. He was instructed to visit the presbyteries in Angus and Aberdeenshire; to acquaint them with the late dangerous tumult, and the undutiful and treasonable conduct of the ministers in Edinburgh; to procure, if possible, their subscription to the bond, and their consent to receive the popish lords into the communion of the church; and to desire them to send some of their members to the ensuing Assembly to resolve his majesty's questions, which had already been approved by the discreetest of the ministers.[3] In his private conversations, Murray laboured to inspire them with jealousies of the southern ministers, as wishing to engross the whole management of ecclesiastical affairs, to the exclusion of those who had an equal right and more discretion to use it; and he assured them that, if they were once acquainted with his majesty, any suspicions which they might have conceived of him, and which had been fostered by the representations of their ambitious brethren, would be speedily and completely dissipated.[4]

Melville was prevented from being present at Perth, in consequence

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 290—292.

[2] Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, February 22, 1596. Calderwood, vol. v. p. 197—199.

[3] Instructions to Patrick Murray. Cotton MSS. Calig. D. ii. 98. The following extracts from his instructions will show the kind of arguments which Murray was directed to employ. "We will not believe that the presbyterie of Aberdene will acknawledge any supremacie of the presbyterie and ministers of Edinburge above them. — As to the pretended commissioners of the Generall Assemblie, their commission is found and decernit be us and our counsell to be unlawfull.—So ther is no present power above the said presbyterie of Aberdene to stay them to accept the Earles reasonable satisfaction, in case the same be offerit, sen we and the counsell hes commanded them to accept the same." Instructions, *ut supra*.

[4] Spotswood, 438, 439.

of his being obliged, in his capacity of rector, to attend a public meeting of the university. But he had done his duty in procuring the instructions by which the conduct of the commissioners from Fife was regulated; and his nephew was prepared to express his sentiments on the different points that were likely to be brought forward. After a contest of three days, during which all the arts of court intrigue were employed in influencing the minds of the voters, it was decided by a majority of voices that the meeting should be held to be a lawful General Assembly extraordinarily convened; upon which the commissioners from Fife, agreeably to their instructions, protested that nothing which might be done should be held valid, or improved to the prejudice of the liberties of the Church of Scotland. Disgusted at the influence which he saw exerted, deserted by some of the friends in whom he most confided, deprived of the assistance of his uncle, and distrusting his own ability and firmness, James Melville hastily quitted Perth. His colleagues resolved to remain, and, under the protection of their protest, to prevent, as far as possible, the Assembly from sacrificing the rights of the church. But, in spite of all their exertions, his majesty succeeded in obtaining such answers to his leading questions, as gave him the greatest advantage in carrying on his future operations against the ecclesiastical constitution. The answer to the very first question, simple and harmless as it may appear in terms, was really, in the circumstances of the case, pregnant with danger; and the Assembly, in agreeing to it, acted like a garrison which on the first parley should throw open its gates and allow the enemy to make a lodgment within the wall.[1] The king had published a long list of questions which went to produce a total alteration of the existing church government. By declaring, in these circumstances, "that it is lawful to his majesty or to the pastors to propose in a General Assembly whatsoever point they desired to be resolved or reformed in matters of external government," the Assembly virtually and constructively sanctioned the project of the court, although they might reserve to themselves a right to deliberate upon its details. The qualifications added to their resolution, "providing it be done *decenter*, in right time and place, and *animo ædificandi non tentandi*," were mere words of course, and could be no safeguard against any proposals of royal innovation. If it behoved them to speak Latin, the answer which they ought to have returned (and it would have served as an answer to all the questions), was, *Nolumus leges Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ mutari.* The other answers which the Assembly gave related chiefly to the liberty of the pulpit, upon which they imposed restrictions, which were doubly dangerous at a time when the court had not only discovered its hostile intentions against the polity of the church, but

[1] That the Assembly, when unbiassed, viewed the matter in this light, may be inferred from the manner in which the answer was expressed, before it was altered to please the king: "The breither convened give their advys in the first article, that it is not expedient to mak a law or act twiching this, leist a durre should be opened to curious and turbulent sprits, otherwise they think it lawfull," &c. Diary, 305. Spotswood, 440.

had procured the assistance of some of its official guardians to carry them into execution. Having succeeded thus far to his wish, the king signified his willingness to refer the decision of the remaining questions to another General Assembly, to be held at Dundee on the 10th of May following; and, in the mean time, the articles agreed to were ratified by the Convention of Estates, which was then sitting at Perth.[1]

This Assembly is chiefly remarkable, as being the first meeting of the ministers of Scotland which yielded to that secret and corrupt influence, which the king continued afterwards to use, until the General Assembly was at last converted into a mere organ of the court, employed for registering and giving out royal edicts in ecclesiastical matters. "Coming to Perth," says James Melville, "we found the ministers of the north convened in such numbers as was not wont to be seen at any Assemblies, and every one a greater courtier nor another: so that my ears heard new votes, and my eyes saw a new sight, to wit, flocks of ministers going in and out at the king's palace, late at night and betimes in the morning. Sir Patrick Murray, the diligent apostle of the north, had made all the northland ministers acquainted with the king. They began then to look big in the matter, and find fault with the ministers of the south and the popes of Edinburgh, who had not handled matters well, but had almost lost the king."[2] James afterwards depended chiefly upon the votes of the northern ministers for carrying his measures. The General Assembly was appointed to meet at such places as were most convenient for their attendance; and if at any time it was found necessary to convene it at a greater distance from them, ways and means were fallen upon to provide them with a *viaticum*.[3]

But to secure credit to his cause it was necessary for his majesty to gain over some individuals who possessed greater respectability, and who were able to plead as well as to vote for his plans. James Nicolson, minister of Meigle,[4] was highly esteemed among his brethren. He was the intimate acquaintance and bosom friend of James Melville. At Assemblies they always lodged in the same apartment, and slept in the same bed; and harmonised as much in their sentiments about public

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 110—112. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 131—134. Cald. v. 222—236. Spotswood, 439—443. Melville's Diary, 303—309. James Melville enumerates thirteen reasons for maintaining the *nullity* of this Assembly. The chief of these are: that it was not appointed by the last Assembly, nor called by its commissioners, but by the sole authority of the king; that it was not opened by sermon; and that there was no choice of a moderator or clerk. The Buik of the Universall Kirk says: "Exhortatioun yr was none;" and it mentions no moderator. It says that Mr Thomas Nicholson was chosen clerk; but states, on the margin, that some thought his election did not take place till the subsequent Assembly.

[2] Diary, p. 303, compare his History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 7.

[3] "I am bold humbly to advise your majesty," says Archbishop Gladstanes, "that, in the designation of the place of the ensuing G. Assembly, your Majesty make choice either of the place appointed by the last Assembly, whilk will help the formality of it, or then of Dundee, where your majesty knows *your own northern men* may have commodity to repair. And albeit your majesty's princely liberality may *supply distance of place by furniture to those that travel*, yet," &c. Letter of Archbishop of St Andrews to the King: April 18, 1610. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Fac. V. 1, 12, N°. 50.

[4] Mr James Nicolson was presented to the parsonage and vicarage of Cortachy, on the 7th of May 1580; and to the parsonage and vicarage of Meigle, "penult Febr. 1583." Register of Present. to Benefices, ii. ff. 34, 97.

affairs as they did in their private dispositions. On the evening before the question respecting the constitution of the Assembly was determined, Nicolson was amissing; and in the morning James Melville learned, to his astonishment and grief, that the mind of his friend had undergone a sudden revolution. He had been sent for to the palace, where he was detained till a late hour; and the king, partly by threats that if his will was not complied with he would ruin the church, and partly by promises and flatteries, had engaged his vote. The two friends went together to the meeting of ministers; and after James Melville had reasoned at great length against the proposal of the court, Nicolson rose and replied to his arguments in a plausible speech, which had the greatest influence in persuading the members to come to the resolution which was adopted. Thomas Buchanan distinguished himself during this Assembly by the boldness and ability with which he asserted the liberties of the church. Having summoned the ministers into the hall where the Convention of Estates was met, the king provoked the friends of the established discipline to a dispute on the subject of his queries, by insinuating broadly that their silence proceeded from fear and distrust of their cause. "We are not afraid," replied Buchanan, "nor do we distrust the justice of our cause; but we perceive a design to canvass and toss our matters, that they may be thrown loose, and then left to the decision of men of little skill and less conscience." Having protested that nothing which he might say should invalidate the authority of the received discipline, he proceeded to examine the doubts started by the royal queries, and exposed their weakness in a style not greatly to his majesty's satisfaction. But, alas! this was the expiring blaze of Buchanan's zeal. Before he left Perth he was "sprinkled with the holy water of the court;" and at the next Assembly he appeared as an advocate for those very measures which he had so eagerly and so ably opposed.[1] It may be observed, however, that Buchanan and some others who acted along with him seem to have intended merely to concede some points which they deemed of less importance, with the view of pleasing the king. They were kept in ignorance of the ulterior designs of James which were imparted to such men as Gladstanes, Spotswood, and Law, who had been corrupted by the promise of bishoprics. But the latter had at that time so little influence in the church, that they could have carried no measure without the assistance of the former, whose facility and want of foresight we cannot help blaming, while we acquit them of having been actuated by mercenary motives.

Melville learned the proceedings at Perth with deep concern, but without feelings of surprise or despondency. He perceived the course which the court was driving, and that nothing would satisfy the king but the overthrow of the presbyterian constitution. Attached to this from conviction as well as from the share he had had in its erection,

[1] Melville's Diary, pp. 303, 308, 311.

satisfied of its intrinsic excellence and its practical utility, and believing it to be the cause of Christ, of freedom, and of his country, he resolved to defend it with intrepidity and perseverance, to yield up none of its outworks, to fight every inch of ground, and to sacrifice his liberty, and, if necessary, his life, in the contest. With this view he joined with some of his brethren in keeping the day fixed for holding the ordinary meeting of the General Assembly. This meeting was constituted by Pont, the last moderator, after which the members present agreed to dismiss, and to refer all business to the Assembly which the king and convention at Perth had appointed to be held in Dundee. By this step they asserted the right of the church as to the holding of her Assemblies, which it was one great object of the court to infringe.[1]

The king was sensible that the advantages which he had gained at Perth were in no small degree owing to the absence of Melville, and he dreaded his opposition in the Assembly at Dundee. Before it proceeded to business, Sir Patrick Murray, who was now become his majesty's vicar-general, sent for James Melville, and dealt with him to persuade his uncle to return home, otherwise the king would take forcible measures to remove him. James Melville replied, that it would be to no purpose for him to make the attempt. If his majesty should use his authority in the way of commanding him to leave the town, he had no doubt, he said, that his uncle would submit, but death would not deter him from acting according to his conscience. "Truly, I fear he shall suffer the dint of the king's wrath," said Sir Patrick. "And truly," replied the other, "I am not afraid but he will bide all." James Melville reported the conversation to his uncle, "whose answer," says he, "I need not write." Next morning they were both sent for to the royal apartments. The interview was at first amicable and calm; but entering on the subject of variance, Melville delivered his opinion with his wonted freedom, and the altercation between him and the king soon became warm and boisterous.[2]

Notwithstanding all the arts of management employed, it was with difficulty that the court carried its measures, even in a very modified form, in this Assembly. The Assembly at Perth was declared lawful, but not without an explanation; its acts were approved, but with certain qualifications; and the additional answers now given to the king's questions were guardedly expressed. Through the influence of the northern ministers, an act passed in favour of the popish lords, authorising certain ministers to receive them into the bosom of the church, upon their complying with the conditions prescribed to them. They were received accordingly; although it was evident that they were induced to submit, in consequence of the failure of an attempt which some of their adherents had made on the peace of the kingdom; and it

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 309. Calderwood, vol. v. p. 240.

[2] "And ther they hecled on, till all the hous and clos bathe hard, mikle of a large houre. In end the king takes upe, and dismissis him favourablie." Melville's Diary, p. 312.

was soon after found necessary, with the consent of government, to bring them again under the sentence of excommunication. The design of altering the government of the church was carefully concealed from this Assembly; but the king, under a specious pretext, obtained their consent to a measure by which he intended to accomplish it clandestinely. He requested them to appoint a committee of their number, with whom he might advise respecting certain important affairs which they could not at present find leisure to determine; such as, the arrangements to be made respecting the ministers of Edinburgh and St Andrews, the planting of vacant churches in general, and the providing of local and fixed stipends for the ministers through the kingdom. To this the Assembly agreed, and nominated fourteen ministers, to whom, or any seven of them, they granted power to convene with his majesty for the above purposes, and to give him advice "in all affairs concerning the weal of the church, and entertainment of peace and obedience to his majesty within his realm." This was a rash and dangerous appointment. The General Assembly had been in the habit of appointing commissioners to execute particular measures, or to watch over the safety of the church until their next meeting. But the present commission was entirely of a different kind. The persons nominated on it were appointed formally as advisers or assessors to his majesty. They were, in fact, his ecclesiastical council; and as, with exception of an individual or two named to save appearances, they were devoted to the court, he was enabled, by their means, to exercise as much power in the church as he did by his privy council in the state. "A wedge taken out of the church to rend her with her own forces!" says Calderwood: "the very needle," says James Melville, "which drew in the episcopal thread!"[1]

James was too fond of the ecclesiastical branch of his prerogative, and too eager for the accomplishment of his favourite plans, to suffer the new powers which he had acquired to remain long unemployed. Repairing to Falkland on the rising of the Assembly, he called the presbytery of St Andrews before him, reversed a sentence which they had pronounced against a worthless minister, and restored him to the exercise of his office. Accompanied by his privy counsellors, laical and clerical, he next repaired to the town of St Andrews, for the double purpose of expelling its ministers, and imposing such restrictions on the university as would facilitate his future operations. He attended public worship on the day of his arrival; and when Wallace was about to proceed to the application of his discourse, James, either afraid of the freedom which he might use, or wishing to gratify his own dictatorial humour, interrupted the preacher and ordered him to stop. Melville (although aware that one object of the royal visit was to find some ground of accusation against himself) could not refrain from

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 184—188. Melville's Diary, pp. 311, 312. Hist. of Declining Age of the Church, p. 10. Cald. v. 243—261. Spotswood, p. 445—447.

publicly expressing his displeasure at this royal interference, and at the silence which the commissioners of the church tamely preserved on the occasion.[1]

At the royal visitation of the university,[2] great eagerness was testified to find matter of censure against Melville. All those individuals, in the university or in the town, whose envy or ill-will he had incurred, were encouraged to come forward with complaints against him; and a large roll, consisting of informations to his prejudice, was put into the hands of the king. He underwent several strict examinations before the visitors. But the explanations which he gave of his conduct were so satisfactory, and his defence of himself against the slanders of his detractors so powerful, that the visitors could find no ground or pretext for proceeding against him, either as the head of his own college, or as the chief magistrate of the university.[3] Spotswood has preserved some of the accusations brought against him, and disingenuously represents them as having been proved before the visitors. "In the New College," says he, "whereof the said Mr Andrew had the charge, all things were found out of order; the rents ill husbanded, the professions neglected, and in place of divinity lectures, politic questions oftentimes agitated; as, Whether the election or succession of kings were the better form of government; How far the royal power extended; and, If kings might be censured for abusing the same, and deposed by the Estates of the kingdom. The king, to correct these abuses, did prescribe to every professor his subject of teaching, appointing the first master to read the Common Places to the students, with the Law and History of the Bible; the second, to read the New Testament; the third, the Prophets, with the Books of Ecclesiastes and Canticles; and the fourth, the Hebrew Grammar, with the Psalms, the Proverbs, and the Book of Job."[4] The *Acts of the Visitation*, which were in the archbishop's possession, are still in existence, and disprove every one of these allegations. They do not contain one word which insinuates that the affairs of the New College were out of order;[5] and the regulations made respecting the future management of the academical revenues apply equally to all the colleges. Nor do they contain one syllable on the subject of abuses in the mode of teaching. It is true that they prescribe the branches to be taught in the different classes; but this was

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 313.

[2] In this visitation six of the commissioners of the church were associated with certain members of the privy council, the provost of St Andrews, &c. The founded persons in the several colleges were required to give in to the visitors, "yair greiffis & disorders and contraversies gif thay ony haif, togidder with the abuses and enormiteis cõmittit wtin ye samin," &c. Summonds to appear before the Visitors: July 7, 1597.

[3] Diary, 313.

[4] History, 449.

[5] One would almost suppose that Spotswood had confounded the Visitation of 1597 with another which took place after he had been many years Chancellor of the university, when it was stated by authority, "that of late years some abuses, corruptions, and disorders have arisen, and are still yet fostered and entertained within the New College of St Andrews, partly upon the occasion of sloth, negligence, and connivance of the persons—to whose credit and care the redress and reformation of these abuses properly appertained—whereupon has followed the dilapidation, &c. of the patrimonie—the neglect of the ordinar teaching — the Professours are become careless and negligent," &c. &c. Commission for Visitation, Nov. 29, 1621.

not intended to "correct abuses." It was an arrangement made in the prospect of an additional professor being established in the college, according to a recommendation of the visitors,—a fact which Spotswood has suppressed. While I am obliged to expose these unpardonable perversions of a public document, I am quite ready to admit that something of the kind mentioned by the archbishop might be included among the accusations presented against the Principal of the New College. The head *de Magistratu* is to be found in every System of Divinity, and falls to be treated by every theological professor in the course of his lectures. I have little doubt that Melville, when he came to that part of his course, laid down the radical principles on which a free government and a limited monarchy rest; and it is not improbable that the young men under his charge would take the liberty of occasionally discussing questions connected with this subject in their private meetings.[1] This will not now be considered as reflecting any dishonour, either on the master or his scholars. On the contrary, Melville's countrymen will listen with pride and gratitude to the information, that, in an age when the principles of liberty were but partially diffused, and under an administration fast tending to despotism, there was at least one man, holding an important public situation, who dared to avow such principles, and who imbued the minds of his pupils with those liberal views of civil government by which the presbyterian ministers were distinguished, and which all the efforts of a servile band of prelates, in concert with an arbitrary court and a selfish nobility, were afterwards unable to extinguish.

Not being able to find anything in his conduct which was censurable, the visitors deprived Melville of his rectorship. This was easily accomplished; for, disapproving of the union of that office with the professorship of theology, he had accepted it at first with reluctance, and acquiesced conditionally in his last re-election. Of this circumstance the visitors availed themselves to prevent the odium which they must have incurred by ejecting him.[2] Under the pretext of providing for

[1] Speaking of this subject in another work, Spotswood says: "Hæc erat disciplulorum," &c. "This was the theology of the students of the New College, who at that time were more conversant with Buchanan's book, *De Jure Regni*, than with Calvin's Institutions." Refutatio Libelli, p. 67. To this Calderwood replies: "Neminem novi Theologi," &c. "I know none among us entitled to the name of a divine, who has not read Calvin's Institutions more diligently than Spotswood, who, I suspect, is scarcely capable of understanding them, although he should read them. Must a divine spend all his days in studying nothing but Calvin's Institutions? Why should not a Scottish theologian read the Dialogue of a learned Scotsman concerning the Law of Government among the Scots?" Epist. Philad. Vind.: Altare Damasc. p. 753. Whatever the archbishop might do, the king, at least, could not blame those who neglected Calvin. It was one of the *wise sayings* of James, "That Calvin's Institutions is a childish work!" Calderwood, vol. iv. p. 213.

[2] "In respect the present Rector alledges he never accepted the said office but conditionally, against the form of such elections, therefore the office is found vacant." Acts of Visitation. Melville's Diary, p. 313. Spotswood says that the king, understanding that Melville had continued Rector for a number of years together "against the accustomed form," commanded a new election; "and for preventing the like disorders a statute was made that none should be continued Rector above a year." Hist. p. 448. But how do the facts stand? John Douglas was Rector from 1550 to 1572; Robert Hamilton from 1572 to 1576; James Wilkie from 1576 to 1590; Andrew Melville from 1590 to

the better management of the revenues of the colleges, a council, nominated by the king, was appointed, with such powers as gave it a control over all academical proceedings. Thus his majesty was furnished with a commission to rule the church, and a council to rule the university, until he should be able to place bishops over both, and become supreme dictator in religion and literature, as well as in law.

But the regulation which was intended chiefly to affect Melville remains to be mentioned. All doctors and regents who taught theology or philosophy, not being pastors in the church, were discharged, under the pain of deprivation and of rebellion, at the instance of the Conservator, from sitting in sessions, presbyteries, provincial synods, or General Assembly, and from all teaching in congregations, except in the weekly exercise and censuring of doctrine. To reconcile them in some degree to this invasion on their rights, the actual masters were allowed annually to nominate three persons, from whom the council appointed by the visitors should choose one to represent the university in the General Assembly; provided the same individual should not be re-elected for three years. The pretext of concern for the interests of learning, by preventing the teachers from being distracted from their duties, was too flimsy to impose upon a single individual. The court was anxious to get rid of Melville's opposition to its measures in the church judicatories; and this was deemed the safest way of accomplishing that object, according to the creeping, tortuous, and timid policy of James. In imposing this restriction on the professors, the visitors acted entirely by regal authority; for no such powers were conveyed to them by the act of parliament under which they sat.[1] They were guilty of an infringement of the rights of the church; for, by law and by invariable practice, doctors or theological professors were constituent members of her judicatories. A greater insult was offered to the members of the university by the reservation made in this case, than if the privilege had been altogether taken from them. They were not deemed fit to be intrusted with the power of choosing their own representative to the General Assembly. This was given to a council, composed of individuals who did not belong to their body, and who were the creatures of the king. No wonder that Rollock sunk in the estimation of his friends, by suffering himself, as one of the visitors, to be made a tool to enslave the university in which he was educated, and to establish a precedent for enslaving the learned institution over which he himself presided. Indeed, by one of the regulations to which he gave his sanction on the present occasion, he virtually stripped himself of the right to sit in ecclesiastical judicatories; and in order to escape from the operation of his own law, he found it necessary to take

1597; and Robert Wilkie from 1597 to 1608. The re-election of Robert Wilkie was sanctioned by the king. The King's Majesties Second Visitation.

[1] In the year 1599, the ratification of a Convention of Estates was procured to this and other regulations of the Visitors. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 189.

a step which violated its ostensible principle, by undertaking the additional duty of a fixed pastor of a particular congregation.[1] The record bears, that all the masters willingly submitted to the regulations made by the visitors, and gave their oath to observe them under the pain of deprivation. As far as Melville was concerned, this promise could mean no more than that he would run his risk of the penalty; for he was determined not to relinquish his right to sit in the church courts.

There is another act of the visitors which illustrates the malignant influence of arbitrary power on the interests of learning. William Welwood, Professor of Laws in St Salvator's College,[2] being called before them, was declared to have transgressed the foundation in sundry points, and was deprived of his situation. Welwood was the friend of Melville and of the ministers of St Andrews.[3] Whether, in his lectures, he had touched these delicate questions respecting the origin and limits of kingly power which the Principal of the New College was accused of discussing, I have no means of ascertaining. But his profession, as a teacher of jurisprudence, was obnoxious in the eyes of James. Accordingly, the visitors declared, in their wisdom, "that the profession of the Laws is no ways necessary at this time in this university;" and the class was suppressed. Another set of visitors, two years after, ventured to recommend the seeking out of "a sufficient learned person in the Laws, able to discharge him both in the ordinary teaching of that profession in the said college, and of the place and jurisdiction of commissary within the diocese;" but the recommendation was "delete by his majesty's special command."[4] James considered himself as Teacher of Laws to his whole kingdom; and, unquestionably, royal proclamations were the proper commentaries on statutes which derived their sole authority from the royal sanction, according to his favourite device, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere.* Melville might have shared the same fate as Welwood, had it not been for circumstances which pressed the fear of disgrace into the service of a sense of justice. There was at that time in the university a number of young men from Denmark, Poland, France, and the Low Countries, who had been attracted to Scotland by the fame of Melville's talents. James was afraid to take a step which

[1] See Note LL.

[2] John Arthour (a brother-in-law of Archbishop Adamson) succeeded William Skene as Professor of Laws. Carta Recessus pro Reformatione, Junij 21, 1586. On his removal Welwood exchanged the Mathematical for the Juridical Chair, about the year 1587. Melville's Diary, p. 200—203.

[3] Ad Expediendos Processvs in Jvdiciis Ecclesiasticis. Appendix Parallelorum Juris diuini humanique. Lvgd. Bat. 1594. 4to. Pp. 12. The epistle dedicatory is inscribed: "Fidis Christi seruis, DAVIDI BLAKKIO et ROBERTO WALLÆ, Ecclesiæ Andreapolitanæ pastoribus vigilantissimis fratribusque plurimum dilectis, G. VELVOD." Scaliger's epitaph on Buchanan was published for the first time at the end of this work, and is introduced with the following note: "Ne reliqua esset pagina vacua, placuit subiicere Carmen hoc ab authore ipso etiam assentiente, dum ista ederentur, oblatum."

[4] The Actis and Recesse of the King's two Visitations of the Univ. of St And[s]. In the year 1600, the king, out of "his frie favour and clemency decerned Mr Wm. Walwood to be repossessed in the lawyers plece and professioun in the Auld College of Sanctandrons—upon his giving sufficient bond and security for his dutiful behaviour to his Mai[tie]. But his restitution did not take place, at least not at that time. His Majesty's Order and Letters, June 6 and Nov. 3, 1600, and March 9, 1611.

would have had the effect of lowering his reputation in the eyes of the foreign literati, whose good opinion he was fond of cultivating.[1]

While the visitors were busy in imposing on the university such regulations as were dictated by his majesty, the commissioners of the General Assembly had gratified him by their proceedings against the ministers of St Andrews. Wallace was accused of having charged Secretary Lindsay with partiality and injustice in the examination of the witnesses on Black's process. This might surely have been excused, as proceeding from the amiable feeling of sympathy with his colleague; and the secretary was willing, for his part, to pass over the offence. But he was instigated to prosecute; and Wallace, having declined the judgment of the commissioners, was removed from St Andrews.[2] Black was removed without any form of process;[3] and George Gladstanes, minister of Arbirlot in Angus, was nominated as his successor.[4] Gladstanes was a man entirely to his majesty's mind. He had a competent portion of pedantry, was abundantly vainglorious, and at the same time possessed all the obsequiousness which is requisite in one who is to be raised to the primacy. As the session and better part of the congregation were warmly attached to their ministers, the admission of Gladstanes would have met with great opposition, had not James Melville, from amiable motives, taken an active part in persuading the parties aggrieved to submit, and make a virtue of necessity.[5] In consequence of this, the king was so far reconciled to Black as to allow his admission to the vacant parish of Arbirlot. During the six years that he survived this event, he gained universal esteem by his private conduct, and by the affectionate and condescending manner in which he discharged his pastoral duties among a simple people. He died of an apoplectic stroke, when he was in the act of dispensing the communion elements to his congregation. The circumstances of his death are beautifully described in a poem which Melville dedicated to his memory.[6]

Having taken these precautions to prevent opposition in the quarters

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 313. It may be mentioned here, that there was another royal visitation of the university in the year 1599. On that occasion it was agreed that the faculty of theology should be restored, but the designations to be given to the graduates was left to subsequent arrangement. Melville was chosen Dean of the theological faculty. No provision was made for carrying into effect the recommendation of the former visitors, by the settlement of a fourth professor in the New College. Acts of Visit. and Diary, *ut supra*.

[2] Mr Ro. Wallace Reasons of his Declinature. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Rob. III. 5, 1. Melville's Diary, pp. 313, 314. Spotswood, 448. On the 10th of December, 1602, Mr Robert Wallace was admitted minister of Tranent. Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 8, 1602. James Gibson was translated from Pencaitland to Tranent on the 9th of May, 1598. On the 6th of October, 1602, a report was made of "the deceis of our loving brother, James Gibsone, of gud memorie." Ibid.

[3] Spotswood's misrepresentations of this affair are considered in Note M M.

[4] He was at first a schoolmaster in Montrose, and had been minister in several parishes before his settlement at Arbirlot. Wodrow's Life of Gladstanes, p. 1. MSS. Bibl. Col. Glasg. vol. iv. It would seem, from a letter of Melville, that Gladstanes married a daughter of John Dury, and consequently was brother-in-law to James Melville; for, writing of the archbishop's death, he says: "I have pitie on his wyfe and children, if it were but for good Johnne Duries memory, whose simplicity and sincerity in his lyfe tyme condemned the worldly wisdom in all without exception." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9.

[5] Melville's Diary, p. 316.

[6] See under Note M M.

from which it was most to be dreaded, the court thought that it might now safely commence its operations. In the month of December 1597 the commissioners of the General Assembly, who are henceforward to be considered as moving at the direction of the king, gave in a petition to parliament, requesting that the church should be admitted to a vote in the supreme council of the nation. The royal influence was exerted in overcoming any objections which were entertained against this measure on the part of the nobility, who humoured his majesty by granting more than was asked by the petitioners. It was declared that prelacy was the third estate of the kingdom; that such ministers as his majesty should please to raise to the dignity of bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should have as complete a right to sit and vote in parliament as those of the ecclesiastical estate had enjoyed at any former period; and that bishopries, as they became vacant, should be conferred on none but such as were qualified and disposed to act as ministers or preachers. The spiritual power to be exercised by bishops in the government of the church, was left by the parliament to be settled between his Majesty and the General Assembly, without prejudice, in the mean time, to the authority possessed by the several ecclesiastical judicatories.[1] The last clause has been ascribed to the respect which the Estates felt for the presbyterian discipline, and their fears that "this beginning would tend to the overthrow of the established order of the church, which they had sworn to defend."[2] Such might be the views entertained by some members of parliament, and they might be professed by others; but it is probable that the form of the act was agreeable to the king, who was aware of the opposition which it would meet with from the ministers, and knew that it was only in a gradual manner, and by great art and management, that Episcopacy could be introduced into the church.

The commissioners of the church were anxious to represent what they had done in the most favourable light. In a circular letter which they addressed to presbyteries, desiring them to send their representatives to the General Assembly at Dundee in the month of March following, they took credit to themselves for having procured a meeting of that court at an earlier day than had been appointed. They spoke of the petition which they had given in to the late parliament as merely a prosecution of similar petitions presented by the church; and they connected it with the providing of fixed stipends for ministers, and rescuing them from the poverty and contempt under which they had so long suffered. They dwelt on the difficulty which they, in concert with his majesty, had felt in procuring this boon for the church; mentioned the care which they had taken that it should be granted without prejudice to the established discipline; and signified that it was the advice and earnest wish of their best friends that they should not hesitate to

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. pp. 130, 131.
[2] History of the Reformation, by Mr John Forbes, minister of Alford, MS. *penes me*, p. 19.

accept it, although the grant was not made altogether in the form which they could have desired.[1] This is the language of men who either wished to deceive, or who had suffered themselves to be grossly deceived. The commissioners had no instructions from their constituents to take any step in this important affair. It is true that the General Assembly had often complained that persons who had no authority or commission from the church took it upon them to sit and vote in parliament in her name; and in some instances a wish had been expressed that individuals appointed by the church should be admitted to a voice in such parliamentary causes as involved her interest. But this was not her deliberate and unanimous opinion, at least it had not been so for a considerable time back; and far less had she agreed that these voters should be ministers of the gospel. On the contrary, it was the decided opinion of the principal ministers, that if the church should send representatives to parliament, they ought to be ruling elders, or such laymen as she might think proper to choose.[2] In fine, whatever might be the views of the Estates, the evident object of the king was, by means of the ministers' vote in parliament, to introduce Episcopacy into the church; and it requires the utmost stretch of charity to believe that the commissioners were ignorant of his intentions.

The provincial synod of Fife met soon after the dissolution of parliament. Sir Patrick Murray was sent to it with a letter from the king, in which all the arguments which the commissioners had used in favour of the vote in parliament were repeated and enforced. The impression at first made by their joint representations was speedily effaced by the speeches of the more judicious members of synod. The subject was discussed with that unshackled and bold spirit which becomes the deliberations of a presbyterian judicatory. In the course of the debate which ensued, James Melville, to the great displeasure of the king's commissioner, exposed the real nature of the proposed measure, and warned his brethren of the snare which was laid for them. They could not, he contended, accept the proffered grant without giving their sanction to Episcopacy: for the ministers whom they sent to parliament could be admitted to sit and vote there in no other character than that of bishops, according to the very terms of the late act; and what was

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 413, 414.

[2] The only evidence (so far as I can recollect) of the ministers having proposed that some of their number should have votes in parliament, is to be found in the Remarks which they made at Linlithgow on the acts of the Parliament 1584. But there was no meeting of the General Assembly at that time; and the clause in question was inserted at the instance of Pont, who had been a Lord of Session, in opposition to the opinion of other ministers, and particularly of Melville and his nephew. Even in that document, an alternative is proposed: "Discreet commissioners of the most learned, both in the law of God and of the country, *being of the function of the ministrie or elders of the kirk*, are to represent that estate, at whose mouth the law ought to be required, namely, in ecclesiastical matters." Diary, p. 171. Previously to this, in Oct. 1581, the Assembly agreed "that tuiching voting in parliament [and] assisting in counsell, commissioners from the generall kirk sould supplie the place of bishops. And as to the exercising of the civill or criminall jurisdiction anent the office of Bishops, the heretabill baillies sould vse the same." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 113, b.

this but to rebuild what they had taken so much pains and time to pull down? His uncle followed on the same side. As he was proceeding in his usual style of vehement oratory, he was interrupted by Thomas Buchanan, who told him that he was prohibited from attending church courts, and had no right to take part in the discussion. "It was my province," replied Melville, "to resolve questions from the word of God, and to reason, vote, and moderate in the Assemblies of the church, when yours was to teach grammar rules;" a retort which was much relished by the members of synod, who were offended at the late tergiversation of Buchanan, and at his rude interruption on the present occasion. A disposition to defend their constitution against the danger to which it was exposed now pervaded the whole Assembly. The venerable Ferguson adverted to the early period at which the evils of Episcopacy had been discovered in Scotland; he narrated the means which had been used, from pulpits and in Assemblies, to expel it completely from the church; and comparing the project now on foot to the artifice by which the Greeks, after a fruitless siege of many years, succeeded in at last taking Troy, he concluded with the warning words of the Dardan prophetess, "*Equo ne credite, Teucri.*" Davidson, whose zeal had prompted him to attend the meeting, showed that the parliamentary voter was a bishop in disguise, and catching enthusiasm from the speech of his aged brother, exclaimed, "Busk,[1] busk, busk him as bonnilie as ye can, and fetch him in as fairlie as ye will, we see him weill eneuch, we see the horns of his mitre."[2]

I should not give a faithful picture of the sentiments of the age and of the state of public feeling, if I passed over altogether the impression made on the public mind by two extraordinary phenomena which occurred at this time. In the month of July 1597, a smart shock of an earthquake was felt in the north of Scotland, which extended through the shires of Perth, Inverness, and Ross; and in February following there was a great eclipse of the sun. Both of these occurrences were deemed portentous, and viewed as prognosticating a disastrous revolution, which should shake the constitution of the church and obscure her glory. James Melville gives the following account of the last of these appearances: "In the month of February (1598), upon the 25th day, being the Saturday, betwixt nine and ten hours before noon, a most fearful and conspicuous eclipse of the sun began, which continued about two hours space. The whole face of the sun seemed to be darkness and covered about half a quarter of an hour, so that none could see to read upon a book; the stars appeared in the firmament; and the sea, land, and air, were so stilled and stricken dead, as it were, that, through astonishment, herds, families, men and women, were prostrate to the ground. Myself knew, out of the Ephemerides and Almanac, the day and hour thereof, and also, by natural philosophy, the cause, and set myself to note the proceedings thereof in a basin of water mixed with

[1] Dress. [2] Melville's Diary, pp. 326, 327.

ink, thinking the matter but common. But when it came to the extremity of darkness, and my sight lost all the sun, I was stricken with such heaviness and fear that I had no refuge, but, prostrate on my knees, commended myself to God and cried, mercy. This was thought by all the wise and godly very prodigious; so that from pulpits and by writings both in prose and verse, admonitions were given to the ministers to beware that the changeable glistering show of the world should not get in betwixt them and Christ."[1]

In the prospect of the ensuing General Assembly, Melville could not help feeling the awkward situation in which he was placed by the restriction imposed on him at the late visitation of the university. He did not, however, hesitate in resolving to make his appearance at Dundee, whatever it might cost him. Had he acted otherwise at such a crisis, he would have betrayed the rights of the church, and forfeited the honour which he had acquired by his exertions in the establishment of Presbytery. When his name was mentioned, at the calling of the roll in the beginning of the Assembly, his majesty challenged it, and said that he could not agree to the admission of one whom he had prohibited from attending on church courts. Melville defended his right. His majesty's prohibition, he said, might extend to his place and emoluments in the university, but could not affect his doctoral office, which was purely ecclesiastical: he had a commission from his presbytery, and was resolved, for his part, not to betray it. Davidson spoke to the same purpose, and reminded the king that he was present as a Christian, and not as president of the Assembly. James attempted a reply to this distinction, but had recourse to the ultimate reason of kings, by declaring that he would allow no business to be transacted until his will was complied with. Melville accordingly retired; but not until he had delivered his sentiments, briefly and nervously, on the leading business which was to engage the attention of the Assembly. He was commanded at first to confine himself to his lodgings; but no sooner was it understood that his brethren repaired to him, than he and his colleague, Jonston, were charged to quit Dundee instantly, under the pain of rebellion. Davidson complained of this next day in the Assembly; and another member[2] boldly asserted that the restriction laid on the university, and the interdiction now given, proceeded from the dread which the court had of Melville's learning. "I will not hear one word on that head," said his majesty twice or thrice. "Then we must crave help of him that will hear us," replied Davidson.[3] The

[1] History of the Declining Age of the Church, p. 8. In his Diary he has given a similar account of the eclipse; and this coincidence forms one of the internal marks of the two histories having been written by the same author. "I was not ignorant," says he, "of the natural cause thairof, and yet when it cam to the amazfull uglie alriche darknes, I was cast on my knies, and my hart almaist fealled." The verses which he composed on this occasion are recorded in his Diary, p. 320. The more poetical description of his uncle may be seen in Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, ii. 120.

[2] This was John Knox, minister of Melrose, who was a son of William Knox, minister of Cockpen, the brother of the Reformer.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 329. Cald. v. 302,

highest eulogium from the mouth of James could not have done half so much honour to Melville as his present treatment of him did. He had procured a parliamentary statute in favour of the measure which he wished to carry; he knew that a great part of the elders stood pledged to support it by the vote which they had given in parliament; he had the commissioners of the church at his beck; and he had brought up a trained band of trusty voters from the extremities of the north. And yet, with all these advantages on his side, he dreaded to bring forward his motion, or to submit it to discussion, so long as Melville remained in the house, or even within the precincts of the town, in which the Assembly was held.

After a week spent in secret and public management, during which the complaints given in from different quarters against the commissioners were got quashed, the main business was at last introduced by a speech from the throne. His majesty dwelt on the important services which he had done for the church, by establishing her discipline, watching over her peace, and endeavouring to recover her patrimony, which would never be fully effected unless the measure which he was about to propose was adopted. He solemnly and repeatedly protested (with what truth it is now unnecessary to say), that he had no intention to introduce either Popish or Anglican bishops, but that his sole object was that some of the best and wisest of the ministry, chosen by the General Assembly, should have a place in the Privy Council and Parliament, to sit in judgment on their own affairs, and not to stand, as they had too long stood, at the door, like poor suppliants, disregarded and despised. Bruce, Davidson, Aird, James Melville, and John Carmichael, were the chief speakers against the vote in parliament; Pont, Buchanan, and Gladstanes, in support of it. The latter had a powerful auxiliary in the king, who was always ready to interfere in the debate. Gladstanes having pleaded the power which the priests had among the ancient Romans "*in rogandis et ferendis legibus*," Davidson replied, that at Rome the priests were consulted, but had no vote in making laws: "*præsentibus sacerdotibus et divina exponentibus, sed non suffragia habentibus.*" "Where have ye that?" asked the king. "In Titus Livius," said Davidson. "Oh! are you going then from the Scriptures to Titus Livius?" exclaimed his majesty. There were flatterers present who applauded this wretched witticism; and they were encouraged to laugh at the old man, who pursued his argument with equal disregard of the puerilities of James, and the rudeness of his minions. The question being called for, it was decided by a majority of ten votes,[1] "that it was necessary and expedient for the weal of the church, that the ministry, as the third estate of this realm, should in the name of the church have a vote in parliament." The measure was carried chiefly

303. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 73. MSS. vol. i. in Bibl. Col. Glasg.

[1] "Mr Gilbert Body led the ring, a drunken Orknay ass, and the graittest number followit, all for the bodie but [without] respect of the spreit." Melville's Diary, p. 329.

by the votes of the elders, and it was urged by the minority that a number of them had no commission; but the demand of a scrutiny was resisted. Davidson, who had refused to take part in the vote, gave in a protest against this decision, and against the proceedings of this and the two preceding Assemblies, so far as they derogated from the rights of the church; upon the ground of their not being free Assemblies, but overawed by the king, and restricted in their due and wonted privileges. His protest was refused, and he was prosecuted for it before his presbytery at the king's instance.[1]

The Assembly farther agreed that fifty-one ministers should be chosen to represent the church, according to the ancient number of the bishops, abbots, and priors; and that their election should belong partly to the king and partly to the church. The court presented a series of resolutions respecting the manner of electing the voters, the duration of their commission, their name, their revenues, and the restrictions necessary to prevent them from abusing their powers. But the proposal of them excited so much dissatisfaction, that the king, dreading, from the feeling that began to be displayed, that he would lose the ground which he had already gained, deemed it prudent to put off the discussion. It was therefore appointed that the presbyteries should immediately take the subject under consideration; that they should report their opinions to their respective provincial synods; and that each synod should nominate three delegates, who, along with the theological professors, should hold a conference, in the presence of his majesty, on the points which the Assembly had left undetermined. If they were unanimous, the resolutions to which they came were to be final; if not, the whole matter was to be referred to the next General Assembly.[2]

The resolutions in all the southern presbyteries and synods evinced the greatest jealousy of Episcopacy, and a disposition to confine the powers of the voter in parliament within the narrowest possible bounds. Yet matters were so craftily conducted by the agents of the court, in concert with such of the ministers as were secretly in their interest, that the delegates chosen for the conference were, in several instances,

[1] Spotswood, who embraces every opportunity of speaking disrespectfully of Davidson, has advanced a number of assertions respecting his conduct on the present occasion, all of which it would be easy to refute. Among other things, he says: "He himself, as his custom was when he made any such trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made." Hist. p. 452. It is very easy for a time-serving priest, who, by his tame compliances, can always secure himself against falling into danger, to talk thus of a man from whose rebuke he more than once shrunk, and to accuse him of cowardice merely because he fled from the lawless rage of a despot. But it is not true that Davidson either fled or concealed himself at this time. On the 22d of March, 1597, immediately after the rising of the General Assembly, Lord Tungland and David Makgill of Cranston Riddell appeared before the presbytery of Haddington, and, in his majesty's name, gave in a complaint against him. Being summoned to attend next meeting, Davidson appeared before the presbytery at Haddington, on the 29th of March. On the 5th of April it was attested to the presbytery that he was "stayit be ane heavie fever," and on the 12th of that month, "the presbyterie wt consent of his maties commissioner continewit all farder dealing in this mater till ye said Mr Johne at the pleasor of God suld be restorit to his health." Record of Presbytery of Haddington.

[2] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 188—192. Cald. v. 301—325. Melville's Diary, pp. 329, 330; and his History of the Declining Age, p. 13—18. Spotswood, p. 450—452.

of opposite views to those of their constituents.[1] Perceiving this, disapproving of the whole scheme, and convinced that no restrictions would prevent it from issuing in the establishment of Episcopacy, there were individuals who thought it safest to stand aloof, and to take no part in the subordinate arrangements. Among these was James Melville. But his uncle was of a different mind. He was quite aware of the policy which permitted him to take part in private and extra-judicial conferences, while he was excluded from the public assemblies in which the points in debate were to be ultimately and authoritatively determined. But he deemed it of consequence to encourage his brethren by his presence, and to interpose every obstacle in the way of the accomplishment of a measure so injurious to the interests of the church. Accordingly, he gave faithful attendance on all the meetings of the conference.[2]

The result of the first meeting, held at Falkland, was so dissatisfactory to the king that he prorogued the General Assembly which had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen in July 1599. Other meetings were held; but they were chiefly occupied in desultory conversation, or in attempts to lull asleep the most vigilant of the church's guardians by artful professions, and proposals for removing what were called unreasonable and unfounded jealousies.[3] Melville took a leading part in an interesting debate which occurred in November 1599, at a meeting of the conference, assisted by ministers from the different quarters of the country, convened by royal missives in the palace of Holyrood House. One design of calling this meeting appears to have been, to ascertain the arguments which were to be used in opposition to the vote in parliament, that so the court party might be prepared to meet them in the next General Assembly. In opening the conference the king signified, that all were at liberty to reason on the subject at large, including the points which had been determined, as well as those which had been left undecided, at last Assembly; but that such as refused to state their objections at present should forfeit their right to bring them forward at a subsequent period. Accordingly, the lawfulness of ministers sitting in parliament came first under discussion. And here the debate turned chiefly on the following question—"Is it consistent with the nature of their office, its duties, and the directions of Scripture about it, for ministers of the gospel to undertake a civil function?"

By those who maintained the affirmative it was argued, That, as the gospel does not destroy civil policy, so it does not hinder any of those who profess it from discharging political duties: that when ministers are enjoined "not to entangle themselves with the affairs of this life," they are not prohibited from discharging civil offices any more than the

[1] Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, May 30, 1598. Rec. of Provincial Synod of Lothian, June 1598. Diary, pp. 330, 331.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 331.

[3] Cald. v. 371. Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 19.

duties of natural economy and domestic life : that there are approved examples in Scripture of sacred and civil offices being united in the same person : that ministers were as much distracted from the duties of their office by the visitation of churches and waiting on meetings for fixing stipends, as they would be by sitting in parliaments and conventions of estates : that it was allowed by all that ministers might wait on his majesty, and give him their advice in matters of state : that, as free men and citizens, ministers were entitled to be represented as well as the other orders in the state : that the General Assembly had often craved a vote in parliament ; and that ecclesiastical persons had sitten in that court ever since the Reformation.

In the negative it was argued, That, though the gospel by no means destroys civil policy, yet all political laws which are inconsistent with it, or which interfere with any of its institutions, are unlawful : that the duties of natural and domestic economy are altogether different from those which belong to public offices in society : that when the apostle prohibits ministers from "entangling themselves with the affairs of this life," he puts his meaning out of doubt, by referring, as an illustration, to the case of a soldier, who must renounce and avoid all worldly occupations, that he may devote himself to the military life and entirely please and obey his commander : that the duties of the ministerial office are so great and manifold, and the injunctions to constant and unremitting diligence in discharging them so numerous, so solemn, and so urgent, that no minister who is duly impressed with these considerations will accept of another function which must engross much of his time and attention ; and that it is criminal to throw temptations to this in his way : that the union of sacred and civil offices in certain individuals mentioned in Scripture was extraordinary and typical ; and when the Jewish polity was established, these offices were separated, and could not be lawfully held by the same persons : that the occasional visitation of churches is a part of the ministerial function : that if ministers are diverted from their pastoral duty by commissions for fixing stipends, this is owing to a defect in the establishment which they had long complained of, and for which the magistrates and their flocks must answer : that ministers, as such, do not form an order in the state, and that as citizens they are represented along with others by the commissioners of shires and burghs : that if the king and estates intrust ministers with the care of their souls, the latter may surely give credit to the former in what relates to their bodies : that no General Assembly before the last one had ever craved a vote for ministers in parliament : and that, ever since the church had condemned Episcopacy, she had objected to bishops and other persons called ecclesiastical, sitting in the supreme court of the nation.

On this part of the debate, Melville deduced the history of the gradual blending of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdiction under the papacy, by means of which the Roman Pontiff became at last so

formidable, armed himself with the two swords, trampled on princes, and transferred crowns and kingdoms at his pleasure. "Take heed," said he, addressing James, "that you do not set up those who shall cast you or your successors down."

The second question which was brought forward related to the duration of the office. The court party were anxious that the clerical voter should hold his place *ad vitam aut culpam:* their opponents insisted that the place should be filled by annual election. The former argued, that no man would submit to the trouble and expense that must be incurred, if his continuance in office was precarious, or limited to a single year or a single parliament; and that within so short a period persons could neither acquire the knowledge of law, nor bring any business which the church might intrust to them to a termination. It was replied by the latter, that they were at present deliberating on what was for the good of the church and commonwealth, and not on what might be agreeable or profitable to individuals; that by continuing in the employment ministers would acquire more knowledge of the laws of men, but less of those of God, more acquaintance with the wiles of worldly policy, and less with the sincerity of the wisdom which is from above; and that the General Assembly was more capable of attending to the real interests of the church than a few men, who, if a judgment might be formed from experience, would be chiefly occupied in securing their own wealth and aggrandisement. The hurtful consequences of their continuing in office during life or good behaviour were insisted on at great length. It would secularise their minds; it would induce a habitual neglect of the duties of their spiritual function; it would, in spite of all checks which might be imposed, gradually raise them to superiority over their brethren, and make them independent of the ecclesiastical courts: although the church should depose them for improper conduct, yet if they happened to please his majesty, he would maintain them in their place by his royal authority or by his influence in the General Assembly; and being secured in their lordships and livings, they would seek to revenge their quarrel by injuring the church, or such of their brethren as curbed their ambition and complained of their misconduct. "There is no fear," said the king, "but you will all prove true enough to your craft."—"God make us all true enough to Christ," replied Melville. "There is nothing so good but it may be suspected, and thus you will be content with nothing."—"We doubt the goodness of the thing, and have but too much reason to suspect its evil." "His majesty and the parliament will not admit the voters otherwise than for life; and if you do not agree to this, you will lose the benefit."—"The loss will be small." "Ministers then will lie in contempt and poverty."—"It was their Master's case before them: better poverty with sincerity, than promotion with corruption." "Others will be promoted to the place, who will oppress and ruin the church; for his majesty will not want his third estate."—"Then let

Christ, the King of the church, avenge her wrongs: he has done so before."

The title to be given to the voter in parliament formed the next topic of debate. Those who spoke the language of the court insisted that he should have the name of *bishop*. "If we are agreed in the substance," said they, "the name is of little consequence; and as the parliament has restored the title of bishop, and may refuse to admit the representative of the church under any other designation, it would be a pity to lose a privilege which his majesty has procured with such great pains and difficulty, through scrupulosity about a name, which, after all, is scriptural." To this Melville replied ironically: "No doubt the name *episcopos* or *bishop* is scriptural; and why should it not be given? But as something additional to the office of the Scripture bishop is to be allotted to our new parliament-men, I would propose to eke a little to the name, and this shall be scriptural also. Let us baptise them by the name which the apostle Peter gives to such officers, and call them *allotrio-episcopoi*, *busy-bishops*, who meddle with matters foreign to their calling." In earnest he replied, that the word bishop was applied in the Scriptures indiscriminately to all ministers of the gospel; that in common speech it was now understood as the discriminative appellation of those who claimed a superiority of office and power, as in the churches of Rome and England; that for good reasons the use of it had been laid aside and prohibited in the Church of Scotland; that those to whom it was now proposed to give it were to occupy the places to which ecclesiastical pre-eminence had been attached; the title was calculated to feed their vanity and lust of power; and being accustomed to be saluted as lords at court and in parliament, they would soon begin to look sour on such as refused to give them their honorary titles in the church.

Night put an end to the debate. Next morning Lindsay, who acted as moderator, recapitulated what had been done on the preceding day in such a way as to insinuate that the heads which had been under consideration were settled agreeably to the wishes of the court. A murmur of disapprobation spread through the Assembly; and several members rose and declared that their scruples against the main proposal, so far from being weakened, were greatly strengthened by the discussion of yesterday. Melville made an earnest and solemn appeal to the moderator. He reminded him that he was one of the oldest ministers of the church, and had been present at many Assemblies in which these very points had, after the most grave and deliberate discussion, been unanimously decided. And he asked him how he could for a moment imagine that any one who was settled in his judgment could be moved to alter it by so light a conference as the present, in which Scripture might be said to have been profaned rather than solidly and reverently handled. His majesty took offence at this last expression, and courteously gave the speaker the lie. Melville replied,

that he had included himself in the censure, and did not mean to confine it to one side of the house. Finding that he had gained nothing, James broke off the conference in a fret. In dismissing the members, he said that he had been induced by the commissioners of the church to call this meeting for the satisfaction of such as had scruples, in the hopes that matters would proceed peaceably and harmoniously; but he perceived men to be so full of their own conceits, and so preoccupied in their judgments, as not to yield to reason, and would therefore leave the matter to be determined by the General Assembly. If they received the favour offered them, he would ratify their conclusions with his civil sanction, and none should be allowed to speak against them: if they refused it, they would have themselves to blame for sinking still deeper and deeper into poverty. As for himself, he could not want one of his estates, but would use his authority in putting into the vacant bishoprics persons who would accept of them, and who would do their duty to him and to his kingdom.[1]

The General Assembly which met at Montrose on the 28th of March 1600, excited greater interest than had been felt at any meeting of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory for many years.[2] All were convinced that upon its decision it depended whether the Presbyterian constitution should stand, or should yield to the gradual encroachments of Prelacy under the protection of the royal supremacy. The attendance of members was full, and sanguine hopes of success were entertained by both parties. The defenders of the establishment confided in the goodness of their cause, and in the evident superiority in point of argument which they had maintained at the last conference. Their opponents were equally confident that they would prevail by address and the powerful interest of the Crown.

The presbytery of St Andrews having chosen him as one of their representatives, Melville determined again to assert his right to a seat in the General Assembly. It was no sooner known that he had come to Montrose than he was sent for by the king. His majesty asked him why he was so troublesome, by persisting to attend on Assemblies after he had prohibited him. He replied, that he had a commission from the church, and behoved to discharge it under the pain of incurring the displeasure of one who was greater than any earthly monarch. Recourse was then had to menaces, but they served only to rouse Melville's spirit. On quitting the royal apartment, he put his hand to his throat, and said "Sir, is it *this* you would have? You shall have it before I betray the cause of Christ." He was not allowed to take his seat in the

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 333 — 344. James Melville committed the reasenings at this conference to writing while his recollection of them was fresh. The whole of his account is copied into Calderwood's MS., and large extracts from it may be seen in printed Calderwood, p. 428—434.

[2] Row mentions that this Assembly was "notified only be sound of trumpet att the crosse of Edr and other neidful places, whereat many good Christians wondered att, seing yr was never the lyke before." Historie, p. 78. It was appointed at this time that the beginning of the year should henceforth be reckoned from the 1st of January, instead of the 25th of March. Record of Privy Council, December 17, 1599.

judicatory; but it was judged unadvisable to order him out of the town, as had been done on a former occasion. He accordingly remained, and assisted his brethren with his advice during the sitting of the Assembly.[1]

The debate on the propriety of ministers voting in parliament was resumed; and a formidable train of arguments, including those which had been used in the conference at Holyrood House, was brought forward against the measure. In support of these a paper was given in, consisting of extracts from the writings of reformed divines and of the fathers, with the decisions of the most ancient and renowned general councils. Unable to reply to these arguments and authorities, the advocates of the measure were forced to abandon the ground which they had taken up during the late conferences. They granted the force of the general reasoning used by their opponents, but insisted that it was not applicable to the case. They affected now to condemn the union of sacred and civil offices; and pleaded that the ministers who were to sit in parliament would have no civil charge, but were merely to be present in that high court to watch over the interests of the church, and give their advice in matters of importance. When it was urged by their opponents that the ecclesiastical voter must be employed in making laws for the whole kingdom, they took refuge under one of the weakest and worst of James's political maxims, that it is the king alone who makes laws, and the Estates merely give him their advice. In answer to the appeal which the defenders of Presbytery made to the words of the act of parliament restoring the "office, estate, and dignity of bishops," they asserted that the objectionable language had been purposely introduced into the act by those who wished to keep the church in poverty, in the hopes that it would induce the ministers to reject the favour which his majesty had procured for them. This plea could not bear examination; and therefore a stop was put to the dangerous discussion by a message from the king, stating that the last General Assembly had already decided this point, and its decision must stand. Had it been allowed to put the general question to the vote, there is reason to think that the whole scheme would have been negatived. For, on the question whether the parliamentary voters should retain their place for life or be annually elected, it was carried, in spite of all the influence of the court, by a majority of three in favour of annual election. Yet, by collusion between the clerk and the king, the minute was so drawn up as to express a resolution materially eversive of that which had passed, and in this altered form an approbation of it was procured at the close of the Assembly.

To induce the members to acquiesce in the unpopular measure, the court party agreed to the ratification of all the articles and cautions which had been proposed in the conference at Falkland, with the view of protecting the liberties of the church, and guarding against the

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 362. Hist. of the Declining State of the Church, pp. 24, 25.

introduction of Episcopacy. They did not even object to the addition of others still more strict. The voters were to have the name, not of bishops, but commissioners of the church in parliament. As to their election, it was agreed that the General Assembly, with the advice of synods and presbyteries, should nominate six individuals in each province, from which number his majesty should choose one as the ecclesiastical representative of that province. For his emoluments he was to be allowed the rents of the benefice to which he should be presented, after the churches, colleges, and schools, had been provided for out of them. The following cautions, or "caveats," as they were called, were enacted to prevent him from abusing his power: That he should not presume to propose anything to parliament, convention, or council, in the name of the church, without her express warrant and direction; nor consent to the passing of any act prejudicial to the church, under the pain of deposition from his office: that, at each General Assembly, he should give an account of the manner in which he had discharged his commission, and submit without appeal, to the censure of the Assembly, under the pain of infamy and excommunication: that he should rest satisfied with the part of the benefice allotted to him, without encroaching upon what was assigned to other ministers within his province: that he should not dilapidate his benefice, nor dispose of any part of its rents without the consent of the General Assembly: that he should perform all the duties of the pastoral office within his own particular congregation, subject to the censure of the presbytery and provincial synod to which he belonged: that, in the exercise of discipline, the collation of benefices, the visitation of churches, and all other parts of ecclesiastical government, he should claim no more power or jurisdiction than what belonged to other ministers, under the pain of deprivation: that, in meetings of presbytery and of other church courts, he should behave himself in all things, and be subject to censure, in the same manner as his brethren: that he should have no right to sit in the General Assembly without a commission from his presbytery: that, if deposed from the office of the ministry, he should lose his vote in parliament, and his benefice should become vacant; and that he should incur the same loss upon being convicted of having solicited the office. It was ordained that these "caveats" should be inserted, "as most necessary and substantial points," in the body of an act of parliament to be made for confirming the church's vote; and that every commissioner should subscribe and swear to observe them when he was admitted to his function.[1]

It is scarcely possible to conceive regulations better adapted to prevent the evils which were dreaded. But the strictest cautions, sanctioned by the most sacred promises, were feeble ties on an unprincipled court, and perfidious churchmen, who were ready to sacrifice both

[1] Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 193, 194. 362. Hist. of the Decl. Age, 19—25. Forbes's Cald. v. 414—440. Melville's Diary, p. 349— History, 23—26. Spotswood, 453, 457, 458.

honour and conscience to the gratification of their avarice and ambition.

Mille adde catenas,
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus vincula Proteus.

An early proof of this was given. A meeting of the commissioners of the General Assembly, and delegates from synods, was held in the month of October following, in consequence of a letter from the king desiring their advice respecting the settlement of ministers in Edinburgh, and "such other things as shall be thought good to be proposed in the name of the church, for the weal of our and their estate, at our first parliament." Dreading the opposition of James Melville and two other ministers, his majesty got them appointed on a committee to transact some business; and during their absence, he, with the consent of those present, summarily nominated David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn, and George Gladstanes, to the vacant bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. This transaction was carefully concealed from the absent members until the meeting was dissolved. And the bishops appointed in this clandestine manner sat and voted in the ensuing parliament, in direct violation of the cautions to which they had so lately given their consent.[1]

Archbishop Spotswood was under the necessity of inserting the cautions in his History, and he was forced to acknowledge, what was then notorious to all the world, that "it was neither the king's intention, nor the mind of the wiser sort, to have these cautions stand in force; but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the policy" (that is, the introduction of Episcopacy) "made without any noise, the king gave way to these conceits."[2] The archbishop calls the ministers who acted this part "the wiser sort;" forgetting, perhaps, that this species of wisdom, however much it may be "esteemed among men, is abomination with God." They were suffered to triumph for a while in the success of their knavery; but He who "taketh the wise in their own craftiness," visited them at length with merited retribution; and the violation of these very cautions, which had been ratified by the king, sworn to by the bishops,[3] and never repealed by any ecclesiastical authority, formed one of the chief grounds upon which the archbishop and his colleagues were afterwards deposed and excommunicated by the General Assembly.[4]

His majesty was present at all the Assemblies in which this affair was

[1] Their presentations were dated the 5th Nov. 1600. Reg. of Present. to Benef. vol. iii. f. 30. On the 30th Dec. 1600, David Lindsay, bishop of Ross, was admitted to be "ane of the counsail;" and on the 24th Nov. 1602, Mr George Gladstanes, bishop of Caithness, was admitted, "be his Maiestie's direction and commaud." Record of Privy Council. [2] Hist. p. 454.

[3] "It was layed to the charge of Mr Johu Spottiswood, appointed Bishop of Glasgow thereafter in anno 1605, before his Maj. be the Lord Balmerinoch, President, that he had sworn to observe the Caveats, and had obliged himself to subscryve them. Neither could his Maj. be well satisfied with him in that matter untill he had procured an Act of the Presbyterie of Glasgow testifying that he had not subscryved them, whilk he presented to his Maj. for his defence; as though his oath had been nothing as long as he did not subscryve." Forbes's History, p. 27.

[4] Acts of the General Assembly, Anno 1638, Sess. 20.

discussed, and gave the most religious attendance on every session. He did not even miss a single meeting of the privy conference. During the sitting of the General Assembly, affairs of state were entirely neglected, and the court was converted into a clerical levee. The privy counsellors complained that they could not have access to their master, on account of the crowd of preachers which continually thronged his cabinet. In the public deliberations and debates he directed and decided everything in his double capacity of disputant and umpire. Those who wish to perceive the glory of James's reign must carefully attend to this part of its history. It was at this time that he found a stage on which he could exert his distinguishing talent, and "stick the doctor's chair into the throne." It was at this time that he acquired that skill in points of divinity, and in the management of ecclesiastical meetings, which afterwards filled the English bishops with both "admiration and shame," and made them cry out that they verily thought he was "inspired." Never did this wise monarch appear to such great advantage as when, surrounded with "his own northern men," he canvassed for votes with all the ardour and address of a candidate for a burgh; or when, presiding in the debates of the General Assembly, he kept the members to the question, regaled them with royal wit, calling one "a seditious knave," and another, "a liar;" saying to one speaker, "that's witch-like," and to another, "that's anabaptistical," instructed the clerk in the true geographical mode of calling the roll, or taking him home to his closet, helped him to correct the minutes.[1]

During these transactions several occurrences of a subordinate kind took place, to which it may be proper to advert. The church suffered a severe loss by the death of a number of her distinguished ministers. The end of the year 1598 proved fatal to David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline, whose integrity, united with an uncommon vein of good-humoured wit, made him a favourite with all classes.[2] Thomas

[1] Cald. v. 320, 399, 571. At the General Assembly in May 1597, an ordinance was made (says James Melville), "that at the penning of everie act ther sould be certean brether wt the clark, whereof I was an, and Mr James Nicolsone an uther. But whill as I cam till attend, thay war commandit to com to the king with the minutes: and sa I gat na access." Diary, 312. James Melville (ib. p. 362), subjoins the following verse, probably from an old poem, to his account of the proceedings at this time:—

> The Dron, the Doungeoun and the Draught
> Did mak their cannon of the King:
> Syn feirfully with ws they faught,
> And doun to dirt they did ws ding.

[2] He died at "the age of 65." Spotswood, p. 455. John Jonston fixes his death on the 23d of August, 1598. Life of Knox, p. 466. To his works, mentioned in the Life of Knox (Note R R, p. 378), may be added the following: "An Answer to ane Epistle written by Renat Benedict, the French Doctor Professor of Gods word (as the Translator of the Epistle calleth him) to John Knox & the rest of his brethren ministers of the word of God, made by David Feargussone, minister of the same word at this present in Dunfermling—Imprinted at Edinbrough by Robert Lekprevik, 1563." Black letter, 12mo. 43 leaves. The running title is: "Ane answer to Renat Be. Epistle." In reply to the accusation that the object of the reforming ministers was to "get and gather riches," Ferguson says: "the greatest nomber of vs haue liued in great penurie, without all stipēd some tuelf moneth, some eight, and some half a year, hauing nothing in the mean time to susteane our selues and our families, but that which we haue borrowed of charitable persones vntil God send it to vs to repay them." Fols. 6, 7. This was written "the 26th April, 1562." The translation of Renat's Epistle was by Winget, and at that time, probably, was only in MS.

Buchanan, provost of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, died suddenly in the course of the following year, lamented by those who knew his worth and talents, though they disapproved of his public conduct during the last two years of his life.[1] But the death most deeply deplored was that of Robert Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who was prematurely cut off in the prime of life and in the midst of extensive usefulness. His piety, his suavity of temper, his benevolence, and his talents as a writer and teacher of youth, were universally admired by his countrymen; and those who were offended at some parts of his public conduct traced them to his guileless simplicity and constitutional aversion to everything that wore the appearance of strife or might lead to confusion.[2] About the same time the country was deprived of one of its ablest statesmen, John Lindsay of Balcarres, "for natural judgment and learning the greatest light of the policy and council of Scotland."[3] In the beginning of the year 1600, the zealous and upright John Dury, minister of Montrose, died in a manner becoming the life which he had spent. Having held an interview with the magistrates of the town and the elders of his session, and left advices to be imparted to the king and ministers at the approaching General Assembly, he inquired after the day of the month, and being told that it was the last of February, "O! then," exclaimed he, "the last day of my wretched pilgrimage! and the morrow the first of my rest and glory!"—and, laying his head on his eldest son's breast, placidly expired. Melville, who entertained a high esteem of Dury's honesty and goodness of heart, honoured the memory of his friend by his verses.[4] In the end of the same year, the celebrated John Craig,

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 328. Spotswood (Hist. p. 455), fixes his death, incorrectly, in the year 1598. "1599, Apr. 12. M. Thomas Buchquhanan diet." The Laird of Carnbee's Diary. Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 383. That this is the true date appears from his Testament. "Item, I grant and confess that the haill buiks quhilk are presentlie in my possessioun pertains to Mr Rot Buchanan, (my brother's son) and that I borrowed the same fra him." He died rich. Testament Testamentar of Mr Thomas Buchanan, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh. On the 5th of May, 1599, "Enphame Hay, relict of umqle Mr Thomas Buchquhannane," revoked a deed which she had made during her husband's sickness, and in which she had renounced the "conjunct fie of sik lands or annual rents as belangit to him." On the 20th June, "Jo. Buchquhannan (of Ballecraquhie) & Mr Rot Buchquhannan, provost of Kirkheuch," appeared as executors of his testament. Book of Acts of the Commissariot of St Andrews.

[2] Spotswood, 455. Melville's Diary, 320. He had merely completed the 43d year of his age when he died, "6 Idus Febr. anno 1589," (1598.) Vitæ & mortis Roberti Rolloci Scoti narratio. Scripta per Georgium Robertsonum. Edinburgi 1589, (1598.) C in eights. Among the epitaphs published by Robertson there is none by Melville, but an elegy by him is prefixed to a Life of Rollock, written in Latin by Henry Charteris, who succeeded him as Principal. MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.

[3] Melville's Diary, 328. Lindsay died Sept. 3, 1598. Append. to Lamont's Diary, p. 285. He was Secretary of State, and, for several years before his death, Chancellor of the University of St Andrews. Melville addressed a playful poem to him, in the form of a petition from the university. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 121. I have an original letter from Melville, "To my verie guid Lord, my Lord Secretar, L. Chanceler of the Vniversitie of Sanctandrois." It has no date, but appears to have been written some years before Lindsay's death. Among other things, it contains observations on the best remedies for the stone, the disease which proved fatal to his lordship.

[4] One of his epitaphs on him is printed (Melvini Musæ, p. 11); others are preserved in MS. Melville's Diary, p. 345—347. The account which James Melville has given of his father-in-law's dying advice to the ministers (Diary, 344, 345), is completely at variance with that of Spotswood (History, 458). He died on the 25th of Feb. 1600. Marion Marjoribanks was his relict, and John and Simeon, his sons. Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh.

who had been for a considerable time incapacitated for any public service, terminated his days at the advanced age of eighty-eight.[1]

The eager desire which James felt to secure his accession to the English throne induced him to adopt measures which gave much offence to his subjects. With the view of conciliating the Roman Catholics he sent a secret embassy to the Pope. The odium of the letter addressed in his name to his Holiness was afterwards thrown on his secretary; but it has been suspected, not without some reason, that James acted the same part to Lord Balmerino in this affair, which Elizabeth did to Secretary Davidson respecting the execution of Queen Mary.[2] With the view of gratifying the Pope, and procuring his support to the king's title, a project was set on foot to grant a toleration to the papists in Scotland;[3] and Archbishop Beatoun was not only appointed ambassador at the court of France, but restored to the temporalities of the see of Glasgow.[4] These steps, though taken with great secresy and caution, did not escape the vigilance of the ministers.[5]

The literary works which James produced at this time contributed to strengthen the opposition to his administration. In 1598 he published his *True Law of Free Monarchies.* We must not imagine that by a "free monarchy" was meant anything like what the expression suggests to us. It meant a government exercised by a monarch who is free from all restraint or control, or, as the author fitly denominates him, "a free and absolute monarch." The treatise is, in fact, an unvarnished vindication of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive

[1] Spotswood, 462—464. In May 1594, the king caused it to be intimated to the General Assembly that "Mr Jo^n^ Crag is awaiting wt houre it sall please God tc call him, and is altogether vnable to serve any longer." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 176, a. He died on the 12th of Dec. 1600; and left Marion Smail, his spouse, and Mr William Craig, his son, executors, who were appointed to take the advice of Mr Thomas Craig, advocate. He requested "his haill bairnes to remain in household with thair mother while thair marriage with parties honest." Test. Testamentar, in Commissary Records of Edinburgh. I do not know whether the work referred to in the following minute of Assembly (August 12, 1590), was published: "Ordaines ye brether of the pbrie of Ed^r^ to peruse ye ans^r^ sett out be Mr Craig against a pernicious wrytting put out against the Confessioun of Faith, together with the preface made be Mr Jo^n^ Davidsone, and if they find meitt the samen be published that they may be committit to prent." Ibid. f. 161. On the "penult Maij" 1592, Craig's Catechism, "quhilk now is allowit and imprintit," was ordained to be "read in families," and "red and learnit in lecture schooles in place of the litle catechisme." Ibid. f. 163, b.

[2] Printed Calderwood, pp. 426, 427, 604. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. iv. p. 66.

[3] Cald. v. 548. It would seem that James had a work on this subject ready for the press. "The king at this time (June 1601) promised to Mr John Hall, that the book called a Declaration of the King's Minde toward the Catholicks sould never be sett furth." Ibid. p. 591.

[4] The act of convention, penult. Junij 1598, was ratified by parliament in 1600. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 169, 256. Keith says that, in 1588, the king did, by act of parliament, "restore the old exanctorate and forfeited Bishop Beaton to the temporality of the see of Glasgow, which he did enjoy until his death on the — April, 1603." Scottish Bishops, p. 156. This is a mistake. It is true that Beatoun was not excepted from the benefit of the Act of Parliament 1587, rescinding all forfeitures since 1561. But this "restitutioun remainit not lang effectuall in his persoun, be reasone he failzeit in geving the confessioun of his faith and acknawlegeing of o^r^ souerane lordis auctie, as was ordainit be ye said restitutioun." Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 624. When James was threatening to revenge his mother's death, he proposed to make Beatoun his ambassador. Courcelles's Despatches. March 8 and 14, 1587.

[5] The Presbytery of Edinburgh applied for a copy of the act respecting Beatoun; but were referred from the Clerk of Council to the Clerk of Register, and from the latter to Mr Alexander Hay. Record of Presb. Julij 4, 11, and 18, 1598.

obedience and non-resistance on the part of the people, without any exception or reservation whatever. The royal politician graciously allows that princes owe a duty to their subjects, but he thinks it "not needing to be long" in the declaration of it. He grants that a king should consider himself as ordained for the good of his people; but then, if he shall think and act otherwise, and choose, as too many kings have chosen, to run the risk of divine punishment, the people are not permitted to "make any resistance but by flight," as we may see by "the example of brute beasts and unreasonable creatures," among whom "we never read or heard of any resistance" to their parents, "except among the vipers." A free monarch can make statutes as he thinks meet, without asking the advice of parliaments or states, and can suspend parliamentary laws for reasons known to himself only. "A good king will frame all his actions according to the law, yet is he not bound thereto but of his good will: although he be above the law, he will subject and frame his actions thereto for example's sake to his subjects, and of his own free will, but not as subject or bound thereto." In confirmation of this doctrine, James appeals to Samuel's description of a king, and quotes and expounds, with the utmost confidence and complacency, the account which that prophet gave the Israelites of the oppressions which they would suffer under a form of government on which they fondly doated.

Such was "the true pattern of divinity" which James found himself constrained in duty to publish, for the correction of "our so long disordered commonwealth," and for the instruction of his future subjects in that which it was most necessary for them to know, "next to the knowledge of their God." He at least dealt honestly with the people of England, who had already begun to worship the rising sun; and, in welcoming him so cordially and unconditionally as they afterwards did, when he had plainly told them beforehand that they were to be governed as a conquered kingdom, they might fairly be considered as addressing him in the language which he puts into the mouths of the Hebrews: "All your speeches and hard conditions will not skarre us, but we will take the good and evil of it upon us; and we will be content to beare whatsoever burden it shall please our king to lay upon us, as well as other nations do." If they were disappointed of the benefit which they expected to "get of him in fighting their battles," they had themselves to blame, as he never gave large promises on that head. But he performed for them services of a more valuable kind, as "the great schoolmaster of the whole land," according to his own description of his office. He taught them a "style utterly unknown to the ancients;" banished the writings of Calvin, Buchanan, Ponet, and such like "apologies for rebellions and treasons," which had obtained too great authority among them;[1] and furnished orthodox

[1] King James's Works, pp. 204, 205.

text-books, from which the orators of "Cam and Isis" might "preach the right divine of kings to govern wrong."[1]

The Presbyterians of Scotland could not conceal their disapprobation of the political principles of the Law of Free Monarchies.[2] This was one reason of their being treated with such severity in the celebrated *Basilicon Doron*, or Instructions of the King to his son Prince Henry, which came to light in the course of the following year. Fond of seeing this work in print, and yet conscious that it would give great offence, James was anxious to keep it from the knowledge of his native subjects, until circumstances should enable him to publish it with safety. With this view, "the printer being first sworn to secresy," says he, "I only permitted seven of them to be printed, and these seven I dispersed among some of my trustiest servants to be kept closely by them."[3] Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, one of the courtiers, showed his copy to Melville, with whom he was on a footing of intimacy. Having extracted some of the principal propositions in the work, Melville sent them to his nephew, whose colleague, John Dykes, laid them before the provincial synod of Fife. The synod judged them to be of the most pernicious tendency, and not believing, or affecting not to believe, that they could proceed from the high authority to which they were attributed, sent them to his majesty. An order was immediately issued for the apprehension of Dykes, who absconded.[4] The propositions laid before the synod were the following: That the office of a king is of a mixed kind, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical: that a principal part of his function consists in ruling the church: that it belongs to him to judge when preachers wander from their text, and that such as refuse to submit to his judgment in such cases ought to be capitally punished: that no ecclesiastical assemblies ought to be held without his consent: that no man is more to be hated of a king than a proud puritan: that parity among ministers is irreconcilable with monarchy, inimical to order, and the mother of confusion: that puritans had been a pest to the commonwealth and church of Scotland, wished to engross the civil government as tribunes of the people, sought the introduction of democracy into the state, and quarrelled with the king because he was a king; that the chief persons among them should not be allowed to remain in the land: in fine, that parity in the church should be banished, Episcopacy set up, and all who preached against bishops rigorously punished. Such were the sentiments which James entertained and which he had printed, at the very time that he

[1] "Mr George Herbert, being Prelector in the Rhetorique School in Cambridg, anno 1618, passed by those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, showed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move the affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which these noted demagogi were but hirelings and triobolary rhetoricians." Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, Part I. p. 175.

[2] Cald. v. 365.

[3] See Note NN.

[4] Melville's Diary, 331. Calderwood, 337, 338. Spotswood, 457.

was giving out that he had no intention of altering the government of the church, or of introducing Episcopacy. It is easy to conceive what effect this discovery must have produced on the minds of the presbyterian ministers. And were it not that we know that a sense of shame has but a feeble influence on princes and statesmen, and that they never want apologists for their worst actions, it would be confounding to think that either the king or his agents should have been so barefaced as after this to repeat their protestations.

Finding that the work gave great offence, James afterwards published an edition of the *Doron*, accompanied with an apologetical preface. His apology, as might be expected, is extremely awkward and unsatisfactory. Too timid to avow his real meaning, and too obstinate to retract what he had advanced, he has recourse to equivocation, and to explanations glaringly at variance with the text. The opprobrious name of *puritans*, he allows, was properly applicable only to those called the *Family of Love*, who arrogated to themselves an exclusive and sinless purity. To gain credit to his assertion that he alluded chiefly to such persons, he alleges that Brown, Penry, and other Englishmen, had, when in Scotland, "sown their popple," and that certain "brainsick and heady preachers" had imbibed their spirit; although he could not but know that these rigid sectaries were unanimously opposed by the Scottish ministers, and that the only countenance which they received was from himself and his courtiers.[1] The following acknowledgment deserves particular notice, as it ascertains an important fact, and enables us to judge of the policy of the course which James was at present pursuing. Speaking of the ministers, he says, "There is presently a sufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome; and yet are they ALL known to be against the form of the English church." And again, speaking of the charge of puritanism, he says, "I protest, upon mine honour, that I mean it not generally of all preachers or others that like better of the single form of policy in our church than of the many ceremonies of the Church of England, that are persuaded that their bishops smell of a papal supremacy, that the surplice, cornered cap, and such like, are the outward badges of popish errors. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things (which for my own part I ever esteemed indifferent), as I do equally love and honour the learned and grave men of either of these opinions. It can no ways become me to pronounce so lightly a sentence in so old a controversy. We all (God be praised) do agree in the grounds, and the bitterness of men upon such questions doth but trouble the peace of the church, and gives advantage and entry to the papists by our division."[2] Such is the language of one who spent a great part of his

[1] See before, p. 110.

[2] Basilicon Doron, *To the Reader*, A 5, 6. Lond. 1603. King James's Works, p. 144. What truth there was in all this, James has himself told us in another of his writings: "That Bishops ought to be in the church, I ever maintained as an Apostolike institution, and so the ordinance of God;—so was I ever an enemie to the confused anarchie or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth in

life in agitating these very questions, who was at that time employed in imposing these very forms upon a church which, according to his own acknowledgment, was decidedly and unanimously averse to them, and who, in this very publication, lays injunctions on his son to prosecute the scheme after his death!

It has been said that this work contributed more to smooth his accession than all the books written in defence of his title to the English crown. But the facts respecting its publication do not accord with this theory.[1] Though an impartial examination of its contents will not justify the high encomiums passed upon it,[2] yet its literary merits are not contemptible. It is more free from childish and disgusting pedantry than any other of James's writings, and contains many good advices, mingled, however, with not a few silly prejudices.

A careful comparison of the *Law of Free Monarchies* and the *Basilicon Doron* throws no small light on the history of the time. It points out the true ground of the strong antipathies which James felt to the presbyterian ministers, and ascertains the meaning of his favourite ecclesiastico-political aphorism, "No Bishop, no King."

The affair of the Gowrie Conspiracy, which occurred in the first year of the seventeenth century, proved injurious to the church, as well as vexatious to individual ministers. For not giving thanks for his majesty's deliverance in the very words which the court dictated on the first intimation of the occurrence, the ministers of Edinburgh were called before the privy council;[3] and having acknowledged, in answer to the inquisitorial demands put to them, that they were not completely convinced of the treason of Gowrie, although they reverenced the king's narrative, five of them were removed from the capital, and prohibited from preaching in Scotland. Four of these soon after submitted, and each was enjoined to profess his belief of the conspiracy, and his sorrow for his error and incredulity, in several churches, according to the penance imposed upon persons who were chargeable with the most heinous offences.[4] Bruce alone refused, and was banished.[5] Being subsequently recalled from France, he signified that his doubts were in

my *Basilicon Doron*. I that in my said book to my son do speak tenn times more bitterly of them (the puritans) nor of papists—I that for the space of six years before my coming into England laboured nothing so much as to depresse their paritie, and re-erect Bishops againe." Premonition to the Apology for the Oath of Allegeance, pp. 44, 45.

[1] See Note NN.

[2] Bishop of Winton's Preface to King James's Works, sig. d. Spotswood, p. 475. Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 296.

[3] Spotswood says that the council told the ministers, when they were first sent for, "that they were only to signifie how the king had escaped a great danger, and to stir up the people to thanksgiving;" but "by no persuasion they could be moved to perform that duty." Hist. p. 461. According to every other statement which I have examined, the ministers declared their readiness to do this, and merely declined to testify that his majesty had been delivered "from a vile treason."

[4] James Balfour was appointed to make his confession within the towns of Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Brechin. Record of Privy Council, Sept. 11, 1600.

[5] Record of Privy Council, August 12, 31, Sept. 10, 11, 1600. Cald. v. 475, 492—495, 527—542. The Minute of Council bears, that Bruce "still continewit doubtfull and nocht throwghlie resoluit of the treasonabill and unnatural conspiracie;" and that "it can nawyse stand with his hienes suirtie and honour that ony sic distrustfull personis salbe sufferit to remane within the cuntrey."

a great measure removed, but still refused to make a public profession of his faith in the words of the court, or to submit to the humiliating penance which it enjoined. As a subject, he said, he had never refused to do the duty of a subject; but he did not feel himself at liberty to utter in the pulpit, under the authority of his office, anything of which he was not fully persuaded. "I have a body and some goods," continued he, "let his majesty use them as God shall direct him. But as to my inward peace, I would pray his majesty in all humility to suffer me to keep it. Place me where God placed me, and I shall teach as fruitful and wholesome doctrine to the honour of the magistrate as God shall give me grace. But to go through the country, and make proclamations here and there, will be counted either a beastly fear or a beastly flattery; and in so doing I should raise greater doubts, and do more harm than good to the cause; for people look not to words, but grounds. And as for myself, I should be but a partial and sparing blazer of my own infirmities: others will be far better heralds of my ignominy.[1]

The truth is, that from the moment that Bruce was removed from Edinburgh, it was determined that he should never be allowed to return. He was tantalised for years with the hopes of being restored to his place. The terms proposed to him were either such as it was known he would reject, or they were evaded and withdrawn when he was ready to accede to them. And he was afterwards persecuted till his death by the mean jealousy of the bishops, who set spies on his conduct, sent informations to court against him, and procured orders to change the place of his confinement from time to time, and to drag him from one corner of the kingdom to another. The whole treatment which this independent minister received was disgraceful to the government. Granting that he gave way to scrupulosity—that he required a degree of evidence as to the guilt of Gowrie, which was not necessary to justify the part which he was required to take in announcing it—that there was a mixture of pride in his motives, and that he stood too much on the point of honour (concessions that some will not be disposed to make)—still the nice and high sense of integrity which he uniformly displayed, his great talents, and the eminent services which he had performed to church and state, not to speak of his birth and connections, ought to have secured him very different treatment. But the court hated him for his fidelity, and dreaded his influence in counteracting its favourite plans. There was another consideration which rendered his pardon hopeless. James was conscious that he had deeply injured Bruce.[2] There is one proof of this which I shall state, as it affords a striking illustration of the deplorable state in which the administration of justice was at that time in the nation.

[1] Cald. v. 599, 600. Crawfurd, i. 242.

[2] "*Chi offende non pardonna;* et si jamais Prince a été de cette humeur, celui-ci est l'est," says the French ambassador, in representing the hopelessness of an application to James in behalf of the son of the Earl of Gowrie. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. iii. p. 108.

Bruce, when in favour with the court, had obtained a gift for life out of the lands of the abbey of Arbroath, which he had enjoyed for a number of years.[1] In the year 1598 the king privately disposed of this to Lord Hamilton. He first stirred up the tenants of the abbey to resist payment,[2] and when this expedient failed, he avowed the deed by which he had alienated the annuity. Bruce signified his willingness to renounce the grant, provided the king retained it in his own hands or applied it to the use of the church; but learning that it was to be bestowed on Lord Hamilton, he resolved to defend his right. His majesty called down some of the Lords of Session to the palace, and sent his ring to others, and by threats and persuasions endeavoured to induce them to give a decision in favour of the Crown. Their lordships, however, much to their credit, found Bruce's title to be valid and complete.[3] On this occasion James exhibited all the violence of an imbecile and undisciplined mind. Being in court when the cause was heard, and perceiving that it was likely to be decided contrary to his wishes, he interrupted the judges while they were delivering their opinions, and challenged them, in a passionate manner, for daring to give an opinion against him. Several of the lords rose and said that, with all reverence to his majesty, unless he removed them from their office, they both durst and would deliver their sentiments according to justice; and, with the exception of one judge, the whole bench voted against the party who had the royal support. James threatened the advocates who pleaded for Bruce.[4] He spoke of him on all occasions with the utmost asperity; charging him with stealing the hearts of his subjects, and saying that, were it not for shame, he would "throw a whinger in his face." Determined to obtain his object, he "wakened the process," by means of two ministers in Angus to whom he transferred a part of the annuity. At a private interview, in the presence of Sir George Elphinstone, his majesty requested Bruce to "save his honour and he would not hurt him;" upon which a compromise was made, and sanctioned by the Lords of Session. But the king afterwards set this aside by his sole authority, altered the minute of the court, and threatened to hang the clerk if he gave an extract of it in its original and authentic form. Finding that he was to be deprived of the greater part of his annuity, and that the remainder was to be given him only during the royal pleasure, Bruce threw up the gift in disdain.[5]

[1] The grant itself, which passed the seals on the 15th of October, 1589, speaks in the highest terms of the services which Bruce had done to the king, and to the whole church, "be informing of his Matie and counsall of sic thingis as concerns the weill therof and advancing and furthsetting the same baith in counsell and sessioun." Register of Privy Seal, vol. ix. fol. 68. The money and victual contained in the gift are regularly entered as his stipend in the Books of Assignation and Modification. One chalder of wheat and one of bear were given from it, with Bruce's express consent, to his colleague Balcanquhal. Book of Assignation for the year 1591.

[2] Register of Decreets and Acts of the Commissariot of St Andrews, Aug. 21, 1598, compared with Nov. 6, 1595.

[3] Action: Gilbert Auchterlonie in Bonitoun, &c., *against* Lord Hamilton and Mr Robert Bruce; June 16, 1599. Register of Acts and Decreets of the Court of Session, vol. clxxxiii. fol. 198.

[4] Bruce's counsel were Thomas Craig, John Russel, and James Donaldson.

[5] Calderwood, vol. v. pp. 363—367, 408—413.

The eagerness which James showed to have the conspiracy of Gowrie believed, increased instead of removing the public incredulity. He issued a mandate to change the weekly sermon in all towns to Tuesday, the day on which the event happened.[1] Not contented with the observance of a national thanksgiving on the occasion, he procured an act of parliament ordaining that the fifth day of August should be kept yearly, "in all times and ages to come," by all his subjects, as a "perpetual monument of their most humble, hearty, and unfeigned thanks to God" for his "miraculous and extraordinary deliverance from the horrible and detestable murder and parricide attempted against his majesty's most noble person."[2] This appointment was offensive on different grounds. It was an assumption on the part of the parliament of the right of the church courts to judge in what related to public worship. It was at variance with the principles of the Church of Scotland, which, ever since the Reformation, had condemned and laid aside the observance of religious anniversaries, and of all recurring holidays, with the exception of the weekly rest. The appointment in question was liable to peculiar objections, as doubts were very generally entertained of the reality of the conspiracy to which it related; on which account ministers and people were annually forced either to offer mock thanks to the Almighty or to incur the resentment of the government. On this last ground, the English, accustomed as they were to submit to such encroachments on their natural and religious liberty, murmured at the introduction of this new holiday.[3] Yet, such influence had the king now obtained over the church courts, that the General Assembly, held at Holyrood House in the year 1602, gave its sanction to the appointment; and thus exposed the Church of Scotland to just reproach from her adversaries, as agreeing to keep an annual festival in commemoration of the deliverance of an earthly prince, while she refused this honour to the birth and death of her divine Saviour, and to some of the most interesting events in the history of Christianity.[4]

James Melville was one of those who refused to obey this act of Parliament and Assembly. He had concurred with the commissioners of the church and the synod of Fife in appointing a public thanksgiving immediately after the conspiracy.[5] But he refused to keep the

[1] Record of Privy Council, Aug. 21, 1600. Record of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews, Aug. 24. Extracts from Record of Kirk-Session of Glasgow, Sept. 25.

[2] Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum, vol. iv. 213, 214.

[3] "Amongst a number of other novelties, he (James) brought a new holy-day into the Church of England, wherein God had public thanks given him for his Majesties deliverance out of the hands of Earle Gourie: and this fell out upon the fifth of August, on which many lies were told either at home or abroad, in the quire of St Pauls Church or the Long Walk: For no Scotchman you would meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetique politicians said the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit." Osborne's Hist. Memoirs: Secret History of the Court of James the First, vol. i. p. 276. "The English," says Sir Anthony Welldon, "believe as little the truth of that story as the Scots themselves did." Ibid. p. 320.

[4] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 204, b.

[5] Melville's Diary, p. 363. "At that tyme (the end of August 1600), being in Falkland, I saw a fuscambulus Frenchman play strang and incredible pratticks upon stented takell in the palace clos, befor the king, quein, and haill court. *This was politicklie done to mitigat the quein and peiple for Gow-*

anniversary. The king summoned him and several of his brethren to answer for their disobedience, and threatened to proceed against them capitally if they declined the privy council; but having ascertained that they were determined to run all hazards, he satisfied himself with giving them a royal admonition in the presence of the commissioners of the General Assembly. It does not appear that the ministers were afterwards put to trouble on this head.[1]

It would seem that Melville was permitted to sit in the General Assembly which met at Burntisland in May 1601.[2] It was on this occasion that the king became again a covenanter, by publicly renewing his former vows. His embassy to the court of Rome had not been well received, and the Roman Catholics in England had shown themselves unfavourable to his right of succession to the crown. At home he had incurred great odium by the slaughter of the Earl of Gowrie, as to whose guilt the body of the people were invincibly incredulous. After the Assembly had been occupied for a considerable time in deliberating on the "causes of the general defections from the purity, zeal, and practice of the true religion in all estates of the country, and how the same may be most effectually remedied," his majesty rose and addressed them with great appearance of sincerity and pious feeling. He confessed his offences and mismanagements in the government of the kingdom; and, lifting up his hand, he vowed, in the presence of God and of the Assembly, that he would, by the grace of God, live and die in the religion presently professed in the realm of Scotland, defend it against all its adversaries, minister justice faithfully to his subjects, discountenance those who attempted to hinder him in this good work, reform whatever was amiss in his person or family, and perform all the duties of a good and Christian king better than he had hitherto performed them. At his request the members of Assembly gave a similar pledge for the faithful discharge of their duty; and it was ordained that this mutual vow should be intimated from the pulpits on the following Sabbath, to convince the people of his majesty's good dispositions, and of the cordiality which subsisted between him and the church.[3]

It was at this Assembly that a motion was made to revise the common translation of the Bible, and the metrical version of the Psalms. The former of these was the only piece of reform which James exerted himself in effecting after his accession to the English throne. On the present occasion, we are told, he made a long speech, in the course of which he dwelt on the honour which such a work would reflect on the Church of Scotland. "He did mention," says Archbishop Spotswood, "sundry escapes in the common translation, and made it seem that he was no less conversant in the Scriptures than they whose profession it was;

ries slauchter. Even then was Hendersone tryed befor ws, and Gowries pedagog wha haid bein buted." Ibid.

[1] Record of Privy Council, Aug. 12, 1602. Cald. vi. 617.

[2] At least, Calderwood (v. 570) mentions him as voting, in the privy conference, against the translation of the ministers of Edinburgh.

[3] Cald. v. 577, 578. Melville's Diary, p. 366. Hist. of the Decl. Age, 25, 26. Row's Historie, 62.

and when he came to speak of the Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, showing both the faults of the metre and the discrepance from the text. It was the joy of all that were present to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole Assembly."[1] But, ravished as they were, and proud as they might be, of having for a king so great a divine, linguist, and poet, the Assembly did not think it fit to gratify his majesty by naming him on the committee; but recommended the translation of the Bible to such of their own number as were best acquainted with the original languages, and the correction of the psalmody to Pont.[2] This did not, however, prevent James from employing his poetical talents on a new version of the Psalms, intended to be sung in churches. If he had given encouragement to the ministers to prosecute such works as these, instead of irritating them and embarrassing himself by the agitation of questions respecting forms of ecclesiastical government, James would have acted like a wise prince, —he would have gained their esteem, diverted them from those political discussions of which he was so jealous, and essentially promoted the interests of religion and letters in his native kingdom.

The preposterous and baleful policy of the court distracted the ministers from other undertakings of great moment and utility. Among these was the introduction of the means of religious knowledge into the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. In the year 1597 the General Assembly appointed some of their number to visit the North Highlands. In passing through the shires of Inverness, Ross, and Moray, the visitors found an unexpected avidity for religious instruction in the people, and great readiness on the part of the principal proprietors to make provision for it. The chief of the clan Mackintosh subscribed obligations for the payment of stipends in the different parishes on his estate; and observing that the visitors were surprised at his alacrity, he said to them, "You may think that I am liberal, because no minister will venture to come among us. But get me the men, and I will find sufficient caution for safety of their persons, obedience to their doctrine and discipline, and good payment of their stipends, either in St Johnston. Dundee, or Aberdeen."—"Indeed," says James Melville, who was one of the visitors, "I have ever since regretted the estate of our Highlands, and am sure, if Christ were preached among them, they would shame many Lowland professors. And if pains were taken but as willingly by prince and pastors to plant their kirks as there is for wracking and displanting the best constituted, Christ might be preached and believed both in Highlands and Borders."[3] About the same time a scheme was planned for civilising the inhabitants of the Western Isles, who were in a state of complete barbarism, and scarcely owned even a nominal subjection to the Crown. A number of private gentlemen, chiefly belonging to Fife, undertook to plant a colony in Lewis and the adjacent places, which formed the lordship of the Isles. They obtained a charter, con-

[1] Spotswood, p. 466. [2] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 197, b. [3] Melville's Diary, p. 325.

firmed by parliament, which conferred on them various privileges, and among other things authorised them to erect ten parish churches, which were to be endowed from the revenues of the bishopric of the Isles.[1] The presbytery of St Andrews took a warm interest in this undertaking; and at their appointment, Robert Dury, minister of Anstruther, sailed to Lewis in the year 1601, to assist the gentlemen of the society in the plantation of their churches.[2] The next account we have of Dury is as a prisoner in Blackness, for holding a meeting of the General Assembly.[3]

While James remained in Scotland, the scheme of introducing Episcopacy, though never lost sight of, was cautiously prosecuted. After the dissolution of the Assembly held at Burntisland, the commissioners of the church addressed a circular letter to the ministers, intimating that the Spanish monarch had hostile intentions against Britain, and requesting them to impress their people with a sense of their danger, and to assure them that his majesty was resolved to hazard his life and crown in the defence of the gospel.[4] Melville wrote upon his copy of the letter, *Hannibal ad portas!* He was convinced that the fears of the commissioners were affected, and that their object was to raise a false alarm, with the view of turning the public attention from their own operations. Accordingly, he neglected no opportunity of rousing his brethren to a due sense of the real danger to which they were exposed. In a discourse which he delivered at the weekly exercise in the month of June 1602, he condemned the unfaithfulness and secular spirit which were become common among ministers of the gospel. Gladstanes, feeling himself galled with this rebuke, sent informations against him to court; and the king having come to St Andrews, issued a *lettre de cachet* without any authority from the privy council, confining him within the precincts of his college.[5] The design of this arbitrary mandate was in part coun-

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 248—250. Spotswood, p. 468.

[2] Record of Kirk-Session of Anstruther Wester, April 30, 1601.

[3] Among the means used for the reformation of the Highlands, it is proper to mention the translation of Knox's Liturgy, as it is called, into Gaelic, by John Carswell, Superintendent of the West, and Bishop of the Isles. It was entitled "FOIRM NA NURRNUIDHEADH," *i. e.* Forms of Prayer; and was printed at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevick, 24th April, 1567. An account of this very curious and rare work, and interesting extracts from it, accompanied with an English translation, may be seen in Leyden's Notes to Descriptive Poems, p. 214—227. See also Martin's Description of the Western Islands, p. 127. I have little doubt that the Highlanders had the Psalms in their own language during the sixteenth century. A Gaelic translation of the first fifty Psalms was published by the Synod of Argyll in the year 1650; most probably made from the newly-authorised version in English.

[4] The death of Philip II. in the year 1598, was fatal to the hopes which had for so many years instigated the Roman Catholics of Scotland to disturb the peace of their native country.

[5] "Apud S. Andrewes undecimo die mensis Julij, anno domini 1602. The kings Ma. for certaine causes and considerations moveing his H. ordaines a macer or oyr officer of armes, to passe & in his name and authoritie command and charge Mr Andrew Melvill, principall of the New Colledge of S. Andrewes, to remaine and containe himself in waird within the precint of the said Colledge, and in noe wise to resort or repaire without the said precincts while he be lawfully and orderly releeved, and freed be his Ma: under the paine of rebellion and putting of him to the horne, with certification to him, if he faile and doe in the contrare that he shall be incontinent therafter denounced rebell and putt to the horne, and all his moveables goods escheat to his H. use, for his contemption. Thomas Fentenn, messinger."
—Calderwood, vi. 615.

teracted by a plan which was adopted by the members of presbytery, the greater part of whom had been pupils of Melville. They set on foot an exercise in the New College, in which they alternately treated a theological question. This was attended by the whole university. The questions selected were chiefly such as related to the papal supremacy and hierarchy, and the discussion was managed in such a way as to make it bear on the points in dispute between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. By this means both ministers and students were confirmed in their attachment to Presbytery, and qualified for defending it against its adversaries. As the exercise was performed in the Latin language, as it was agreeable to the directions of the General Assembly, and as the Papists were the only opponents who were named, the court could find no plausible pretext for suppressing it.[1]

During the confinement of his uncle, James Melville exerted himself with unusual zeal, and displayed a resolution and courage of which he had been supposed incapable. Perceiving that his good nature had been imposed on by designing and faithless brethren, that his silence was construed into consent, and that the compliances which he made, with a view to peace and harmony, were uniformly followed by farther encroachments on the rights of the church, he determined, henceforward, inflexibly to maintain his ground, to act invariably according to the dictates of his own judgment, and to lend a deaf ear to the fair professions of men who meant only to deceive and overreach.[2] He attended the Assemblies of the church at the risk of his life, and when confined by a lingering disease, he wrote them from his sick-bed letters containing the freest advices and the most powerful exhortations to constancy. With the view of preventing his opposition to the court measures at a meeting of the synod of Fife, intimation was sent him that the king had given one of his letters to the Lord Advocate for the purpose of commencing a criminal prosecution against him ; but he paid so little regard to this threatening, that Sir Robert Murray, in reporting the proceedings of the synod, informed his majesty that James Melville was become more fiery and intractable than his uncle.[3]

At length the death of Elizabeth put James in possession of the new kingdom for which he had so ardently longed. In the speech which he made in the High Church of Edinburgh before setting out for England, he professed his satisfaction that he left the church in a state of peace,

[1] Melville's History of the Declining Age, pp. 27, 28.

[2] During the sitting of the General Assembly in the year 1602, he was sent for to the palace. As he came out of the cabinet, William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who was waiting for access, overheard the king saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth : I'll warrant you, he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row communicated to James Melville what he had heard, and the latter having next day given his vote against the proposal of the court, his majesty would not believe it, and made the clerk call his name a second time. Livingston's Characteristicks, art. William Row.

[3] Wodrow's Life of Mr James Melvil, pp. 96, 102 : vol. xii. MSS. in Bibl. Col. Glasg. Being told that the king hated him more than any man in Scotland for crossing his plans, he coolly replied,

Nec sperans aliquid, nec extimescens,
Exarmaveris impotentis iram.

and declared that he had no intention of making any farther alteration of its government. He repeated this assurance to the deputies of the synod of Lothian, who waited on him as he passed through Haddington. In answer to a petition which they presented in behalf of their confined brethren, he said that he had parted on the best terms with Bruce, that he had expected that Davidson would wait on him as he came through Prestonpans, and that he had given Melville the liberty of going six miles round St Andrews.[1] All the ministers offered their cordial congratulations to James on this occasion, although they could not but be aware that one of the first uses which he would make of his increased power would be to overthrow their liberties.[2] The severity with which Melville had been treated did not prevent him from employing his muse in celebrating the peaceable accession of his sovereign to the throne of England :—

Scotangle Princeps, optime principum,
Scotangle Princeps, maxime principum,
Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps :
Orte polo, nate, sate princeps,
In regna concors te vocat Anglia ;
Te Vallia omnis ; te omnis Iernia ;
Et fata Romæ ; et Gallicani
Per veteres titulos triumphi
Addunt avitis imperiis novos
Sceptri decores ; Orcadum et insulis
Hetlandicisque, et plus trecentis
Hebridibus nemorosa Tempe :
Qua belluosus cautibus obstrepit
Nereus Britannis, quà Notus imbrifer,
Quà Circius, Vulturnus, Eurus
Quadrijuga vehitur procella :
Cujus ruentis nauifrago impetu
Vim sensit atram classis Iberica,
Allisa flictu confraginosis
Rupibus, et scopulis tremendis.
. . . .
Tui videndi incensa cupidine
Plebs flagrat immenso, Eripe te mora
Scotobritan-hiberne Princeps.
Vive diu populoque fœlix,
Gratusque. Votis et prece supplice
Rerum parentem concilia : et refer
Exorsa regni læta, sanctum
Christus imperium ut gubernet,
Frænans proteruæ regna licentiæ,
Laxans modestæ frœna decentiæ,
Vt vera virtus verticem mox
Conspicuum super astra tollat.[3]

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[1] Cald. vi. 699—701. Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 36. The Rising and Usurpatione of our pretendit Bishopes, MS. p. 21. The relaxation of Melville's confinement was procured by the queen's mediation. Cald. vi. 615.

[2] Row's Historie, pp. 191, 192.

[3] Melvini Musæ, p. 12—15. There are three poems by him on the accession of James, and one on the sickness of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII.

1603—1607.

While the jealousy of the government led them to circumscribe the usefulness of Melville in every way that was within their power, his reputation continued to spread on the Continent. Some of the most distinguished of the foreign literati courted his friendship, and corresponded with him by letters. Among these was Isaac Casaubon, who, after teaching in the academies of Geneva and Montpellier, had taken up his residence, and was prosecuting his critical studies at Paris, where he enjoyed an honorary salary as Reader to Henry IV. and Keeper of the Royal Library. The correspondence between them began in the year 1601, when Casaubon addressed a letter to Melville couched in the most flattering terms. "The present epistle, learned Melville, is dictated by the purest and most sincere affection. Your piety and erudition are universally known, and have endeared your name to every good man and lover of letters. I became first acquainted with your character at Geneva, through the conversation of those great men, Beza, the deceased Stephanus,[1] and the learned Lectius, all of whom, with many others, as often as your name was introduced, were accustomed to speak in the highest terms of your worth, probity, and genius. You know the effect of splendid virtues on the minds of the ingenuous; and I have always admired the saying of the ancients, that all good men are linked together by a sacred friendship, although often separated 'by many a mountain and many a town.' Having long loved and silently revered your piety and learning (two things in which I have always been ambitious to excel), I have at length resolved to send this letter to you as an expression of my feelings. Accept of it, learned sir, as a small but sincere testimony of that regard which your reputation has excited in the breast of a stranger. Permit me at the same time to make a complaint, which is common to me with all the lovers of learning who are acquainted with your rare erudition. We are satisfied that you have beside you a number of writings, especially on subjects connected with sacred literature, which, if communicated to the studious, would be of the greatest benefit to the church of God. Why do you suppress them, and deny us the fruits of your wakeful hours? There are already too many, you will say, who burn with a desire to appear before the public. True, my learned sir; we have

[1] Henry Stephens, the learned printer, was the father-in-law of Casaubon.

many authors, but we have few or no Melvilles. Let me entreat you to make your appearance, and to act the part which Providence has assigned you in such a manner as that we also may share the benefit of your labours. Farewell, learned Melville; and henceforward reckon me in the number of your friends."[1]

Another of Melville's foreign correspondents was Mornay du Plessis, a nobleman who united in his character the best qualities of the soldier, the statesman, the scholar, and the Christian. The correspondence between them appears to have commenced on the occasion of a controversy excited among the Protestants of France, by a peculiar opinion respecting the doctrine of justification, which Piscator, a celebrated theologian at Herborn in the Palatinate, had started. The national synod of the French churches, which met at Gap in the year 1603, passed a severe censure on the novel tenet, and wrote to other reformed churches and universities requesting them to assist in its suppression.[2] Melville and his colleague Johnston conveyed their sentiments on the subject in a letter to Du Plessis. They did not presume to judge of the sentence of the synod of Gap, but begged leave to express their fears that strong measures would inflame the minds of the disputants, and that the farther agitation of the question might breed a dissension very injurious to the interests of the evangelical churches. It appeared to them, that both parties held the Protestant doctrine of justification, and only differed a little in their mode of explaining it. They, therefore, in the name of their brethren, entreated Du Plessis to employ the authority which his piety, prudence, learned writings, and illustrious services in the cause of Christianity, had given him in the Gallican Church, to bring about an amicable adjustment of the controversy.[3] In his reply to this letter, Du Plessis expressed his approbation of the prudent advice which they had given, and informed them of the happy effects which it had produced.[4] The King of Great Britain reckoned it incumbent on him, in his new character of *Defender of the Faith*, to interfere in this dispute, as he afterwards did very warmly in the controversies excited in Holland by Arminius and Vorstius. The synod of Gap had given him umbrage by a declaration which he considered as derogating from the due authority of bishops.[5]

The ministers of Scotland waited with anxiety to see how James would act towards that numerous and respectable body of his new

[1] Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 129, edit. Almeloveen. There is only another letter to Melville in that collection. Ib. p. 254. It appears from this that he had received letters from Melville. Comp. p. 143.

[2] Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 227. Piscator was accused of holding that the sufferings only of Christ, and not the actions of his life, are imputed to believers in justification.

[3] Epistola ad Morneium, MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 46, & Rob. III. 2, 18, num. 10.

[4] Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 307. Quick's Synodicon, i. 265, 266.

[5] The synod declared that the title *Superintendent*, in their Confession, did not imply "any superiority of one pastor above another." Quick, i. 227. Against this explication James sent a remonstrance. Laval, Hist. vol. v. p. 415. Du Plessis, in a letter to M. de la Fontaine, apologises for the declaration of the synod. Mémoires de M. du Plessis, tom. iv. p. 50. James published his *Epicrisis de Controversia mota de Justificatione*, anno 1612. It begins with a quotation from *Solomon*, and ends with *Jacobus*.

subjects who had all along pleaded for a farther reformation in the English Church. From this they could form a pretty correct estimate of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue with themselves. Before the death of Elizabeth he had sounded the dispositions of the Puritans. They were universally in favour of his title; and there is no reason to doubt that he gave them hopes in the event of his accession.[1] When he was on his way to London they presented to him a petition, commonly called, from the number of names affixed to it, the *Millenary Petition;* stating their grievances, and requesting that measures might be adopted for redressing them, and for removing corruptions which had long been complained of by the soundest Protestants. No sooner was this petition presented than the two universities took the alarm. The university of Cambridge passed *a grace*, "that whosoever opposed, by word or writing, or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or any part of it, should be suspended, *ipso facto*, from any degree already taken, and be disabled from taking any degree for the future." The university of Oxford published a formal answer to the petition, in which they accused those who subscribed it of a spirit of faction and hostility to monarchy, abused the Scottish Reformation, lauded the government of the Church of England as the great support of the Crown, and concluded with this very modest declaration, "There are at this day more learned men in this kingdom than are to be found among all the ministers of religion in all Europe besides."[2] These proceedings were not only injurious to several respectable members of both universities, who were known to have taken part in the petition, but disrespectful to the king, who had received it and promised to inquire into the abuses of which it complained. Melville felt indignant at this prostitution of academical authority, and attacked the resolutions of the English universities in a satirical poem which he wrote in defence of the petitioners.[3] The poem was extensively circulated in England, and galled the ruling party in the church no less than it gratified their opponents. Several of the English academics drew their pens against it, but their productions were confessedly very inferior to Melville's in elegance and pungency.[4]

[1] See his letter to Mr Wilcock in Cald. vi. 698, 699, and Jacob's Attestation of learned, godly, and famous Divines, pp. 14, 313.

[2] Who were the individuals at this time in the Church of England (those inclined to nonconformity excepted), who were known in the republic of letters? To the names eulogised by Melville, Herbert opposes the apostles Peter and Paul, the Emperor Constantine, St Augustine, St Ambrose, Duns Scotus, and King James! Musæ Resp. Epigr. 33. De Authorum Enumeratione.

[3] Pro supplici Euangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia ad Serenissimum Regem, contra larvatam geminæ Academiæ Gorgonem Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an edition of this poem in 1620. De Scriptoribus Scoticis, MS. p. 13. It was reprinted in Calderwood's Altare Damascenum.

[4] One of these was George Herbert, who, in forty epigrams, analysed Melville's poem, and answered it piecemeal. His epigrams were added by Dr Duport to a collection of Latin poems by himself and others, entitled "Ecclesiastes Solomonis, &c. Accedunt Georgii Herberti Musæ Responsoriæ ad Andreæ Melvini Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam. Cantab. 1662." Isaac Walton says, "If Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy." Upon which Walton's editor remarks: "We cannot suppose that Andrew Melville could retain the least personal resentment against Mr Herbert; whose verses have in them so little of the poignancy of satire, that it is scarce possible to consider them as capable

The proceedings and issue of the mock conference at Hampton Court are well known. On that occasion care was not taken to preserve even the appearances of impartiality. Everything was previously settled in private between the king and the bishops. The individuals who were allowed to plead for reform were few; they were not chosen by those in whose name they appeared, nor did they express their sentiments; and, although men of talents and learning, they did not possess the firmness and courage which the situation required. The moderation of their demands was converted into a proof of the weakness of their cause, and the unreasonableness of nonconformity. The modesty with which they urged them served only to draw down upon them the most intemperate and insolent abuse. They were browbeaten, threatened, taunted, insulted, by persons who were every way their inferiors except in rank. The Puritans complained of the unfairness of the account of the conference which was published by Barlow; but whatever injustice the bishop may have done to their arguments, and whatever intention he may have had to injure their reputation, they ought to have applauded his performance. Nothing, in fact, can be more pitiable than the disclosure which it makes of the bigotry and servile adulation of the bishops, and of the intolerable conceit and grotesque ribaldry of the king. To quote it is to expose them to ridicule. No modern Episcopalian can read it without reddening with shame at the figure in which the head and dignified members of his church are represented.[1] There was not the most distant idea of giving relief to the complainers by this conference. The object of it was to afford James an opportunity of displaying his talents for theological controversy before his new subjects, to give him a plausible excuse for evading his promises to the nonconformists, and to smooth the way for the introduction of the forms of the English Church into Scotland.[2] The Liturgy was published with a few trifling alterations, and conformity to it was enjoined upon all ministers under the severest penalties.[3] In his speech to the parliament which met soon after at Westminster, James acknowledged the Church of Rome to

of exciting the anger of him to whom they are addressed." Walton's Lives, Dr Zouch's edit. p. 342. Thomas Atkinson, B.D. of St John's College, Cambridge, wrote an answer, under the title of "Melvinus Delirans, sive Satyra edentula contra ejusdem Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoriam—per Thomam Atkinson. Poema versibus Iambicis scriptum." Harl. MSS. num. 3496, 2. It was dedicated to William Laud, when Dean of Gloucester and President of St John's College. The MS. is not now to be found in the British Museum.

[1] The Summe and Substance of the Conference—at Hampton Court, January 14, 1603. Contracted by William Barlow, Doctour of Divinitie, &c. Lond. 1605. It is reprinted in Phœnix, vol. i. Besides Barlow, and the other authorities referred to by Neal, in his History of the Puritans, those who wish full information of the conference may also consult Wilkins' Concilia Mag. Brit. tom. ii. p. 373—375.

Barlow's Account of the Conference, with the Canons agreed on by the Convocation in the course of the same year, was published at Paris in French by the Roman Catholics. Such notes as the following were added on the margin: *King James abjures the Scottish church—King James a semi-Catholic*, &c. Ad Serenss. Jacobum Primvm—Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ libellus supplex. Auctore Jacobo Melvino. P. 30. Lond. 1645. The French Protestants complained that their adversaries endeavoured to render them odious by quoting what James had said of the Puritans in his Basilicon Doron. Lord Hailes' Memorials and Letters, i. 73.

[2] Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. pp. 8, 20, Toulm. edit. Compleat Hist. of England, ii. 665.

[3] Wilkins' Concilia, ii. 377, 406, 408.

be his "mother church, though defiled with some infirmities and corruptions"—spoke with the greatest tenderness of her adherents, and declared his readiness to "meet them in the midway:" but the "puritans or novelists, who do not differ from us so much in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and parity," were pronounced by his majesty to be a "sect insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."[1]

Warned by these facts, the ministers of Scotland were awake to their danger when the union of the kingdoms was proposed; a measure of which James was extremely fond, and which he set on foot immediately after he went to England. Melville was friendly to a legislative union, and joined with several of his learned countrymen in setting forth the advantages which would accrue from it to both kingdoms.[2] But he was convinced at the same time, from the disposition of the court, that there was the greatest reason to fear that the presbyterian establishment would be sacrificed to accomplish it. When the parliament of Scotland was called to deliberate on this important business, the synod of Fife, under his influence, applied for liberty to hold a meeting of the General Assembly. They were told by the agents of the court that this was altogether unnecessary, as the commissioners to be appointed by parliament were merely to advise on the terms of union, and to report to their constituents; to which the deputies of the synod replied, that in ordinary cases the resolutions of committees were adopted by the Estates, and, consequently, the selection of the commissioners and the instructions given to them were of the very greatest importance. Having failed in obtaining this object, the synod addressed a spirited admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly. After expressing their fervent wishes for the success of the proposed union, as conducive to the temporal prosperity of both kingdoms, and to the security of the Protestant religion in them, they admonished the commissioners to crave of the parliament that the laws formerly made in favour of the church should be confirmed, and that nothing should be done tending to hurt, alter, or innovate her discipline and government, which was founded on the word of God, established by the laws of the land, and sanctioned by solemn promises and oaths. They required them to protest that, if any step was taken to its prejudice, it should be null and void; and to charge those who voted in the name of the church, to confine themselves within the bounds of their commission, and to defend the ecclesiastical constitution, as they should answer to Christ and his church. And, in fine, they adjured them, before God and his elect angels, to inform the commissioners for the union, and, through them, his majesty, that the members of synod were fully persuaded that the essential grounds of the government established in the Church of Scotland were not indifferent or alterable, but rested on divine authority,

[1] Journals of the Commons, vol. i. p. 142.

[2] Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 118. There is a letter of Melville's prefixed to a treatise on the Union by Hume of Godscroft. MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin.

equally as the other articles of religion did, and that they would part with their lives sooner than renounce them. The king was very desirous that the commissioners for the union should be invested with unlimited powers; but the parliament, jealous of the designs of the court, passed an act, declaring, in conformity with the request of the synod of Fife, that they should have no power to treat of anything that concerned the religion and ecclesiastical discipline of Scotland.[1]

In the course of the year 1604, John Davidson, who had taken an active part in the public transactions of his time, departed this life.[2] On his return from banishment after the death of the Regent Morton, he became minister of the parish of Liberton. The tyranny of Arran drove him a second time into England. Upon the fall of Arran, he declined returning to Liberton, and was chosen to deliver a morning lecture in one of the churches of Edinburgh. In this situation he remained until he was called to Prestonpans, where he officiated till his death.[3] Davidson was a man of sincere and warm piety, and of no inconsiderable portion of learning, united with a large share of that blunt and fearless honesty which characterised the first reformers. The bodily distress under which he laboured during the last years of his life was aggravated by the persecution which he suffered from the government.[4] He left behind him collections relating to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, with other writings, which the court was eager to suppress.

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 274. Forbes's MS. History, pp. 34, 35. James Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 37—41. Printed Cald. p. 479—481. Calderwood represents the admonition to the commissioners of the General Assembly as given by the synod of Fife: James Melville ascribes it to the commissioners of synods. Forbes states that the king sent down a list of such persons as he wished to be chosen commissioners for the union, consisting chiefly of bishops and newly-created noblemen; that the ancient nobility, offended at this, refused to bear their expenses; that the persons nominated by the king offered to go at their own charge; and that, upon this, the nobility made the act exempting ecclesiastical matters from their cognisance.

[2] Four individuals "having cõmissione of the haill parish of Saltprestoun, bot especially of y^e^ Laird of Prestone, compeirit lamenting y^e^ death of o^r^ father, Mr Jo^n^ Davidsone, y^r^ last pastor." Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Sept. 5, 1604.

[3] "Mr John Davidsoun refusit to re-enter to the kirk of Libbertoun." Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 5, 1588. "The transportation of Mr Ar^d^ Symsoun from Dalkeith till Cranstoun, and Mr John Davidsoun's planting at Dalkeith," are remitted to the presbytery of Edinburgh. Rec. of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Sept. 17, 1589. "Mr John Davidsoun's preiching in Edinburgh quarrellit and approved." Ibid. Oct. 3, 1589. Comp. April 1, 1595. A proposal was made for having him settled in the West Kirk. Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Oct. 29, 1594, March 18, 1595.

[4] Cald. v. 579, 608.

[5] His papers, after his death, came into the hands of John Jonston, Melville's colleague. "Item, I leaue the trunk that lyes under the bwirde w^t^ Mr Johne Davidsones papers thairin to Mr Rob^t^ Wallace & Mr Alex^r^ Hoome at Prestounepannes." Jonston's Testament. At Jonston's death, an order was issued by the lords of privy council (Nov. 21, 1611), to the rector of the university and provost and bailies of St Andrews, to "cause his coffers to be closed"—as it was understood "that he had sundrie paperis, writtis, and books, pairtlie written be himselfe, and pairtlie be utheris,—q^lk^ contenis sum purposs and mater whairin his Ma^tie^ may have verry iust caus of offens, gif the same be sufferit to come to licht." Collection of Letters in the possession of the Earl of Haddington. An account of the progress which Davidson had made in his historical collections is given in a letter which he wrote to the king, April 1, 1603. Cald. vi. 686—688. "A little before his death he penned a treatise, *De Hostibus Ecclesiæ Christi*, wherein he affirmes y^t^ the erecting of bishops in this kirk is the most subtile thinge to destroy religione y^t^ ever could be devised." Row's Hist. p. 293. His catechism, entitled, "Some Helpes for young Schollers in Christianity, Edinburgh 1602," was reprinted in 1708, with a very curious preface by Mr William Jameson, Pro-

Some time before this, Gladstanes was nominated to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and Spotswood to that of Glasgow, as a reward for their services in forwarding the schemes of the court, and an encouragement to them to persevere in their exertions for the overthrow of Presbytery.

During the years 1604 and 1605, Melville bore an active part in the struggle for maintaining the General Assembly, the great bulwark of the liberties of the Church of Scotland. By the parliamentary establishment of Presbytery in the year 1592, it was secured that the supreme judicatory should be held at least once a year, and a rule was laid down for fixing the particular day and place of every meeting. Under various pretexts James had infringed this rule; and, with the assistance of the commissioners of the church, had altered the times and places of assembling. In consequence of a complaint from the synod of Fife, the Assembly held at Holyrood House in 1602 came to the resolution that General Assemblies should hereafter be regularly kept according to the act of parliament.[1] His majesty was present, and agreed to this resolution; yet when the time approached for holding an Assembly at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July 1604, he prorogued it until the conferences respecting the union were over. As all classes in the nation were eager in securing their rights, the presbytery of St Andrews judged it incumbent on them to be careful of the rights of the church. They enjoined their representatives to repair to Aberdeen; who, finding none present to join with them in constituting the Assembly, took a formal protest, in the presence of witnesses, that they had done their duty, and that whatever injury might arise to the liberties of the church from the desertion of that diet should not be imputed to them or to their constituents.

This faithful step aroused the zeal of the other presbyteries. At the ensuing meeting of the synod of Fife, delegates from all parts of the church attended, to consult on the course which should be taken to assert their rights. At this meeting, and at an extraordinary one subsequently held at Perth, the parliamentary bishops and commissioners of the church were severely taken to task, and accused of clandestinely hindering the meeting of the General Assembly, for the purpose of prolonging their own delegated powers, and evading the censures which they had incurred by transgressing the cautions. It was at the same time resolved to send petitions from all the synods, requesting his majesty to allow the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory to meet for the transacting of important and urgent business. Gladstanes conveyed information to the king of the activity with which Melville and his nephew promoted

fessor of Ecclesiastical History at Glasgow, in which he exposes the forgery of Mr Robert Calder, who, by a pretended quotation from this catechism, attempted to persuade the public that Davidson had recanted presbyterian principles before his death.

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 201, b; 203, a. At the Assembly in May 1597, his majesty declared the act of parliament regulating the meetings of the church courts to be "the most authentick forme of consent that any king can give." Ibid. f. 187, a.

these measures ; in consequence of which an order came from London to incarcerate them. But the council, either offended at the bishop's officiousness, or afraid of the spirit which then pervaded the nation, excused themselves from carrying the order into execution.[1]

Notwithstanding the numerous petitions transmitted to court from presbyteries and synods,[2] the General Assembly was again prorogued in 1605 ; and, as if to declare that the king had assumed the whole power of calling it into his own hands, no time was fixed for its meeting. It now behoved the ministers to make a determined stand, unless they meant to surrender their rights without a struggle to the Crown.

The election of the members of Assembly had taken place in many parts of the country before its prorogation was known. After such mutual consultation as the shortness of the time permitted, nine presbyteries resolved to send their representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions to constitute the Assembly, and adjourn it to a particular day, without proceeding to transact any business. John Forbes, minister of Alford, who had lately had an interview with his majesty at London, and received assurances of his disposition to maintain the jurisdiction of the church, was employed to communicate this resolution to the chancellor. That statesman professed himself satisfied with the moderation of the proposal, and promised to refrain from interdicting the Assembly, and merely to address a letter to the ministers who should meet, desiring them to separate. On the 2d of July, nineteen ministers[3] having met, after sermon, in the session-house of Aberdeen, Straiton of Lauriston, the king's commissioner, presented to them a letter from the lords of privy council. As it was addressed "To the brethren of the ministry convened at their Assembly in Aberdeen," it was agreed, before reading it, to constitute the Assembly, and choose a moderator and clerk. While they were employed in reading the letter, a messenger-at-arms entered, and, in the king's name, charged them to dismiss on the pain of rebellion. The Assembly declared their readiness to comply with this order, and only requested his majesty's commissioner to name a day and place for next meeting. Upon his refusal, the moderator appointed the Assembly to meet again in the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and then dissolved the meeting with prayer. Lauriston afterwards gave out that he had discharged the Assembly by

[1] Apologetical Narration by W. S. (William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife), p. 133—138 : MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Printed Calderwood, p. 482—484.

[2] On the 25th September, 1604, the presbytery of Haddington appointed commissioners to go to St Johnston "to regrait the delay of the Generall Assemblie." Oct. 17, 1604, they agreed that a petition should be presented to his majesty on this subject. Sept. 11, 1605, they appointed the following clause to be inserted in a supplication : "That seing we understand his Ma^tie hes bein abused in respect no suto hath bene delyverit (as ane letter direct frō his Ma^tie bearis) craving ane Generall Assemblie : qras the Sinod of Lawthiane and Tueddell, convenit at Tranent, direct ane letter to his Ma^tie craving maist humblie ane Generall Assemblie, *and sent* [it] *to his Matie be Mr Jho. Spottiswood.*" Record of Presbytery.

[3] Ten other ministers came to Aberdeen after the Assembly was dissolved, and by their subscriptions approved of what their brethren had done. The presbytery of Haddington severely reprimanded their representative for not repairing to Aberdeen, and approved of the procedure of the Assembly. Record of Presb. of Haddington, July 17 and 24, 1605.

open proclamation at the market-cross of Aberdeen on the day before it met; but no person heard this, and it was universally believed that he antedated his proclamation, to conciliate the king and the court ministers, who were highly offended at him for the countenance which he had given to the meeting.[1]

This is a summary account of the Assembly at Aberdeen, which afterwards made so much noise, and which the king resented so highly. The conduct of the ministers who kept it, instead of meriting punishment, is entitled to warm and unqualified approbation. It was marked at once by firmness and moderation, by zeal for the rights of the church and respect for the authority of their sovereign. Had they done less than they did, they would have forfeited the honourable character which the ministers of Scotland had acquired—disgraced themselves, and discredited those to whose places they had succeeded. They would have crouched to the usurped claims of a regal supremacy, which they and their predecessors had uniformly and steadily resisted, which were not more inconsistent with presbyterian principles than contrary to the laws of the country, and which, if yielded to, would have converted the free and independent General Assembly of the Church of Scotland into a Parisian parliament or an English convocation. They are entitled to the gratitude of the friends of civil liberty. The question at issue between the court and them amounted to this, Whether they were to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary will of the prince—whether royal proclamations were to be obeyed when they suspended statutes enacted by the joint authority of king and parliament. This question came afterwards to be debated in England, and was ultimately decided by the establishment of the constitutional doctrine which confines the exercise of royal authority within the boundaries of law. But it cannot be denied, and it ought not to be forgotten, that the ministers of Scotland were the first to avow this rational doctrine, at the expense of being denounced and punished as traitors; and that their pleadings and sufferings in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty set an example to the friends of civil liberty in England. In this respect complete justice has not yet been done to their memory; nor has expiation been made for the injuries done to the cause which they maintained, by the slanderous libels against these patriots which continue to stain the pages of English history.

The privy council did not resent the proceedings at Aberdeen. But no sooner was his majesty informed of them than he transmitted orders to the law-officers in Scotland to proceed with the utmost rigour against

[1] Melville's History of the Declining Age, p. 52—55. Simsoni Annal. p. 90. Rising and Usurpation of the Pretendit Bishopes, p. 22—24. History by Mr John Forbes, p. 42—62. The two last MSS. are in my possession. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly at Aberdeen, was a brother of Patrick Forbes of Corse, who afterwards became Bishop of Aberdeen. Spotswood's account is entirely taken from the official "Declaration of the just Causes of his Maj. Proceedings against the Ministers who are now lying in Prison," printed both at Edinburgh and London in 1605. A counter-statement was published by the ministers under the title of "Faithful Report of the Proceedings anent the Assembly of Ministers at Aberdeen," printed in England in 1606.

the ministers who had presumed to contravene his command.[1] They were accordingly called before the privy council, and fourteen of them having stood to the defence of their conduct, were committed to different prisons. John Forbes, who was moderator of the Assembly, and John Welch, being considered as leaders, were treated with greater severity than the rest; being confined within separate cells in the castle of Blackness, and secluded from all intercourse with their friends. An anecdote, authenticated by the records of the council, affords a striking illustration of the spirit with which the ministers were actuated. Robert Youngson, minister of Clatt, had been induced to make an acknowledgment before the privy council, and was dismissed. But on the day when the cause of his brethren came to be tried, he voluntarily presented himself along with them, professed his deep sorrow for the acknowledgment which he had formerly made, avowed the lawfulness of the late Assembly, and, having obtained the permission of the council, took his place at the bar.[2] Having declined the authority of the privy council, as incompetent to judge in a cause which was purely ecclesiastical, six of the ministers[3] were served with an indictment to stand trial for high treason before the Court of Justiciary at Linlithgow. They were indicted solely for the fact of their having declined the privy council; and the charge of treason was founded on a law enacted during the infamous administration of Arran, which, so far as it respected ecclesiastical matters, was disabled by a posterior statute. The defence of their counsel was able and conclusive, and the speeches of Forbes and Welch were of the most impressive kind. But of what avail are innocence and eloquence against the arts of corruption and terror? The Earl of Dunbar, now the king's favourite, was sent down to Scotland for the express purpose of securing the condemnation of the ministers. Such of the privy counsellors as the court could depend on were appointed assessors to the judges; the jury were packed; after they had retired, the most illegal intercourse took place between them and the crown officers; and by such disgraceful methods a verdict was at last obtained, finding, by a majority of three, the prisoners guilty of treason. The pronouncing of the sentence was deferred until his majesty's pleasure should be known.[4]

[1] His majesty's letter to Secretary Balmerino is dated "at Hauering in the boure the xix of Julij 1605." Collection of Letters in possession of the Earl of Haddington. The ministers were first called before the privy council on the 25th of July. Collection of Acts of Secret Council, by Sir John Hay, Knight, Clerk of Register. James marked with his own hand such parts of the proceedings of the ministers as in his opinion brought them "within the compass of the law." Among these the following merits notice: "In the said lre [the letter of the Assembly to the Privy Council] thereafter at this signe ⸗, they wald mak this thair appollogie for thair proceeding, *that they sould not be the first oppenaris of ane gap to the oppin breache and violatioun of the lawis and statutis of this realme;* willing the counsell to wey and considder thairof; as gif they wald mak ane plane accusatioun of sum tyrannie intendit be ws to the prejudice of the lawis of our kingdome, an speiche altogidder smelling of treasoun and lese majestie." Collection of Letters, *vt supra*.

[2] Act of Secret Council, Oct. 24, 1605. Sir John Hay's Collection.

[3] John Forbes, minister at Alford, John Welch at Ayr, Robert Dury at Anstruther, Andrew Duncan at Crail, John Sharp at Kilmany, and Alexander Strachan at Creich.

[4] Forbes's History, p. 62—151. Melville's Diary, p. 61—92. Spotswood, p. 487—

The conduct of the ministers, during their imprisonment and on their trial, gained them the highest esteem. Those who had pronounced them guilty were ashamed of their own conduct. The glaring and scandalous perversion of justice struck the minds of all men with horror. In vain did the court issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the pain of death, any to pray, "either generally or particularly," for the convicted ministers, or to call in question the verdict pronounced against them, or to arraign any of the proceedings of government. The proclamations were disregarded and disobeyed. Insensible to the feelings of the nation, the king refused to exert his right to pardon. He would not even impart to his counsellors his resolution as to "the punishment of the traitors, which behoved," he said, "to remain for some time in his own breast as an *arcanum imperii*." And he ordered them to proceed without delay with the trial of the ministers who were still in prison, and whose conviction he anticipated as a matter of course after the decision which had been given against their brethren, especially if "more wary election was made of the next assisors."[1] Had this insane mandate been carried into execution, it must have spread dissatisfaction and discontent through the nation; and might have hastened on those confusions which broke out during the succeeding reign. Fortunately for James, his counsellors were endued with more wisdom than he possessed. They wrote him, in plain terms, that it was impossible for them to procure the conviction of the remaining prisoners; that those who sat on the former jury would not consent to react the same part; that, even if they were willing, it would disgrace the government to employ them; and that no others could be found to undertake a task which would expose them to universal odium and execration.[2] James reluctantly yielded; but "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The eight ministers were released from prison; but they were banished singly to the extremities of the Highlands, to the Western Isles, Orkney, and Shetland; and in these inclement and then barbarous abodes, several of them contracted diseases which hurried them to a premature grave. The dread which was entertained of the talents of the six convicted ministers procured for them a milder fate. After being imprisoned fourteen months in the castle of Blackness, they were banished into France.[3]

These severities increased the nation's aversion to Episcopacy, and its

489. Scot's Apolog. Narration, p. 143—163. Of the illegalities of the process no other proof is required than the account of it which the Lord Advocate transmitted to the king. Lord Hailes' Memorials, vol. i. p. 1—4. In the same strain is the letter written which Secretary Balmerino addressed to his majesty "by direction of the counsell." "To dissemble nothing," says he, "gif the Erle of Dumbar had not bene with ws, and pairtlie by his dexteritie in aduising quhat wes fittest to be done in euerie thing, and pairtlie by the autie he had over his friends, of quhome a greit many past upoun the assise, and pairtlie for that sume stood aw of his presens, knawing that he wald mak fidell relatioun to your matie of euerie mans pairt, the turne had not framed so well as, *blessit be God*, it has." Collection of Letters belonging to Lord Haddington.

[1] His Majesty's Letter to the Lords of Secret Council, Jan. 22, 1606: Col. of Letters, *ut supra*.

[2] The Counsellis Answr to his Majesty's Letter, Januar—1606: Col. of Letters, *ut supra*.

[3] Act of Secret Council, Oct. 23, 1606: Sir John Hay's Collection. Simsoni Annales, p. 91. Cald. 549.

dislike of the bishops, who were universally believed to have incensed his majesty against the men who opposed their elevation. If the first introduction of Episcopacy had produced such persecution, what might be looked for when it obtained a complete ascendancy and establishment?[1] The people contrasted the harsh treatment of their ministers with the suspicious lenity shown to Roman Catholics. It was observed that, at this very time, Gilbert Brown, abbot of Newabbey, who had for many years been a busy trafficker for Rome and Spain, and a chief instrument of keeping the south of Scotland under ignorance and superstition, was released from the castle of Edinburgh, where he had been liberally entertained at the public expense, and was allowed to leave the kingdom, after all his crucifixes, agnus deis, relics, chalices, and sacred vestments, had been religiously restored to him: while John Welch, who had converted multitudes from the errors of popery by his pastoral labours, and had published, at his majesty's particular request, a learned confutation of the abbot's tenets, was detained in vile durance, and obliged to support himself in prison on his own charges.[2] "Barabbas," says a writer of that time, "was released, and the faithful preachers of the word of God were retained in loathsome dungeons."[3] Nor did it escape notice, that James continued unrelentingly to prosecute the imprisoned ministers after his almost miraculous escape from the Gunpowder Plot, and rejected all intercessions in their favour, though embodied in congratulatory addresses which were transmitted to him from his native kingdom on that memorable occasion.[4]

Melville took a warm interest in the fate of his persecuted brethren. He avowed his approbation of their conduct in holding the Assembly at Aberdeen, and in declining the judgment of the privy council. He zealously promoted petitions to the government in their favour. He was present in Linlithgow on the day of their trial to give them his advice, and to make a final attempt for accommodation with the

[1] Melville expressed the general feeling in these lines:

Talia si teneri producunt poma stolones?
Quid longæva arbos? qualia poma feret?
—Simsoni Annales, p. 91.

[2] Forbes's Hist. p. 111. Melville's Decl. Age, pp. 82, 83. Welch's book is entitled, "A Reply against M. Gilbert Browne, Priest, Wherein is handled many of the Greatest and weightiest pointes of controversie between vs and the Papistes, &c. By M. John Welche, Preacher of Christ's Gospell at Aire. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Walde-grave, 1602." Pp. 363. Dedicated to James VI. It was reprinted in 1672, by Matthew Crawford, under the title of "Popery Anatomized."

It would appear that some of the ministers received pecuniary aid from their presbyteries during their imprisonment. "The haill bretheren of the presbyterie agreis to ane cõtributioune of fourtie marks for support of yᵉ bretheren in ward." Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Nov. 15, 1605.

[3] Simsoni Annales, p. 93.

[4] Printed Calderwood, p. 507. A poem by Melville on the Gunpowder Plot is printed in Delit. Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 100. In the speech which James made to the parliament of England after the discovery of the plot, while he showed great anxiety to distinguish between the different kinds of papists, he went out of his way to declare his detestation of "the cruelty of the Puritanes, worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist." Works, p. 504. In answer to the petitions in behalf of the Scottish ministers, he said, that "the papists were seeking his life indeed, but the ministers were seeking his crown, dearer to him nor his life." Melville's Decl. Age, p. 83. The truth is, James abused the Puritans because he dreaded no harm from them, and he endeavoured to keep fair with the Papists, because, as he sometimes phrased it, "they were dexterous king-killers;" just as some Indians are said to worship the devil, for fear he should do them a mischief. Toplady's Historic Proof, ii. 215.

privy council. And, after their conviction, he accompanied them to the place of their confinement.[1] It was not long till he was called to make a more open appearance in behalf of the cause for which they suffered, and to share in the hardships which he now sought to alleviate.

Presuming that these severe proceedings must have intimidated and subdued the spirit of the ministers, the court deemed the present a favourable time for taking another step in the introduction of Episcopacy. The provincial synods were assembled, and deputies from his majesty required their consent to five articles, intended to secure the bishops from being called to account for their late violations of the cautions, and to recognise the power which the king claimed over the General Assembly. But these articles were decisively rejected by the synod of Fife; and the other synods, with the exception of that of Angus, referred the determination of them to the General Assembly.[2]

Melville was deputed by the presbytery of St Andrews to wait on the parliament which met at Perth in August 1606; and was instructed to co-operate with his brethren of other presbyteries in seeing that the church suffered no injury at that assembly of the Estates. Understanding that it was intended to repeal the statute which had annexed the temporalities of bishoprics to the Crown, and to restore the episcopal order to their ancient privileges, they gave in to the Lords of Articles a representation; stating that the episcopal office stood condemned by the laws of the church, and that the bishops were restored to a place in parliament without prejudice to the established ecclesiastical government; and craving that, if any act were to be passed in their favour, the cautions enacted by the General Assembly, with the concurrence of his majesty, should be embodied in it. In reply to this, they were explicitly told by the chancellor that the bishops would be restored to the state in which they were a hundred years ago. Upon this they prepared a protest which, being refused by the Lords of Articles, they gave in to each of the Estates. Forty-two names, of which Melville's was the first, were affixed to this protest. The commissioners of shires and burghs at first promised to support it, but most of them were in the issue gained over by the agents of the court. The chief nobility were averse to the restoration of Episcopacy;[3] but since James's advancement to the throne of England, it was become a matter of greater consequence than it had formerly been to preserve the royal favour; and he employed an argument with them which proved irresistible. The gifts which they had obtained from church lands were confirmed to them, and a great many new temporal lordships were erected from the same fund. The bishops did not scruple to violate the "caveats" by consenting to this alienation of the property of the church,

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 508, 516.

[2] Simsoni Annal. p. 98. Melville's Decl. Age, p. 92. Forbes, pp. 165, 166.

[3] "En Ecosse la plupart des Seigneurs sont non-seulement Puritains, mais mal-contens: de sorte que je ne sçais s'il se pourra faire obéir." Lettre à M. de Villeroy, 31 May 1606: Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 63

and to the reduction of the number of her voters in parliament from fifty-one to thirteen. This compromise being made, the parliament restored the bishops to all their ancient and accustomed honours, dignities, prerogatives, privileges, and livings, and at the same time revived the chapters which had been suppressed by the General Assembly. The preamble to this act is perfectly appropriate. It recognises his majesty as "absolute prince, judge, and governor over all persons, estates, and causes, both spiritual and temporal." By another act the royal prerogative was raised to the highest pitch, accompanied with the most extravagant and fulsome adulation of the reigning sovereign.[1] The greatest precautions were taken to prevent the ministers from protesting against these deeds. Melville had been appointed by his brethren to perform this task. On the day on which the acts were to be ratified, he gained admission into the House; but no sooner did he stand up than an order was given to remove him. Though thus prevented from taking a protest according to legal forms, he did not retire until he had made his errand sufficiently known.[2]

The protest was conceived in language respectful to the legislature, but expressive of the most determined opposition to the measure under their consideration. It reminded the members of parliament that they were not lords over the church, but nursing fathers to her; and that, instead of assuming a power to mould her government according to their pleasure, it was their duty to preserve and maintain that which had been given her by her divine head. It warned them that the measure under their consideration would, if adopted, overthrow that discipline under which religion had flourished for so many years in Scotland. It conjured them not to undo all that they had done in behalf of the church; nor, for the sake of gratifying a few aspiring individuals, to erect anew a hierarchy which had been abjured by the nation, and which had uniformly proved the source of "great idleness, palpable ignorance, insufferable pride, pitiless tyranny, and shameless ambition." And it concluded with declaring, that the protesters were ready to produce reasons at large to show that the power and dignity which it was proposed to confer on bishops were contrary to Scripture, the opinions of the fathers, the canons of the ancient church, the writings of the most learned and godly divines of modern times, the doctrine and constitution of the Church of Scotland since the beginning of the Reformation, the laws of the realm, and the welfare and honour of the king, parliament, and subjects.[3] The protest was drawn up by Patrick Simpson, minister of Stirling; the reasons of protest were composed by James Melville,

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 281, 282. The last-mentioned act was concealed at the time. The oath of supremacy was ordained by act of privy council only. Record of Privy Council, June 2, 1607. Calderwood (MS. vi. 1112) says, it was "printed at Edinburgh be Robert Charters, anno dom. 1607."

[2] Cald. 521. Sims. Annal. 100. Decl. Age, 105.

[3] Informations, or a Protestation, and a Treatise from Scotland. Imprinted 1608. Pp. 94. 12mo. It appears from the epistle to the reader, that this treatise was printed abroad by an Englishman who had fled from Bancroft's persecutions. The Protestation may be seen in the printed History of Calderwood, p. 527—531.

with the assistance of his uncle.[1] The following extracts from the last-mentioned paper will serve as a proof of the spirit with which it was written, and of the enlightened zeal for civil liberty and the temporal welfare of the nation, with which the ministers were at this time actuated.

"Set mee up these Bishops once (called long since the Prince's led-horse), things, if they were never so unlawful, unjust, ungodly, and pernitious to kirk and realme, if they shall be borne forth by the countenance, authoritie, care, and endeavour of the King (supposing such a one, as God forbid, come in the roome of our most renouned Sovereign; for to the best hath oftentimes succeeded the worst), they shall be carried through by his Bishops, set up and entertained by him for that effect; and the rest of the estates not onely be indeed as ciphers, but also beare the blame thereof to their great evill and dishonour. If one will aske, How shall these Bishops be more subject to be carried after the appetite of an evill prince then the rest of the estates? The answer and reason is, because they have their lordship and living, their honour, estimation, profit and commoditie of the King. The King may set them up and cast them downe, give them and take from them, put them in and out at his pleasure; and therefore they must bee at his direction to doe what liketh him: and, in a word, he may doe with them by law, because they are set up against law. But with other estates hee cannot doe so, they having either heritable standing in their roomes by the fundamentall lawes, or then but a commission from the estate that send them, as from the burgesses or barons. Deprave me once the Ecclesiasticall Estate, which have the gift of knowledge and learning beyond others, and are supposed (because they should bee) of best conscience, the rest will easily bee miscarried. And that so much the more, that the Officers of Estate, Lords of Session, Judges, Lawyers that have their offices of the King, are commonly framed after the court's affection. Yea, let Chancellor, Secretarie, Treasurer, President, Controller, and others that now are, take heed that these new Prelates of the Kirk (as covetous and ambitious as ever they were of old), insinuating themselves by flatterie and obsequence into the Prince's favour, attaine to the bearing of all these offices of estate and crowne, and to the exercising thereof as craftily, avaritiously, proudly, and cruelly, as ever the Papisticall Prelates did. For, as the holiest, best, and wisest angels of light, being depraved, became most wicked, craftie, and cruell divells, so the learnedest and best pastor, perverted and poysoned by that old serpent with avarice and ambition, becomes the falsest, worst, and most cruell man, as experience in all ages hath proved.

"If any succeeding Prince please to play the tyrant, and governe all, not by lawes, but by his will and pleasure, signified by missives, articles, and directions, these Bishops shall never admonish him as faithfull pastors and messengers of God; but, as they are made up by man, they

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 527, 536. The Reasons of Protest are inserted at length in a well-written tract by Calderwood, entitled, The Course of Conformity—Printed in the yeare 1622: p. 20—48.

must and will flatter, pleasure, and obey men. And, as they stand by affection of the Prince, so will they by no meanes jeopard their standing, but be the readiest of all to put the King's will and pleasure in execution; though it were to take and apprehend the bodies of the best, and such namely as would stand for the lawes and freedome of the realme, and to cast them into dark and stinking prisons, put them in exile from their native land, &c. The pitifull experience in times past makes us bold to give the warning for the time to come: for it hath been seen and felt, and yet dayly is, in this Island. And finally, if the Prince be prodigall, or would inrich his courtiers by taxations, imposts, subsidies, and exactions, layd upon the subjects of the realme, who have been or shall bee so ready to conclude and impose that by parliament, as these who are made and set up for that and the like service?"[1]

These were not the representations of alarmists, who wished to excite prejudices against the bishops from mere antipathy to their spiritual power. Nor were they the offspring of imaginations disordered by unreasonable jealousy. In the course of a few years the strongest of these predictions were fully and literally verified, to the conviction of those who had treated them as visionary. The bishops, who owed their restitution solely to the favour of the king, and who depended on him as "the breath of their nostrils," did not blush to acknowledge themselves to be his "majesty's creatures," and devoted themselves in all things to the pleasure of their "earthly creator:"[2] they exerted all their influence to lay the liberties of the nation, and the privileges of the different orders in it, at his feet; while he, in return for their services, loaded them with honours, and advanced them to the highest offices of state. Owing to different causes these effects were more sensibly felt in Scotland, where, if Episcopacy had been suffered to remain much longer, the government would have settled into a pure and confirmed despotism. But they were also felt in England. From the time that Henry VIII. caused himself to be declared Head of the English Church, and forced the bishops to take out licenses from him, and to acknowledge that all the jurisdiction which they exercised flowed from the royal authority, the episcopal bench and clergy became dependent on the Crown. When

[1] Cald. vi. 1158—1162. Course of Conformity, p. 44—47.

[2] "Most Gratious Soueraigne, May it please zour most excellent Majestie, As of all vyces Ingratitude is most detestable, I findand my self not only as first of that dead estait quhilk zour M. hath recreate, but also in my priuate conditione so ouerquhelmed with your M. princely and magnifick benignitie, could not bot repaire to zour M. most gratious face, that so unworthie an *creature* micht both see, blisse, and thanke *my earthly Creator.*" Original Letter of Archbishop Gladstanes to the King, Sept. 11, 1609: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 62. "We will not be idle in the mean time," says he, in a letter to his Majesty, Aug. 31, 1612, "to prepare such as have vote to incline the right way. All men do follow us and hunt for our favour, upon the report of your Maj. good acceptance of me and the Bishop of Cathness, and sending for my Lord of Glasgow, and the procurement of this Parliament without advice of the Chancellor.—No Estate may say that they are *your Maj. creatures*, as we may say, so there is none whose standing is so slippery, when your Maj. shall frown, as we: for at your Maj. nod we must either stand or fall." Printed Cald. p. 645. The same servility, though not expressed in such gross terms, runs through a letter to the king by the Bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Orkney; and a separate letter addressed to him by Archbishop Spotswood. MSS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, numbers 65 and 67.

the spirit of liberty pervades a nation, it will exert an influence upon all orders of men; and there have been instances of English (I cannot say Scottish) prelates, who have nobly withstood the encroachments of arbitrary power, and defended the rights of the people. But still it is reasonable to suppose (and experience justifies the supposition), that as a body they will be devoted to the will of the prince, to whom they owe their places, from whom they look for preferment, and by whose authority they perform all acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Candour demands the acknowledgment, that a presbyterian church must also fall into state-subserviency in proportion to the power which the Crown obtains in the appointment of its ministers; although this patronage is necessarily limited by the want of preferments in such an establishment, and checked by the freedom of discussion which takes place in its several assemblies.[1]

In giving an account of the parliamentary restoration of Prelacy, it would be unjust to omit mentioning William Douglas, Earl of Morton, a nobleman who inherited the magnanimity of the Douglasses, tempered by the milder virtues of his illustrious relative, the Regent Moray. While he maintained all the hospitality and even magnificence of the ancient barons, his domestic arrangements were conducted, and his fine family reared up, in accordance with the purity of his morals, and the strict regard which he uniformly showed to the duties of religion. The public conduct of this peer was marked by independence, and he showed himself a warm and steady friend to the presbyterian church. It was chiefly through his exertions that the parliament had formerly passed an act exempting the government of the church from the cognisance of the commissioners appointed on the Union. The sickness which soon after put an end to his days prevented him from attending in his place at Perth; but he expressed his strong disapprobation of the act restoring Episcopacy, and with his dying breath predicted the evils which it would entail on the country.[2]

Melville's appearance before the parliament at Perth was the last which he was permitted to make in his native country. His removal from Scotland had been determined on as a necessary preparative to the execution of the projects of the court. Episcopacy still stood condemned by the church, and the bishops remained destitute of all spiritual power. Such was the state of public sentiment and feeling

[1] "The bishops," says Lord Kames, "were universally in the interest of the Crown, *as they have been at all times, and upon all occasions*; and as the whole bishops were for the Crown, it was indifferent which eight were chosen." Essays concerning British Antiquities, p. 53. This remark unquestionably requires some qualification. But the instance to which Lord Hailes refers disproves it in part only. Memorials, vol. i. p. 41. Though all the bishops were "for the Crown," they might not all be equally able to maintain its "interests;" and in this respect certainly it was not "indifferent which eight were chosen" as Lords of the Articles. But the reason why the king in 1612 sent a list of bishops was, not that he doubted of the attachment of any of them, but that he might assert his prerogative to nominate them. And the reason why Lord Burley wished to change "one or two" on the court-list was, not that he objected particularly to any of the individuals named, but that he might maintain the privilege of the nobility in the election, as he distinctly states in his defence. Ibid. p. 42.

[2] Simsoni Annales, pp. 53, 112. Printed Calderwood, p. 482.

in the country, that any attempt to confer this upon them by the mere exercise of civil authority would have been nugatory, and might have proved dangerous. The only way in which they could hope to succeed was by obtaining the consent of the church courts to their assuming one degree of episcopal power after another, under false names and deceitful pretexts. Notwithstanding the number of ministers already in confinement, they judged it necessary to get rid of others, before they durst face an ecclesiastical assembly, or bring forward their proposal in its most modified shape. This was accomplished by one of those politic stratagems which James was so fond of employing. In the end of May 1606, a letter from the king was delivered to Melville, commanding him, "all excuses set aside," to repair to London before the 15th of September next, that his majesty might treat with him and others, his brethren, of good learning, judgment, and experience, concerning such things as would tend to settle the peace of the church, and to justify to the world the measures which his majesty, after such extraordinary condescension, might find it necessary to adopt for repressing the obstinate and turbulent. Letters expressed in the same terms were addressed to his nephew James Melville, to William Scot, minister of Cupar, John Carmichael of Kilconquhar, William Watson of Burntisland, James Balfour of Edinburgh, Adam Colt of Musselburgh, and Robert Wallace of Tranent.[1]

Having met to consult on the course which they should take, the eight ministers deputed one of their number to converse with the Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish premier, and to request him to deal with his majesty to excuse them from a journey which they were afraid would prove fruitless, and which would be oppressive to them, on account of the ill health of some of their number and the engagements of all. Under the mask of great friendship, Dunbar urged them to comply with his majesty's desire; assuring them that it would turn out the best journey that ever they undertook, that he had advised the measure out of regard to the church, and that the bishops, when made acquainted with the design, were very far from being pleased with it.[2] Although they placed little confidence in these assurances, the ministers resolved to go to London, after they had waited on the approaching parliament. Indeed, they were shut up to this course; for had they acted otherwise, they would have incurred the charge of disobeying the royal

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 518, 519.

"June 1606. Item, To ane boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Matie To Mr James Balfoure, Mr Robert Wallace, and Mr Adame Colt, xiij^{s} iiij^{d}.

"Item, To ane other boy passand of Edr. with clos lres that come from his Matie To Mr Andro Melvill, Mr James Melvill, Mr Wm Scot, Mr Wm Watson, Mr Jon Carmichell, and Mr Henry Philp, xl^{s}."—Compot. Thesaur. in Register House, Edin.

[2] There can be little doubt that the bishops both knew and had advised the calling of the ministers to London. In a letter addressed to his majesty. "19th Junii," (A. 1606), Gladstanes testifies his impatience for Melville's removal, and insinuates his hopes that he would not be allowed to return to St Andrews. "Mr Andrew Melvin hath begun to raise new storms with his Eolick blasts. Sir, you are my Jupiter, and I, under your Highness, Neptune. I must say,

Non illi imperium pelagi, saevumque tridentem,
Sed mihi sorte datum ——

Your Majesty will relegate him to some Æolia,

—— ut illic vacuum se jactet in aula."

—Lord Hailes' Memorials, i. 95.

authority, and an order for their incarceration would have been instantly issued. Melville acquainted the presbytery of St Andrews with the resolution which he had formed. They declined giving him any commission to act in their name, judging it safer that he and his brethren should appear in their individual character, and not doubting that they would prove faithful to the interest of the church. But they authorised him to receive an extract from their records, containing the subscription of Gladstanes to the presbyterian polity, to be used as he should find necessary. Having put the affairs of the college in the best order he could, Melville sailed from Anstruther, in company with his nephew, Scot, and Carmichael, on the 15th of August, and reached London on the 25th of that month. A few days after they were joined by their four brethren, who travelled by land.[1]

As soon as it was known that they were come to town, they were visited by a number of the ministers and citizens of London who favoured their cause. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York sent to inquire for them, and invited them to their houses; but they excused themselves, on the ground that they could pay no visits until they had seen his majesty.[2] James, who was absent on a progress through the kingdom, had left his directions for them with Alexander Hay, one of his secretaries for Scotland, and Dr John Gordon, Dean of Salisbury. Gordon was one of their countrymen, a son of the bishop of Galloway, and had himself been at one period presented to that bishopric. Soon after the Reformation, he had gone to France for the sake of his education, and remained in that country until the accession of James to the English throne. On the Continent he had attained no inconsiderable degree of literary celebrity, particularly for his skill in the oriental languages.[3] This talent would have made him an agreeable companion to Melville had they met on another occasion, and had not the task allotted to Gordon, along with the Dean of Westminster, rendered them a kind of honorary guard on the ministers, and polite spies on their conduct. Notwithstanding this, Melville and Gordon had their literary hours, in which the stiffness and reserve of their more formal interviews were banished.[4]

[1] "1606, Aug. 15, M. Andro Melvil, &c. departit fra Anstruther towart Lundon." Laird of Carnbee's Diary, in Append. to Lamont's Diary, 283. Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, 109—111. Cald. vi. 1089, 1190.

[2] Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 111.

[3] On the 4th of January 1567, "Magister Joannes Gordon" obtained a gift under the Great Seal, of the bishopric of Galloway and abbacy of Tungland, vacant by the resignation of Alexander, the last bishop. "Et nos informati existentes de qualificatione singulari dicti Magistri Joannis, et q^d in hebraica, caldaica, syriaca, græca et latina linguis bene eruditus est—pro subditorum nostrorum instructione," &c. In the title of the charter he is said to be "tunc temporis in Gallia studiis theologicis incumbente." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. i. 14, num. 92. I must leave it to others to unravel the confusion as to the titles of John, Roger, and George Gordons to the bishopric of Galloway. Consult Register of Presentation to Benefices for Sept. 16, 1578, and July 8, 1586. Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 181, 290—293. Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 166. Printed Cald. pp. 425, 426. There is a letter from John Gordon to the Regent Moray, containing political intelligence. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. 1, 76. And another to John Foxe, on literary topics. Harl. MSS. 416. A poem by him is prefixed to "Plaidoyé pour M. Jean Hamilton." And a poem in praise of him is inserted in Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 174. A list of his works may be formed from Wood's Fasti, Bliss's edit. p. 131, and Charters' Account of Scots Divines, p. 3. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.

[4] Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 120. Melvini Musæ, p. 24.

The two Scottish archbishops, Gladstanes and Spotswood, with others of the court party, came to London, to be present at the intended conferences. A rumour prevailed that the king purposed to have the questions at issue publicly disputed, and to renew the scene in which he had himself acted so conspicuous a part at Hampton Court three years before. Melville and his fellows resolved not to engage in any such foolish contest. They had no authority to appear as champions for the Church of Scotland, and were not so arrogant as to take this character upon them. The English divines had no right to interfere with their controversies; and, if they chose to dispute, were in no want of antagonists among their own countrymen. And as for those who had come from Scotland, they were not entitled to reason against a government which they had so recently approved by their subscriptions, and sworn to maintain. The ministers were not, however, urged with any proposal of this nature. They received at this time a letter from their brethren who were prisoners in Blackness, expressing the confidence which they reposed in their wisdom and constancy; and charging them not to yield up any part of the liberties of the Church of Scotland, with the view of purchasing for *them* either a pardon or a mitigation of punishment.[1]

The king shortened his progress, and returned to London sooner than was expected, to meet with the ministers.[2] They were introduced to him at Hampton Court on the 20th of September, and were allowed to kiss his hand. His majesty conversed with them familiarly for a considerable time; inquired after the news of the country; and jocularly rallied Balfour on the length of his beard, which, he alleged, had grown prodigiously since he had the pleasure of seeing it in Scotland. and would give him, he was afraid, rather a Turk-like look in London.[3]

Two days after they were sent for to Hampton Court. On their arrival from their lodgings at Kingston, they were courteously received by Archbishop Bancroft, who left the room as soon as the king entered with the members of the Scottish privy council. His majesty stated at large the reasons which had induced him to send for the ministers, and concluded by intimating that there were two points on which he demanded an explicit declaration of their judgment: the one was, the late pretended Assembly at Aberdeen, including the behaviour of those who had held it; and the other was, the best means of obtaining a peaceable meeting of that judicatory for establishing good order and tranquillity in the church. James Melville, after offering the compliments and congratulations which were suited to the occasion, requested in the name

[1] Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, pp. 113, 114.

[2] Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 348.

[3] I have taken my account of the transactions at London and Hampton Court chiefly from the narratives of two of the ministers, James Melville and William Scot, who kept registers of everything that happened. Calderwood borrows from James Melville. Some important particulars are supplied by the despatches of the French ambassador, M. de la Boderie, who appears to have taken an interest in the affair, and had access to good information by his residence at court, and by means of M. de la Fontaine, one of the ministers of the French church at London, and a great intelligencer. Spotswood's account is general.

of his brethren, that they might have time allowed them to deliberate on the answer which they should return to his majesty's questions. They were required to be ready with their answers on the following day.

On entering the presence-chamber next day, they found it crowded with the principal persons about court. Melville suggested to the Earl of Dunbar the impropriety of their being brought before such a promiscuous assembly; as his majesty might be offended at their uttering their sentiments, before the English nobility, according to the free manner to which they were accustomed in Scotland. But he was told that the arrangements were already made, and cautioned to be on his guard against saying anything that was indiscreet or disrespectful in the presence of such honourable strangers. The king took his seat, with the prince on his one hand, and the Archbishop of Canterbury on the other. Around him were placed the Earls of Salisbury, Suffolk, Worcester, Nottingham, and Northampton, Lords Stanhope, and Knolles, with other Englishmen of rank; besides all the Scottish nobility who were at court. Behind the tapestry and at the doors of the apartment stood several English bishops and deans, who discovered themselves when the conversation became animated. The ministers had previously agreed to return a common answer by the mouth of James Melville. But his majesty intimated that it behoved each individual to speak for himself; and beginning with the Scottish bishops and commissioners, he asked them what their opinion was concerning the Assembly at Aberdeen. They all answered briefly, in their turn, that they condemned it as turbulent, factious, and unlawful. Then, addressing Melville, his majesty said: "You hear that your brethren cannot justify these men nor their Assembly. What say you, Mr Andrew? Think you that a small number of eight or nine, met without any warrant, wanting the chief members, the moderator and scribe, convening unmannerly without a sermon, being also discharged by open proclamation,—can these make an Assembly, or not?" To this Melville replied in a speech of nearly an hour's length, delivered with much freedom and spirit, and at the same time with much respect. As for himself, (he said), he had for a number of years been debarred from attending on General Assemblies and all public meetings; but, as it was his majesty's will, he would endeavour to give him satisfaction on the different objections which he had stated. With respect to the paucity of members, there was no rule fixing the precise number; two or three met in the name of Christ had the promise of his presence; an ordinary meeting of a court established by law could not be declared unlawful on account of its thinness; and those who met at Aberdeen were sufficiently numerous for proroguing the Assembly to a future day, which was all that they did, and all that they had proposed to do. As to their warrant, it was founded on Scripture, his majesty's laws, and the commissions which they received from their presbyteries. The presence of the former moderator and clerk was not

essential to the validity of the Assembly, which, in case these office-bearers were either necessarily or wilfully absent, might, according to reason and the practice of the church, choose others in their room. His majesty must have been misinformed when he said there was no sermon; for one of the ministers of Aberdeen preached at the opening of the meeting. As to the alleged discharge of the Assembly on the day before it met (turning to Lauriston, who was the King's Commissioner on that occasion), he said, in a tone of solemn fervour, "I charge you, Sir, in the name of the Church of Scotland, as you will answer before the great God at the appearance of Jesus Christ to judge the quick and the dead, to testify the truth, and tell whether there was any such discharge given, or not." He paused for a reply; but Lauriston remained mute, and the king, fain to break the painful silence which ensued, requested Melville to go on to state his reasons for not condemning the conduct of the ministers. "If it please your majesty to hear me, I have these reasons. First, I am but a private man, come here upon your majesty's letter, without any commission from the Church of Scotland; and as nobody has made me a judge, I cannot take upon me to condemn them. Secondly, your majesty hath, by your proclamation at Hampton Court," (here he produced and read the proclamation), "remitted their trial to a General Assembly; expecting there a reparation of wrongs, if any have been done. I cannot prejudge the Church and Assembly of my vote, which if I give now, I shall be sure to have my mouth shut then, as by experience I and others, my brethren, have found before. Thirdly, *Res non est integra, sed hactenus judicata* by your majesty's council; whether rightly or not I remit to God, before whom one day they must appear and answer for that sentence. I think your majesty will not be content that I should now contradict your council and their proceedings. Fourthly, how can I condemn my brethren, *indicta causa,* not hearing their accusers objecting against them, and themselves answering?"

The speeches of the other ministers agreed with that of Melville; and what was omitted by one was recollected and supplied by another. The king exhibited evident symptoms of uneasiness, and an anxiety to bring the conference to a close. James Melville, at the conclusion of his speech, presented a supplication which had been transmitted to him from the condemned ministers. His majesty glanced over it, and said with an angry smile, "I am glad that this has been given in." An interruption by Sir Thomas Hamilton, the Lord Advocate, led to a legal argument between him and Scot on the trial of the ministers for treason, in the course of which the lawyer was thought by all to be worsted at his own weapons.[1] Indignant at hearing that most flagrant scene of iniquity vindicated in the presence of his majesty and such an honourable audience, Melville fell on his knees, and requested permission to

[1] Several of the English nobility made handsome offers to William Scot, provided he would consent to remain in England. Life of Scot, p. 7; Wodrow's MSS. vol. iv.

speak a second time. Having obtained it, he gave himself up to all his native fire and vehemence, and astonished the English nobility and clergy with a torrent of bold, impassioned, impetuous eloquence, to which they were altogether strangers. Throwing aside the reserve which he had studied in his former speech, he avowed his belief of the complete innocence of his brethren, and justified their proceedings. He recounted the wrongs which had been done them on their trial, of which he was an eye and ear witness. Addressing the Lord Advocate, he charged him with having favoured trafficking priests, and screened from punishment his uncle, John Hamilton, who had been banished from France, and branded as an incendiary by the parliaments of that kingdom; while he employed all his craft and eloquence to convict the unoffending and righteous servants of Christ. The arch-enemy himself, he said, could not have done more against the saints of God, than he had done against these good men at Linlithgow; and not contented with the part which he had then acted, he behoved still to show himself Ὁ Κατηγορος των Αδελφων.[1] At this expression the king, turning to the Archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "What's that he said? I think he calls him Antichrist. Nay, by God; it is the devil's name in the Revelation of the well-beloved John." Then rising hastily, he said, "God be with you, sirs." But, recollecting himself, he turned round to the ministers, and asked them what advice they had to give him for pacifying the dissensions raised in the church; to which they replied with one voice, *A free General Assembly.*

The ministers were dismissed with unequivocal marks of approbation on the part of those who were present. The English nobility, who had not been accustomed to see the king addressed with such freedom, could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the boldness with which Melville and his associates delivered their sentiments before such an audience, at the harmony of views which appeared in all their speeches, and the readiness and pertinency of the replies which they made to every objection with which they were urged. The reports of the conference which were circulated through the city made a strong impression in their favour. They had the effect of dispelling the cloud of prejudice which had been raised against them and their brethren; and convinced the impartial that, instead of being the turbulent, discontented, and unreasonable men they had been represented to be, they were only claiming their undoubted rights, and standing up for the ecclesiastical liberties of their country against the lawless encroachments of arbitrary power.[2]

They had scarcely reached Kingston when they were overtaken by

[1] "Il y en a un entr'autres," says the French ambassador to Marquis de Sillery, "qui lui a parlé avec un etrange liberté en toutes les occasions; & sur ce que l'Avocat Général d'Ecosse voulut prendre la parole dernierement contre icelui en la présence du Roi même, il en eut la tête lavée de telle façon, que le Roi & lui demeurerent sans replique." Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.

[2] Melville's History of the Declining Age, pp. 121—124, 141. Scot's Apolog. Narration, p. 177—180. Spotswood, pp. 497, 498.

Secretary Hay, who read to them, in the court before their lodging, a charge not to return to Scotland, nor to approach the court of the king, queen, or prince, without special license. On the 28th of September they were sent for to the Scottish council, assembled in the Earl of Dunbar's lodgings. James Melville was first called in, and was urged by the Lord Advocate with certain ensnaring questions relating to his opinions and conduct. He refused to answer them. "I am a free subject," said he, "of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of its own as free as any kingdom in the world: to them I will stand. There hath been no summons executed against me. The noblemen here sitting and I are not in our own country. The charge *super inquirendis* was abolished and declared long since to be iniquitous and unjust. I am bound by no law or reason to accuse myself." He besought the noblemen present to remember who they were, and to deal with him (though a mean man yet a free-born Scotchman) as they would themselves wish to be used, according to the laws of Scotland. He told the Lord Advocate, who endeavoured to entangle him with legal quibbling, that, though no lawyer, he was endued with some portion of natural wit, and had in his time both learned and taught logic. "Mr James," said Dunbar, "will ye not deign to give an answer for his majesty's satisfaction?"—"With all reverence, my lord, I will," replied he; "provided the questions be set down, and I may have time to advise on the answers." Melville was called in last. He told the members of the council, "that they knew not what they were doing; and that they had degenerated from the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to hazard their lands and lives for the freedom of their country and the gospel, which their sons were now betraying and seeking to overthrow."[1] If they were at all capable of serious reflection, the Scottish nobility must have blushed at their conduct on the present occasion, in forgetting so far what was due to their rank and place as to consent to become the instruments of the court, and of a few ambitious churchmen, to circumvent men who had been insidiously drawn from their homes, and entrap them into declarations which were afterwards to be used against them as criminal charges. They ought plainly to have told their master, that it was neither for his own honour nor that of his native kingdom (which his new subjects were but too much disposed to contemn), to have men of such character detained there as suspected persons, and his differences with them exposed to the observation of English peers and prelates; and that, if they were to be held as criminals, they should be sent home to be tried by their own laws, and before their proper judges. If true nobility consists in that high and independent spirit which, whether produced by the recollection of the deeds of ancestry or by other causes, spurns everything which is dishonourable to the individual or to his country,

[1] Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, 132—134. Scot, 180, 181. Report of the Conferences, Sept. 1606. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 49.

then Melville and his companions showed themselves to be, at this time, the nobles of Scotland.

The ministers received in writing the following questions, to which they were required to return answers. First, whether they had not transgressed their duty by praying for their condemned brethren, and whether they were willing to crave his majesty's pardon for this offence. Second, whether they acknowledged that his majesty, in virtue of his royal prerogative, had full power to convocate, prorogue, and dismiss all ecclesiastical assemblies within his dominions. And, third, whether he had not a lawful right, by his royal authority, to call before him and his council all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, for whatsoever faults; and whether all the subjects are not bound to appear, answer, and obey, in the premises. Each of the eight ministers, as directed by the council, gave in answers to the questions. They expressed themselves guardedly, so as not to give the court any advantage against them, but without sacrificing their own convictions or compromising the principles of the Church of Scotland. Along with the answers they presented a joint paper, containing their advice as to the best mode of putting an end to the ecclesiastical feuds with which their native country was agitated.[1]

They were now entitled to expect that they should obtain liberty to return to their homes. They had testified their obedience to his majesty by coming to London. They had attended all the conferences which he had been pleased to appoint. They had returned answers to the questions which he had proposed to them. They had given him their best advice for re-establishing the peace of the church. If this was not acceptable to his majesty, and if he chose to act in a different manner, it was at least incumbent on him, in point of justice and of good faith, to dismiss men whom he had called to his presence in the character of advisers, and not of criminals or suspected persons. But nothing was less intended than this. Their stay was arbitrarily and indefinitely prolonged; and all the arts of the court were put in practice to corrupt and disunite them. Salisbury and Bancroft held interviews with such of them as were thought most complying, and endeavoured to detach them from their brethren.[2] When this method failed, spies were set on their conduct;[3] and they were brought into situations in which they might be tempted to say or do something which would afford a pretext for committing them to prison.

His majesty had selected such of the English dignitaries as were most eminent for their pulpit talents, and appointed them to preach in

[1] Melville, 136, 142. Scot, 180—187.

[2] Melville, p. 140. Row, p. 101. Livingston, Charact. art. William Scot. "Je n'eusse jamais crus," says the French ambassador, "qu'ils eussent résisté de la sorte; car il n'y a eu voie que l'on n'ait tenue pour les gagner. Les disputes y ont été employées, ou ledit Roi a deployé tout ce qu'il a sçu. L'on en est venu aux offres & aux promesses, et depuis aux menaces à bon escient; mais tout a été en vain, n'ayant jamais iceux Ministres voulu consentir à aucune des propositions que ledit Roi leur a fait; tellement qu'il est constraint de les laisser là." Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 435.

[3] Melville's Decl. Age, p. 146.

the royal chapel, during the conferences, on the leading points of difference between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches. The Scottish ministers received orders to attend these sermons, and were regularly conducted, like penitentiaries, to a seat prepared for them, in which they might devoutly listen to the instructions of their titled converters. Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, began with a sermon in defence of the antiquity and superiority of bishops, which the ministers characterised as "a confutation of his text."[1] Dr Buckridge, President of St John's College, preached the second sermon, which was intended to prove the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It was chiefly borrowed from Bilson's book on that subject, with this addition, that the preacher confounded the doctrine of the Presbyterians with that of the Papists. The third sermon was preached by Dr Andrews, Bishop of Chichester, on the *silver trumpets* which were blown by the priests at the Jewish convocations, from which his lordship, to the amazement of the ministers, undertook to prove that the convocating of ecclesiastical councils and synods belongs properly to Christian emperors and kings.[2] Dr King, Dean of Christ's Church, closed this pulpit show by an attack upon the lay elders of the Church of Scotland. Collier says that the sermon, "tho' somewhat remote from the words" of his text, was "suitable to the occasion." But the truth is, that the text was as suitable to the occasion as the sermon was. It was very ingeniously taken from the Canticles—"Solomon had a vineyard at Baalhamon; he let out the vineyard unto keepers;"[3] and it afforded the preacher an excellent opportunity of paying due compliments to the modern Solomon, the grand *Lay Elder* of the Church of England, who, in virtue of his royal unction, possessed more ecclesiastical authority than all the mitred and cassocked clergy in his kingdom. If this "king of preachers" (as his majesty used wittily to call him) had at this time an eye to that rich spot of "the vineyard" which was afterwards "let out" to him, he could not have forwarded his object better than by railing, as he did in this sermon, against presbyteries, and crying to his majesty, *Down, down with them.*[4] Lest the court preachers should have failed in setting forth all the virtues of an English monarch, the ministers, on leaving the chapel, were conducted, by the Dean of Sarum, into the royal closet, where they had the gratification of seeing James touch a number of children for the cure of the king's evil.[5]

[1] His text was Acts, xx. 28. The sermon was "written and fynely compacted in a little book, whilk he had alwayes in his hand for help of his memorie." Melville's Decl. Age, p. 120. Melville composed a satirical epigram on it. Musæ, p. 23. And Barlow retaliated by a versified pun upon his satirist's name. Walton's Lives, Zouch's edit. p. 353. [2] Melvini Musæ, p. 23.

[3] Song viii. 11, 12. Nobody can doubt that the author of *Vitis Palatina* was capable of making a very amusing sermon on this text, and one very gratifying to his royal master.

[4] Melville's Decl. Age, p. 135.

[5] Melville, 134. One of the panegyrists of James has very seriously alluded to this royal virtue in the following lines:—

O happy Britaines, that thus have in One
A just, wise Prince, a prompt Philosopher,
A pregnant Poet, a Phisition,
A deepe Divine, a sweet tongued Orator;
A curer both of Kings and poore mans Evill;
What would ye more? a chaser of the Devill.

The Laudable Life and Deplorable Death of our late peerlesse Prince Henry—By J. M. [James Maxwell] Master of Artes, Lond. 1612.

Though the episcopal orations had been more able and more convincing than they really were, it was not to be expected that they would make a favourable impression on those for whom they were immediately intended. The circumstances in which they were delivered were calculated to awaken prejudices which are neither weak nor dishonourable. If ever the Church of England had her days of chivalry, they had then passed by; else her champions would have deemed it foul scorn to attack antagonists who were not at liberty to defend themselves or to return the blows which they received, and day after day to crow like cravens over men who sat bound and shackled before them. Considering that the ministers were constrained to attend, who could have blamed them greatly, if, forgetting the sacredness, not of the place (for they had no such silly scruples), but of the service for which they were professedly met, they had at the moment given expression to what they felt at hearing the church to which they belonged so indecently assailed? They listened, however, with the most respectful attention: they even took down notes from the mouth of the preacher. But they did not scruple to declare, after the service was over, that they thought the sermons very lame in point of argument; and insisted that they should be printed, that they might have an opportunity of answering them.[1] They were all printed; but when the ministers were preparing to reply, they were ordered to separate, and to take up their lodgings with the bishops.[2]

On the 28th of September they were required by a message from his majesty to be in the Royal Chapel early next day; and Melville and his nephew received a particular charge not to be absent. It was the festival of St Michael, one of the *Dii minorum gentium* of the English, and was celebrated with much superstitious pomp. Several foreigners of distinction were present, among whom was the Prince de Vaudemont, son to the Duke of Lorraine, and commander of the Venetian army. On entering the chapel, James Melville whispered to his uncle that he suspected a design to ensnare them and put their patience to the test. The chapel resounded with all kinds of music. On the altar were placed two shut books, two empty chalices, and two candlesticks with unlighted candles. And the king and queen approached it with great ceremony, and presented their offerings. When the service was over the Prince de Vaudemont said, he did not see what should hinder the Churches of Rome and England to unite; and one of his attendants exclaimed, "There is nothing of the mass wanting here but the adoration of the host."[3] On returning to his lodgings, Melville composed the following verses on the scene which he had just witnessed:—

[1] The First of the Foure Sermons preached —at Hampton Court in September last—by William Lord Bishop of Rochester. Lond. 1607. In the prefatory address, "To the Ministers of Scotland, my Fellow Dispensers of Gods Misteries," Barlow mentions the facts stated in the text.

[2] Melville's Hist. p. 147.

[3] Melville, 131, 132. Scot, 180. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 82.

Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo regia in ara,
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum,
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano an ritu dum regalem instruit aram,
Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam?[1]

By means of some of the court spies, who frequented the house in which the ministers lodged, a copy of these verses was conveyed to his majesty, who was, or affected to be, highly incensed at them; and it was immediately resolved to proceed against their author.

On the 30th of November he was summoned to Whitehall, and brought before the privy council of England. His majesty did not attend, but one or two Scottish noblemen were present. Melville frankly acknowledged that he had made an epigram, of which that which was now shown him was an inaccurate copy. He had composed it, he said, under feelings of indignation and grief at seeing such superstitious vanity in a reformed church, under a king who had been brought up in the pure light of the gospel, and before strangers who could not but be confirmed in their idolatry by what they witnessed at Hampton Court on the occasion referred to. It was his intention to embrace the first opportunity of speaking to his majesty on the subject, and to show him the verses. He had given out no copy of them, and he could not conceive how they had been conveyed to his majesty. He was not conscious of any crime in what he had done. But if he had committed an offence, he ought to be tried for it in his own country: as a Scotchman, he was not bound to answer before the council of England, particularly as the king, his sovereign, was not present. The Archbishop of Canterbury, addressing him, began to aggravate the offence, arguing that such a libel on the worship of the Church of England was a high misdemeanor, and even brought the offender within the laws of treason. This was too much for Melville to bear from a man of whom he had so unfavourable an opinion as Bancroft. He interrupted the primate. "My lords," exclaimed he, "Andrew Melville was never a traitor. But, my lords, there was one Richard Bancroft (let him be sought for), who, during the life of the late queen, wrote a treatise against his majesty's title to the crown of England; and *here* (pulling the *corpus delicti* from his pocket), *here* is the book, which was answered by my brother John Davidson."[2] Bancroft was thrown into the utmost

[1] For the sake of the English reader, who may be desirous to know the treason included in these lines, the following old translation of them, which, though flat, conveys the sense, may be added:—

Why stand there on the Royal Altar hie
Two closed books, blind lights, two basins drie?
Doth England hold God's mind and worship closs,
Blind of her sight, and buried in her dross?
Doth she, with Chapel put in Romish dress,
The purple whore religiously express?

Melvini Musæ, p. 24. In this work there are, besides the verses given in the text, a poem by John Gordon, and two by John Barclay, author of Argenis, in defence of the *Royal Altar:* and five by Melville in reply. It may admit of a doubt whether the poems which bear the names of Gordon and Barclay were really written by them, or whether the whole were composed by Melville in the form of a poetical *just* or mock encounter. The noted Poetical Duellist, Dr Eglisham, attacked Melville's Epigram on the Altar. The edition of his *Duellum Poeticum*, printed in 1618, bears on the title, "Adjectis prophilacticis adversus Andreæ Melvini Cavillum in Aram Regiam, aliisque Epigrammatis."

[2] Row repeatedly refers to this treatise of

confusion by this bold and unexpected attack. In the mean time, Melville went on to charge the archbishop with his delinquencies. He accused him of profaning the Sabbath, of maintaining an antichristian hierarchy, and vain, foppish, superstitious ceremonies; and of silencing and imprisoning the true preachers of the gospel for scrupling to conform to these. Advancing gradually as he spoke to the head of the table where Bancroft sat, he took hold of the lawn sleeves of the primate, and shaking them, and calling them *Romish rags*, he said, "If you are the author of the book called 'English Scottizing for Geneva Discipline,' then I regard you as the capital enemy of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, and as such I will profess myself an enemy to you and to your proceedings, to the effusion of the last drop of my blood: and it grieves me that such a man should have his majesty's ear, and sit so high in this honourable council." It was a considerable time before any of the council recovered from their astonishment so far as to think of interposing between the poor primate and his incensed accuser. Bishop Barlow at last stepped in; but he was handled in the same unceremonious way. Melville attacked his narrative of the Hampton Court Conference, and accused him of representing the king as of no religion, by making him say that, "though he was *in* the Church of Scotland he was not *of* it."[1] He then proceeded to make strictures on the sermon which he had heard Barlow preach in the Royal Chapel. "Remember where you are, and to whom you are speaking," said one of the Scottish noblemen. "I remember it very well, my lord," replied Melville, "and am only sorry that your lordship, by sitting here and countenancing such proceedings against me, should furnish a precedent which may yet be used against yourself or your posterity."

He was at last removed, and his brethren were called in. The Lord Chancellor, apprehending that all the Scottish ministers might be equally fiery as the individual who had just been before them, addressed James Melville and Wallace in the mildest and most complimentary style,[2] and took the task of interrogating them from the primate, that he might conduct it himself in a less offensive manner. They confirmed the testimony of Melville, that no copy of the verses had, so far as they knew, been given out. After the council had deliberated for some time, Melville was again called in; and, having been admonished by the chancellor to add modesty and discretion to his learning and years, was told that he had been found guilty of *scandalum magnatum*, and was to be committed to the custody of the Dean of St Paul's, until the pleasure of the king, as to his farther punishment, should be known. A warrant was immediately issued to the dean, Dr Overall, to receive the prisoner into his house, to suffer none to have access to him, and to

Bancroft, and Davidson's answer to it. Hist. pp. 85, 347. Bancroft's work is also mentioned by John Forbes. Hist. of the Ref. p. 33.

[1] An English writer has used much stronger language in animadverting on this expression. Toplady's Hist. Proof, ii. 233.

[2] "Fearing," says James Melville, "as it appeared in using such charming, that force of spirit, whilk he needed not."

confer with him at convenient times on those points on which he differed from the church established by law, for his better satisfaction and conformity.[1]

Having got the man of whom they chiefly stood in awe confined, and received assurances that his brethren would be detained at London, the Scottish bishops posted home to hold a packed Assembly. After all their preparations, they durst not allow a free election of representatives of the church. Missives were addressed by the king to the several presbyteries, desiring them to send such persons as he named to Linlithgow on the 10th of December, to consult with certain noblemen and members of the privy council on the means of preventing the increase of popery and curing the distractions of the church. In some presbyteries three and in others six individuals were picked out, according as each had a smaller or greater number of members favourable to the measures of the court; and private letters were addressed to them commanding their attendance at Linlithgow, whether they received a commission from their constituents or not. Feeling this to be an insult on them, as well as an invasion of their rights, some presbyteries refused to give any commission to the nominees of the court, while others positively interdicted them from taking part in the judicial decision of any ecclesiastical question.[2] The powers of a General Assembly were, however, assumed by this illegitimate body. The commissioners who acted on the part of his majesty presented a letter from him, in which he declared it to be "his advice and pleasure" that "one of the most godly and grave and meetest for government" should presently be nominated as moderator of each presbytery, to continue in that office until the jars among the ministers were removed, and the popish noblemen reclaimed; and that the bishops should be moderators of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided. Inclined as most of the members were to gratify the king, this proposal met at first with considerable opposition. It was seen that the new office was a mere stalking-horse to enable the bishops to gain that pre-eminence which they durst not directly assume; or, in the language of some of those who opposed the measure, "the *constant moderators* were the little thieves entering at the narrow windows to open the doors to the great thieves."[3] To silence these objections his majesty's commissioners assured the Assembly that he had no intention to subvert the established church government. The

[1] Melville's History of Declining Age, p. 147—151. Scot's Apolog. Narration, pp. 188, 189. Row's Historie, pp. 103—105, 346—348. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, i. 456, 458. The warrant to Dr Overall may be seen in Dr Zouch's edition of Walton's Lives, p. 351, note.

[2] "We, the presb^rie of Hadingtoū, vnderstanding that our brethren, Mr James Carmichael, Mr David Ogill, and James Reid are to repair at his hienes comaund, upon the tenth of this instant, to ane meting of the nobilitie in Linlithgow, and considering *quod omnes tangit debet ab ōnibus curarj, ut quod culpa non careat, qui rei se miscet ad se non pertinenti;* Be thir presents dischargis y^e said brethren to vote, conclude, or determine of onie things the decision q^rof pertenis to ane Generall Assemblie, and comand thame in our name w^t all humilitie to requeist the nobilitie thair convenit to be suteris to his ma^tie That ane frie Generall Assemblie may be convocatt as y^e only remeid of all these evillis mentioned in his hienes letter." Record of Presb. of Haddington, Dec. 8, 1606.

[3] Course of Conformity, p. 50.

bishops repeated their deceitful protestations, that "it was not their intention to usurp any tyrannous and unlawful jurisdiction over their brethren," and that they would "submit to the censure of the church."[1] A variety of cautions, similar to those which had formerly been imposed on the voters in parliament, and brought forward with the same fraudulent design, were agreed to. The zeal of his majesty against popery was loudly proclaimed; and hopes were given that he would listen to the intercessions which the Assembly had agreed to make in behalf of the ministers who were in confinement. By these means the strength of the opposition was broken, and the measure carried by an overwhelming majority. When the act of Assembly was afterwards published, it bore that the bishops were to be moderators of provincial synods as well as of presbyteries; and there is great probability in the allegation, that this clause was interpolated after the minutes were sent to London and submitted to his majesty's revision.[2]

This Assembly was opened by Law, bishop of Orkney, with a sermon on these words, *Pray for the peace of Jerusalem;* and it was closed with the warmest expressions of thanksgiving and gratulation on account of the uncommon spirit of union and harmony which had been displayed in all its deliberations. None are so loud in their praises of peace as those who are pursuing courses which directly tend to violate it; and in their dialect those are the men of peace who yield a tame submission to all the impositions of authority, or who obsequiously follow in the train of a ruling faction, at the expense of abandoning principle and sacrificing the public good. No sooner was the Assembly over than the different synods and presbyteries received legal charges to admit the constant moderators. All the synods but one, whose name I need not repeat, refused; and their refusal was imitated by a number of presbyteries. Ministers in all parts of the country were thrown into prison, or declared rebels and forced to abscond for a time; and in some places the most disgraceful scenes were exhibited, in consequence of the firmness of the church courts and the violence of the agents of government.[3]

There is not a more pitiable situation than that of a good man who has suffered himself to become the tool of an unprincipled faction, and who has not courage to break through the toils in which he has been unwarily caught; whose character is used to sanctify actions which he reprobates, and whose services are demanded to carry into execution schemes of which he never cordially approved, and which he every day sees more and more reason to condemn. Such was the unhappy situation of James Nicolson. The way in which he was led to desert his early friends has been already stated.[4] From that time he had taken a leading part in forwarding the designs of the court against the liberties

[1] Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 219.
[2] Buik of the Universall Kirk, 218, b,—221. Calderwood, vi. 1239—1266; vii. 45—60. Melville, Decl. Age, p. 151—154. Scot, p. 189—196. Row, p. 105—110. Spotswood, p. 500—502.
[3] Printed Calderwood, p. 565—569.
[4] See above, pp. 199, 200.

of the church; although his behaviour occasionally gave symptoms that "all was not at peace within." After long hesitation he had lately been prevailed on to accept a bishopric. In imposing the acts of the Assembly of Linlithgow, of which he was moderator, he had to brook mortifications which caused him to be pitied even by those who were most offended at his defection from the presbyterian cause. Soon after this he sickened, and on his death-bed expressed the keenest regret for the course he had taken. When his friends proposed sending for a physician, he exclaimed, "Send for King James: it is the digesting of the bishopric that has wracked my stomach." He would not allow his episcopal titles to be put into his testament; and earnestly exhorted his brother-in-law to keep aloof from the court, and not to become a bishop; "for if you do," said he, "you must resolve to take the will of your sovereign for the law of your conscience."[1]

Melville remained under the surveillance of the Dean of St Paul's until the 9th of March, 1607, when he received an order from the privy council to remove to the house of the Bishop of Winchester. The messenger having retired without insisting on accompanying him immediately to the dwelling of his new overseer, he took the liberty of visiting his brethren; and, as the court was then entirely occupied in managing the House of Commons, which had shown symptoms of refractoriness, he was allowed to remain with them for several weeks.[2] They had found means to excuse themselves from taking up their residence in the houses of the bishops, but the order formerly issued to that effect was now renewed. For the confinement of Melville some pretext had been found in the charge brought against him, and the legal proceedings founded on it. In the case of the other ministers nothing of this kind could be alleged. Accordingly, they highly resented this unprovoked encroachment on their liberty. They wrote to Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of council, desiring to know the grounds on which it proceeded; but he could assign no cause. They waited on the Bishop of Durham, who received them in such a manner as was not calculated to give them high ideas of the welcome which they might expect from their episcopal hosts.[3] They then addressed a spirited remonstrance to the privy council of England. They complained of being detained in that country, to the impairing of their health, the wasting of their substance, and the heavy injury of their families and flocks. They protested against the late order of council as a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of their native

[1] Scot, p. 205. Simson, 116. Epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 776. Wodrow's Life of Nicolson, pp. 3, 4; MSS. vol. ii. His Testament runs thus: "I, Mr James Nicolson, Minist[r] at Megill," &c., without any mention of his episcopal office. "He deceased in the moneth of August 1607," and left a widow, Jane Ramsay, and three children, James, Margaret, and Bessie. Commissary Record of Edinburgh.

[2] Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 171.

[3] His lordship told James Melville, who was appointed to be his guest, that, in order to receive him, it would be necessary to put a gentleman out of his chamber and two servants into one bed. He invited two of the ministers to dine with him, but before the day came sent a message, saying, that it was not convenient for him to receive them. Melville, *ut supra*, p. 161—164.

country, and of the principles of justice, which forbid any man to be deprived of his freedom as long as he is unaccused and uncondemned. It could be considered in no other light, they said, than as a punishment, and for their part they would sooner submit to banishment or imprisonment in a common jail. They were pastors of the Church of Scotland, long renowned among the churches of the Reformation; they had houses and incomes of their own with which they were contented; and it was repugnant to their personal feelings, discreditable to their function and the church to which they belonged, and not very honourable to their sovereign and native country, for them to "feed like belly-gods at the table of strangers," exchange the character of masters and teachers for that of bondmen and scholars, and appear to the world to approve of what they and their religious connections had always condemned. Wherein had they offended? Was it expected that they should do violence to their judgment and conscience to give his majesty satisfaction? They knew of no principles held by them which were not sanctioned by the ecclesiastical and civil laws of Scotland. But if it were otherwise, they craved that they might be sent home to be admonished of their errors by their own church, without putting the lord bishops of England to trouble with them.[1]

The council referred them to the Archbishop of Canterbury for an answer to their petition; in consequence of which two of them went to Lambeth. His grace received them with all the affability of a courtier, and conversed on the subjects which gave them so much pain with the ease and *sang froid* of a politician who knows that his power is firmly established, and that all his measures will be carried into execution. Judging from the exterior of his conduct on this occasion, one could scarcely suppose that he was the same individual who had persecuted the English Puritans, and thrown so much abuse on the principles and proceedings of the presbyterian church in Scotland. When the ministers were introduced, he ordered his attendants to withdraw. He apologised for the order of council of which they complained, by alleging that it was intended to provide them with accommodation suitable to their station, seeing it was not the king's pleasure that they should yet return to their own country. James Melville having stated their reasons for declining this compelled courtesy, the primate acknowledged their force, and said that the bishops themselves did not relish the proposal, though they acquiesced in it to please his majesty: "for," added he, "our custom is, after serious matters, to refresh ourselves an hour or two with cards or other games;[2] but ye are more precise." Changing the subject, he asked them if it would not be desirable to have the two churches united under the same government. They replied that it

[1] The Order of Privy Council warranting the bishops to receive the ministers, the letter of the ministers to Sir Anthony Ashley, with his answer, and their petition to the Council, are all inserted in Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 157—167.

[2] It seems the bishops avowedly violated those canons, the transgression of which, in the most unimportant circumstances, they punished so severely in the Puritans. See the Canons of 1603, in Wilkins' Concilia, tom. ii. p. 393.

certainly would, provided the union was accomplished on sound and scriptural grounds; but there was great danger of widening the breach by injudicious attempts to close it. "We will not reason upon that matter now," said the archbishop; "but I am sure we both hold the grounds of true religion, and are brethren in Christ, and so should behave ourselves toward each other. We differ only in forms of government in the church and some ceremonies; and, as I understand, since ye came from Scotland, your church is brought almost to be one with ours in that also; for I am certified there are constant moderators appointed in your general assemblies, synods and presbyteries." His grace went on for a long time in this strain of affected moderation, but real insolence; not neglecting to say that he was in a better state when he was but Richard Bancroft than now when he was Archbishop of Canterbury. Scot thought it necessary to reply; and began with saying, that they could not relinquish their ecclesiastical discipline with a *good conscience*. But the primate interrupted him with a gracious smile; and, tapping him kindly on the shoulder, said, "Tush, man; here, take a cup of *good sack*." And filling the cup, and "holding the napkin himself," he made them drink.[1] So, with many flattering expressions and courtly promises to intercede with his majesty in their behalf, his grace dismissed them.[2]

The unjust judge in the parable was induced to do the widow an act of justice to be rid of her troublesome importunities. The privy council of England adopted an opposite course; and, as the Scottish ministers persisted in demanding that they should either be proved criminal or treated as innocent, they resolved to terminate the affair by one act of summary injustice.

On the morning of the 26th of April a servant of the Earl of Salisbury came to the house in the Bow where the ministers were lodged, and delivered a message, requesting Melville to speak with his master at his chambers in Whitehall. Viewing the message in a friendly light, Melville made himself ready, and set out with all expedition. His nephew, who was more suspicious, followed him as soon as he had dressed himself, to the palace, accompanied by Scot and Wallace. Melville came to the inn when he understood of their arrival, and told them that he had waited two hours without being able to see the premier. By this time he had been informed that he was to appear before the English council, but did not wish to alarm his friends. "Why do you ask the reason of his lordship's message?" said he; "no doubt he wishes me to dine with him. But I shall disappoint him; for I mean to take my repast with you." At table he exerted himself to cheer their spirits; acquainted them with the meditations on the second psalm in which he had indulged during his walk in the gallery of the palace; and recited

[1] Osborne says, Bancroft was "characterised for a *jovial doctor*." Secret History of the Court of James I. vol. i. p. 65. Warner taxes him with want of hospitality. Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 496.

[2] Melville, 168—170. Row, 101, 102. Cald. vii. 14—16.

the verses which he had made on St George, the tutelary saint of England, whose festival had lately been celebrated with much foolish pageantry. James Melville, who at that moment could have wished that his uncle had never composed a couplet, addressed him in the words of Ovid :—

Si saperem, doctas odissem jure sorores,
Numina cultori perniciosa suo.

To which he replied with his usual promptitude, in the next words of the poet:—

Sed nunc (tanta meo comes est insauia morbo)
Saxa (malum !) refero rursus ad icta pedem.[1]

"Well," said his nephew, "eat your dinner, and be of good courage, for I have no doubt you are to be called before the council for your altar-verses."—"My heart is full and swells," replied he; "and I would be glad to have that occasion to disburden it, and to speak all my mind plainly to them, for their dishonouring of Christ and ruining of so many souls by bearing down the purity of the gospel and maintaining popish superstition and corruptions." "I warrand you," said James Melville, who was anxious to repress his fervour, "they know you will speak your mind freely; and therefore have sent for you that they may find a pretext to keep you from going home to Scotland."—"If God have any service for me there, he will bring me home: if not, let me glorify Him wherever I be. I have often said to you, cousin, He hath some part to play with us on this theatre." As he said this, a messenger entered, and acquainted him that the Earl of Salisbury wished to see him. "I have waited long upon my lord's dinner," said Melville, "pray him to suffer me now to take a little of my own." Within a short time two expresses were sent to inform him that the council was sitting and waited for him; upon which he rose, and, having joined with his brethren in a short prayer, repaired to the council room.[2]

His majesty did not make his appearance; but he had placed himself in a closet adjoining to the room in which the council was met: a low trick, and disgraceful to royalty, by which the prisoner was encouraged to use liberties which he might not otherwise have taken, and which were overheard by the person who was ultimately to decide upon his fate. The only charge which the council had to bring against him was the *epigram* for which he had formerly been questioned. Irritated as he was by what he had suffered and by what he had seen, he was not prepared to make apologies or retractions. "The Earl of Salisbury," says the French ambassador, to whom we owe the account of this interview, "took up the subject, and began to reprove him for his obstinacy in refusing to acknowledge the primacy, and for the verses which he had made in derision of the royal chapel. Melville was so severe in his reply, both in what related to the king and to the earl personally, that his lordship was completely put to silence. To his assistance came the

[1] Ovidii Tristia, lib. ii. od. 1.

[2] Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 178—181

Archbishop of Canterbury, then the Earl of Northampton, then the Lord Treasurer; all of whom he rated in such a manner, sparing none of the vices, public or private, with which they are respectively taxed (and none of them are angels), that they would have been glad that he had been in Scotland. In the end, not being able to induce him to swear to the primacy, and not knowing any other way to revenge themselves on him, they agreed to send him prisoner to the Tower. When the sentence was pronounced, he exclaimed: "To this comes the boasted pride of England! A month ago you put to death a priest, and to-morrow you will do the same to a minister."[1] Then, addressing the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Mar, who were in the council, he said, "I am a Scotchman, my lords, a true Scotchman; and if you are such, take heed that they do not end with you as they have begun with me." The king was more irritated at this last saying than at all which had passed.[2]

Being prohibited from approaching the palace, the other ministers had employed one of their servants to watch the issue, who, returning at the end of three hours, informed them that Melville was conveyed by water to the Tower. They hastened thither, but were refused access to him.[3]

It is difficult to say which is most glaring, the injustice or the ridiculousness of the proceedings of the council, first and last, against Melville. He was no subject of England, and no member of the English Church: he owed no fealty or subjection to the authorities of either. Called into that country by the letter, and detained in it by the will of his sovereign, he was placed under the protection of the royal authority; and he was entitled to claim the benefit of this, especially at a time when conferences were holding for uniting the two kingdoms.[4] What had he done to forfeit this protection? Had he published a libel against the constitution of England? Had he intruded into her temples, or publicly insulted her worship? Had he attacked or even written a single line against one of her *established* rites? He had been forced to listen to discourses which he disliked, and to witness religious ceremonies which he detested. Was he also to be restrained from relieving his mind in private, by indulging in a literary recreation to which he had been addicted from his youth? Or, was it a crime to communicate the effusions of his muse to his brethren who sympathised with all his feelings, and shared in all his secrets? The only copy of

[1] In the end of 1607 a minister in London was reprimanded for some freedoms which he had taken from the pulpit with the estate of bishops. Having afterwards given out some copies of his sermon, he was publicly whipped, made to stand four hours in the pillory, and had one of his ears cut off. Two days after he was again brought out, stood other four hours in the pillory, lost his remaining ear, and was condemned to perpetual banishment. Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 489.

[2] Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. ii. p. 207—209.

[3] Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 181. Row's Hist. p. 105.

[4] Dr Zouch candidly allows that "the behaviour of Mr Melville during the conference afforded no pretext for detaining him in England," and that he endured "much persecution;" adding, "it is not within my province to arraign the conduct of James for his great severity thus exercised." Walton's Lives, p. 350—353.

the epigram which had been seen was taken by a court spy who haunted his lodgings for the base purpose of informing against him. But though he had been industrious in circulating it, where was the mighty harm? Was the Church of England in such a feeble and tottering condition as to be in danger from a few strokes of a quill? Did she, like the Church of Rome, tremble at the report of a pasquinade? Were there none of all the learned sons whom she had brought up, and of whose achievements she was wont to boast, to rise up and defend her with the weapons with which she had been assailed, that she was obliged to call in the secular arm for her protection, and to silence the audacious satirist by immuring him in a dungeon? The council were, in fact, the authors and propagators of the scandal which they punished with such severity. If they had not interfered, the epigram would most probably have remained among the papers of the writer, or have shared the same fate with similar productions, which he amused himself with for the moment and then committed to the flames. But, by their injudicious interference, and in consequence of their having made it the ground of a criminal prosecution, it was circulated through Britain, was despatched by couriers to the different parts of the Continent, formed a subject of merriment at the courts of Versailles, Madrid, and even of the Vatican, and continues to this day to be read and relished as a merited castigation of a church who, while she professed to have broken off all connection with Rome, showed a disposition to ape its manners, and to practise some of its silliest and most senseless ceremonies.

My Lord Chancellor Ellesmere was pleased to admonish Melville, at his first appearance, to join gravity and moderation to his learning; and the admonition was good. But really there are some actions so glaringly unjust as to provoke the meekest of men. And there are some scenes so truly ridiculous as to baffle the gravity of the most rigid moralist and the most demure precisian. What shall we think of the Chancellor of all England, with the principal peers and prelates of the realm, assembled in close conclave, spending two solemn sederunts on the demerits of an epigram, critically scanning six Latin lines, endeavouring, like school-boys, to construe them into treason, and in the end gravely finding them chargeable with the anomalous and barbarous fault of *scandalum magnatum?*

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici?

Those who approve of these proceedings will be prepared to palliate their iniquity by quoting precedents and referring to examples equally arbitrary and unjust; and they will be loud in their censures of the deportment of the prisoner on this occasion, and in their declamations against the indiscretion and violence which he displayed in the course of his trial. Others, who are not disposed to join in this condemnation,

may lament that, by his vehement and intemperate language, he should have detracted from the dignity of his defence, given his enemies an advantage against him, and subjected himself to a severer punishment than he would have suffered if he had acted with more moderation and prudence. I feel as little inclined to sympathise with the regrets of this last class of persons as I do to enter into serious argument with the first. I know of no fixed and uniform standard of discretion by which the conduct of every individual is to be ruled on great and extraordinary occasions. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding." It is the voice of the Deity that roars in the thunder and that whispers in the breeze. There are virtues whose mild influence is grateful and refreshing in the ordinary intercourse of life; and there are others which are salutary in purifying the social atmosphere, and in relieving it from those oppressive and noxious vapours by which it is apt at times to become impregnated. Some men are blessed with a placidity of mind and a command of temper which nothing can ruffle or discompose. Others are gifted with a keen and indignant sense of whatever is iniquitous and base, with the power of giving expression to what they feel, and with courage to exert that power. Let each use the gift which he has received to the honour of Him who bestowed it, and to the benefit of mankind; subject only to those general laws which are common to both. "Quench not the spirit" of holy zeal for God and your country by the cold dictates of a selfish and timorous prudence, calculated to beget a temperance which gives smoothness to the passion of the hypocrite who plays his part on the world's theatre. "If my anger go *downward*," said Melville to one of his prudent advisers, "set your foot on it, and put it out; but if it go *upward*, suffer it to rise to its place."[1]

He was persecuted for what was no crime, and arraigned before a court which had no legal jurisdiction over him. He was under no obligation to defend himself; but he had a right to complain. In those who assumed the power to judge him he saw men of high rank and honourable station indeed, but men who were chargeable with many glaring offences and acts of injustice, and whose rank and station had precluded them from hitherto hearing the voice of faithful reproof. If, roused by the unworthy treatment which he met with, he felt it incumbent on him to discharge this dangerous duty, are we prepared to pronounce his reprehensions unwarranted, or to say that they were productive of no salutary and beneficial effect? It is a vulgar error to suppose that the decisions of an impassioned mind are necessarily blind and headlong. While selfishness contracts and cowardice clouds the understanding, the higher emotions impart a perspicacity and an expansion to the mind by which it perceives instantaneously and at one glance the course which it ought to take. Melville knew that his enemies sought an occasion against him, and that an advantage would

[1] Livingston's Charact. art. Andrew Melville.

be taken of the freedom of speech in which he chose to indulge. But he knew also that he could not regain his personal liberty without renouncing his principles, and abjuring the cause to which he was resolved inviolably to adhere. Provided he was not permitted to return to his native country, and to resume his academical function, unfettered by sinful or dishonourable conditions, the degree of external restraint under which he might be laid was to him a matter of comparative indifference. Nay, the punishment to which he had for some time been subjected, was, in some respects, more galling than any which the council might be provoked to inflict. And as it was more revolting to his own feelings, so was it also less creditable to those public interests which in his breast were ever paramount to personal considerations. Had he been contented to "wait pinioned" at the court of England, or had he suffered himself to be quietly removed out of the way, and cooped up in some narrow and remote island,[1] his name and the reasons of his detention would have been little heard of or inquired after. But his being committed to the Tower as a state prisoner, with the circumstances which led to this, excited great speculation; and thus the cause for which he was imprisoned came to be talked of and generally known.[2] That the manner in which he conducted himself in the presence of the English council was not, as has been alleged by some of his enemies, disgracefully violent, may be inferred from the report of impartial persons, and from the irritation which was felt by those whom he attacked. But, granting that he gave way to excess, who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetuous, independent, irascible spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantish, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft? Who would not have taken the place of the prisoner at the bar, with all his errors on his head, rather than have been detected as a crowned spy, listening at the door of a closet, or skulking behind its tapestry? The minute of council committing him to the Tower has, it seems, perished; but history has put the transaction on her record, more durable than those of cabinet councils, and it will be remembered to the disgrace of its authors, and to the honour of the individual who was the victim of their violent but impotent revenge.

> Tell them the men that placed him here
> Are scandals to the times,
> Are at a loss to find his guilt,
> And can't commit his crimes.[3]

When Melville was thrown into the Tower, the fate of his brethren

[1] It appears from a letter of Welch to Boyd of Trochrig, that it was proposed that Melville should be sent to the Isle of Guernsey. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1, 14, num. 100.

[2] The French ambassador, after giving an account of the affair, and desiring that it should be communicated to Henry, adds that it formed the only topic of conversation in London: "Il ne se parle maintenant ici d'autre chose, et en sont ceux de la Nation en grande rumeur." Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, ii. 209. Along with Melville's epigram, the ambassador transmitted a copy of verses in answer to it, by one of the Royal Secretaries, "from which," says he, "you will see the good intelligence that is between the Puritans and those who are about this king." Ib. i. 458.

[3] Defoe's Hymn to the Pillory.

was also fixed. His nephew was commanded to leave London within six days, to repair to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and not to go beyond ten miles from that town on the pain of rebellion. The rest of the ministers were confined in different parts of Scotland; and such of them as were allowed to reside within their own parishes were prohibited from attendance on church courts, and bound to procure a certificate of their good behaviour from a bishop, or else to return to London within a limited time.[1] The allegation that Melville's restraint was owing to the violence of his behaviour is refuted by the treatment which his nephew received. He, at least, had given no offence during his residence in England. On the contrary, his conduct procured for him the approbation of the council, and drew the most flattering commendations from the lips of the chancellor. Yet he was detained as a prisoner, and could not even obtain liberty to go to Scotland for the purpose of visiting his wife, when she was lying on her death-bed.[2]

It would be highly improper to pass over one part of the conduct of the ministers. Their journey to England had subjected them to very considerable expense. They had been nine months absent from their own country. They had to support their families at home. Each of them was attended by a servant; and they had kept a hospitable table for such of their acquaintance as chose to visit them in their lodgings at Kingston and in London. Soon after they came to court they received a sum of money to defray the expenses of their journey to England.[3] But when his majesty found that there was no hope of their yielding to his wishes, he withheld all further supplies, and directed them to take up their residence with the bishops. Rather than submit to this they chose to live at their own cost. When they were preparing to leave London, Bamford and Snape, two nonconformist ministers, and Croslay, a respectable apothecary, waited on them with a considerable sum which they had collected among their friends, and begged them to accept of it, to assist in defraying their expenses and supporting their friend whom they were to leave behind them as a prisoner.

[1] Melville's Hist. of the Decl. Age, p. 181—183. Scot's Apolog. Nar. p. 205. Report of the Conferences: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 49. In the last-mentioned MS. are two forms of license to Balfour, who, it would appear, had objected to the first. After being allowed to remain for some time at Cockburnspath, he was ordered to remove to Fraserburgh in the north of Scotland; but the infirmities of old age forced him to stop on the road, and he was released from his confinement by the hand of death. Cald. vii. 49.

[2] After her death he was allowed, as a special favour, to go to Anstruther to put his family affairs in order; but he was prohibited from preaching, or attending any meeting of presbytery or synod during his stay, and was bound to return to the place of his confinement at the end of one month. Cald. vii 49.

[3] "Upon Wednesday the 15th of October the Erle of Dunbar sent Robert Jowsie to their lodging, with eight sheets of gray paper full of English money knit up in form of sugar loaves, containing five hundreth merks apeace to every one of them for their charges and expenses in coming to court." Cald. vi. 1227. The following extract is a proof of Calderwood's accuracy, and shows at the same time that the money did not come from the English Exchequer: "July, 1606. Item, be cōmandemēt of the lordis of counsall: To Mr James Balfoure, Mr Robert Wallace, Mr Adam Colt, Mr Andro Melvill, Mr James Melvill, Mr Wm Watsone, Mr William Scot, and Mr Jon Carmichaell, ministers, for thair charges & expensis in thair journay toward his Majestie, ijm vic lxvili xiijs iiijd." Compot. Thesaur. in Register House, Edinburgh.

The Scottish ministers thanked them for their kindness, but declined receiving the gift. They could not accept of it, they said, either in conscience or in honour. They could not conscientiously take it, knowing that there were a great many ministers in England imprisoned or silenced for nonconformity, who stood in need of more relief than their friends could afford. Nor could they receive it without dishonouring their sovereign, at whose desire they had undertaken this journey, and who would doubtless reimburse what they had expended; and without disgracing their country, which had already suffered in its reputation, in consequence of the common talk of the people of England, that the Scots came among them to beg and "purse up the money of the land."[1] Those who are minutely acquainted with the history of these times are aware that the complaints of the English on this head were loud, and uttered in the most contumelious language. Jealousy and national prejudice might lead them to exaggerate; but it cannot be denied that the mean and mercenary behaviour of many of our countrymen, both of the higher and lower orders, who flocked to England after the accession of James, gave too much occasion for fixing this disgraceful stigma on the nation.[2] On this ground the ministers are entitled to the highest praise for their considerate and dignified conduct.

On the day after his uncle's incarceration James Melville received a note from him, marked by the hand of the Lieutenant of the Tower, requesting that furniture for a room might be sent him, along with his clothes and books. The strictest injunctions had been laid on the lieutenant to allow none to have access to him; but his nephew contrived, by means of one of the keepers, to obtain an interview with him at the window of his apartment once a day as long as he remained in London. Nothing which could contribute to his comfort (for his liberation was at that time entirely hopeless) was neglected by this amiable man and affectionate friend. All recollection of his own hardships, and of the afflicted state of his family, was for the time absorbed in the deep and distressing concern which he felt for his captive uncle. It rent his tender heart to think of leaving him in his old age, without a friend to relieve the tedious hours of captivity, and with none to perform the common offices of humanity to him but a rude and unfeeling gaoler. He exposed himself to the risk of being personally apprehended by prolonging his stay for a fortnight after the time fixed for his departure; and employed all his influence with his friends at court to have the place of his confinement changed from Newcastle to London, that he might be near his uncle, and ready to embrace any opportunity of being serviceable to him. But he was advised to desist from his applications, and to give immediate obedience to the royal injunction, unless he wished orders of a more rigorous kind to be issued. The only

[1] Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, pp. 183, 184. Row's Hist. p. 106. Simsoni Annal. p. 111.

[2] Secret History of the Court of James I., vol. i. pp. 143, 172, 217, 369—371. Winwood's Memorials, vol. i. p. 217. De la Boderie, ii. 302, 492, iii. 162.

favour that could be obtained was a permission to Melville's servant to incarcerate himself along with his master.

Having secured this arrangement for his uncle's comfort, and supplied him with all the money he could spare, James Melville embarked for Newcastle, on the 2d of July, 1607, from the stairs leading to the Tower; and continued, as the vessel sailed down the river, to fix his eyes, streaming with tears, on the bastile which enclosed the friend for whom he had long felt an enthusiastic attachment, and whose face he was not again to behold.[1]

[1] Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, p. 183. Cald. vii. 35, 39.

CHAPTER IX.

1607—1611.

No time was lost in depriving Melville of his situation in the university. For this purpose a royal commission was given to four laymen and four bishops, who met at St Andrews on the 16th of June, 1607. They found Melville's place, as Principal of the New College, vacant, simply upon his majesty's letter, declaring that the privy council of England had committed him to the Tower for a high trespass, and that he was not to be allowed to return to St Andrews.[1] The university did not act with the spirit which they had displayed on a former occasion of a similar kind. Instead of remonstrating against the infringement of their rights by the act of a foreign jurisdiction, they did not even intercede with his majesty in behalf of an individual who reflected so much honour on their body. To deter the members of the New College from opposition, the commissioners instituted a strict inquiry into the management of their revenues; and so eager were the professors to escape from censure, that they not only acquiesced in the removal of their principal, but were willing to impute to him, in his absence, the blame of irregularities to which they had at least been accessary, if they were not the chief authors of them. The ingratitude and want of feeling which Patrick Melville evinced towards his uncle at this time excited general indignation; and the commissioners availed themselves of it to deprive him of a considerable part of the emoluments to which he laid claim.[2] The only persons who had the courage to testify their attachment to Melville were his students, who presented a unanimous petition to the commissioners, requesting that their revered master might be restored to them. It is not to the credit of churchmen that they often discover less generosity and humane feeling in their proceedings than laymen. Not contented with divesting Melville of the office of principal, the clerical members of the commission would have deprived him of his salary for the current year; but the disgraceful proposal was quashed by the lay commissioners, who, though equally disposed to gratify the king, did not participate in the resentment of their colleagues, and were guided by principles of honour.[3]

[1] Spotswood's Hist. p. 503.

[2] The bishops afterwards employed their influence with the court to have Patrick Melville "restored to his first stipend, *in regard of his good affection to his majesty's service.*" Letter of Archbishop Spotswood to Sir James Sempill, Oct. 12, 1611: MS. in Bibliotheca Juridica Edin. Jac. V. vol. i. 14, number 97.

[3] Letter, John Dykes to James Melville:

It was easy to extrude Melville, but not so easy to find one who was capable of filling his place. This consideration created no small embarrassment to the bishops to whom the arrangement of the business was committed. They were aware that Melville's talents and fame would throw into the shade any successor whom they might nominate; and that they would incur the odium of having sacrificed the interests of literature to the advancement of their own ambitious views. In respect of literary qualifications, and of the place which he already held in the college, Jonston was entitled to be advanced to the office of principal. But he was tainted with Melville's principles. This was the real bar to his preferment, although the infirm state of his health was made the excuse for passing him by. Robert Howie was the person fixed on as uniting the greatest portion of talent with the indispensable quality of a disposition to support the measures of the court. The claims of Jonston being set aside by a mandate from the court, Howie was, on the 27th of July, installed in the office of principal by virtue of a royal presentation, without regard to the comparative trial and election ordained by the parliamentary charter of the college. But, conformable as he was, he received his appointment during the king's pleasure only; and when he scrupled accepting it with this limitation, he was told by Gladstanes that the royal will was imperious and must be absolutely obeyed. Some of the members of the university had now summoned up as much courage as to protest against his admission, on the ground that no process of deprivation had been led against Melville: but the objection was disregarded, and those who brought it were threatened with being shut up along with the traitor for whom they presumed to plead.[1]

From hostility to Melville and dread of his being allowed to return to St Andrews, Gladstanes was extremely officious in the whole of this affair. Perceiving his forwardness, the other commissioners took care to devolve on him the most invidious and ungrateful part of their work. In his correspondence with the court, the servile bishop makes a merit of his attending in person at the breaking open of Melville's lodging to give possession to his successor, at the same time that he states that this task was imposed on him to degrade his character in the public opinion. If we may believe the primate, the new principal made his *début* in such a manner as totally to eclipse the reputation of his predecessor. "Mr Robert Howie," says he, "has been entered to teach in the New College, and that with so much rare learning as not only breeds great contentment to all the clergy here, but also ravishes them with admiration. So that the absence of his antecessor is not missed, while they find, instead of *superficial, feckless inventions*, profitable and substantious theology. What difficulty and pains I have had to settle him

Cald. vii. 43—45. Epistola Alexandri Humei Andreæ Melvino: Melvini Epistolæ, p. 310. Hume expresses his unwillingness to believe the report that Jonston had acted an unkind part to Melville, and bears his testimony to the friendly conduct of Robert Wilkie, the Principal of St Leonard's.

[1] Wodrow's Life of Robert Howie, p. 2.

here, without help of any other of council or clergy, God knoweth! It was thought that the gap of Mr Andrew Melville's absence should have furnished such matter of discontent to the kirk and country as should have bred no small mutinie, and should have enforced your highness to send the prisoner back, *tanquam sine quo non*."[1] This shows how happy the bishop felt at having been able to carry through a measure which he had despaired of accomplishing, and is the strongest possible testimony in favour of those talents which he wished to disparage. The lights which Melville's genius threw over the science which he taught are here characterised as "superficial, feckless inventions," while the duller divinity of his less gifted successor is dignified with the name of "profitable and substantious theology." We know from other quarters that Howie's early exhibitions, instead of being received with applause, were treated with disrespect and censure. Having, in his lectures, undertaken the defence of episcopal power, his arguments were refuted by his own students, and he was subjected to a rebuke from the presbytery.[2] Indeed, from the known sentiments of the ministers, and the partiality of the students to a favourite and persecuted teacher, it is natural to suppose that both of them would be prepossessed against Howie, and disposed to undervalue, rather than to overrate and extol, his abilities and performances.

Robert Howie was born in Aberdeen or its neighbourhood, and educated at King's College there. In company with John Johnston, his countryman, and probably his fellow-student, he went to the Continent and spent a number of years in foreign universities. He studied under two distinguished divines, Caspar Olevian, at Herborn,[3] and John James Grynæus, at Basle;[4] and during his residence at the last of these places gave a specimen of his theological knowledge to the public.[5] On his return to Scotland he became one of the ministers of Aberdeen.[6] When Marischal College was erected he was appointed principal of that academy, in which situation he continued until the year 1598, when he was translated, by appointment of the General Assembly, to be minister of Dundee.[7] He incurred the displeasure of the king by

[1] Letter, Gladstanes to the King, Oct. 28, 1607; MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 59. [2] Row, p. 218.

[3] The Dedication of the first edition of Buchanan's *Sphæra*, "Johanni Comiti a Nassau," is subscribed "Herbornæ ex illustri schola Celsitudinis tuæ, quinto Martii 1586. C. T. Addictiss. *Robertus Houæus Scotus*."

[4] His Thesis, on the Freedom of the Will, which he disputed before Grynæus, was printed "Basileæ Typis Oporinianis Anno Christi M.D.LXXXIX." A copy of it in the possession of Mr David Laing has the following inscription in Howie's handwriting, "M. Roberto Rolloco Hovæus mittit."

[5] "De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo, Sev de Humani Generis Redemptione, Tractatio Theologica. Avthore Roberto Hovæeo Scoto. Accesscrunt eiusdem authoris disputationes duæ: quarum altera est de Communione fidelium cum Christo: altera de Justificatione hominis coram Deo. Basileæ per Sebastianvm Henripetri." 4to. Pp. 157. The colophon is, "Basileæ—Anno CIↃ IↃ XCI. Mense Aprili." It has two dedications; the one to Grynæus, and the other "Joanni Jonstono, Viro doctissimo, Popvlari et fratri suo charissimo." Sir Robert Sibbald mentions different *Theses* by Howie at Basle, 1588—1591. De Script. Scot. p. 56; conf. ejus. Bibl. Scot. p. 116.

[6] The Charter of Erection of Marischal College (April 2, 1593), is subscribed by "George Erle Marishall,"—"coram his testibus—Magistro Petro Blackburn, *Roberto Howæo* Ministris Aberdonen." &c.

[7] Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 192, a, 198, b.

encouraging the inhabitants of that town to assert their rights in the election of their magistrates.[1] But after that period he showed himself conformable to the court, and was one of those who appeared on the side of the bishops in the late conferences at Hampton Court.[2] Howie's literary and theological acquirements were respectable; but he did not possess the genius, the elegant taste, or the skill in sacred languages, by which his predecessor was distinguished. Though he embarked warmly in the episcopal cause at his first coming to St Andrews, yet his zeal seems to have afterwards cooled, and he not only favoured those who refused to conform to the English modes of worship, but was in danger of being ejected from his place as a nonconformist.[3] He survived the establishment of Episcopacy, and remained at the head of the theological college of St Andrews for some time after the restoration of Presbytery.[4]

The injustice of Melville's imprisonment was heightened by the unnecessary severity with which he was treated in the Tower. A pretext was found for withdrawing the indulgence of having a servant confined along with him. No creature was allowed to see him but the person who brought him his food. He was not even permitted to beguile the irksome hours by his favourite amusement of writing. The use of pen, ink, and paper, was strictly prohibited him.[5] But tyrants, though they can fetter and torment the body, have no power over the free and heaven-born soul. Melville's spirit remained unconfined and unbroken in his narrow and uncomfortable cell; and he found means of expressing the sense which he entertained of his unmerited sufferings, and his resolution to endure the worst which his persecutors could inflict. When his apartment was examined, its walls were found covered with verses, which he had engraved, in fair and beautiful characters, with the tongue of his shoe-buckle.[6] In this situation he was kept for about ten months.

James Melville was under great uneasiness lest the health of his

[1] Letter from the King to the Privy Council, Anent the town of Dundee and M. Robert Howye, Oct. 3, 1604. Lord Haddington's Col. of Letters.

[2] Scot's Apolog. Narrat. 177. Melville, 126.

[3] Diary of Mr Robert Traill, Minister of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh, MS. p. 9. Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus: Ep. Dedic. Medelburgi 1618. "Now (my dear Mr Howie) my labours are particularlie directit to you, 1. Becaus peculiarlie due unto you as being deryvet from you. 2. Heiring heir abroad that for crossing, coping, capping, kneeling, &c. ye had receavit ane summonds of this new necessitie, I thoght good to yield you this muche consolation, beseeching God to inarme you ayir to divt [defeat?] thame, or patience and humilitie to indure thame, gif thay deale in regour with you." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. probably transcribed from a printed book.

[4] It may be proper to state that, throughout the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not an invidious hint thrown out against Howie. James Melville names him with high respect in a letter to his uncle (Novocastr. Apr. penult. 1610): "Andream meum, rudimentis Theologiæ et linguæ sanctæ initiatum ut hac hyeme potui, in Scotiam nunc ablegavi, cum mandatis ut Hovii nobilis uxorem ad maritum comitaretur; id enim a me proximis literis petiit Hovius noster." Melvini Epist. p. 161.

[5] De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 469.

[6] This fact has been preserved by a foreign writer. Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, iii. 52. The verses from which he quotes are to be found in *Melvini Musæ*, 28.

Cum Balamitarum sit tanta frequentia vatum,
Cur loquitur toto nullus in orbe asinus?
Non Genius stat contra, asinus non cæditur, ora
Non reserat muto, qui dedit ora Deus.

The following verses were also composed by him at this time:—

At vati infœlici instat tibi carceris umbra,
Quin Christi illustri lumine liber ego.
Te tristi exilio, aut fato mutabit acerbo:
Nec triste exilium, mors nec acerba mihi.
Exilium a patria patrio me inducit Olympo:
Mors pro Christo atrox vita beata mihi.

—Ibid. p. 22.

uncle should suffer by such rigorous imprisonment, during a winter so remarkable for severity that the Thames continued frozen over for several months together. He was not relieved from this anxiety until the month of May 1608, when he received a letter from him written with his own hand in Greek; thanking him for the money which he had sent him, and informing him that his health remained uninjured, and that his imprisonment was now less severe than it had been.[1] He was removed to a more airy and commodious apartment, was indulged with the use of writing materials, and soon after was allowed to see his acquaintance. This favour he owed to the interest and exertions of his friends at court, and particularly of Sir James Sempill of Beltrees. "Through the kind offices of Sempill," says he, in a letter to his nephew, "I now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two on the return of *Sine quo nihil;* you know whom I mean, your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately.[2] Sure, you admire the prudence and caution of the hero!"[3]

In the end of the year 1607, and before he had obtained this mitigation of his confinement, the Protestants of Rochelle in France attempted to obtain him to their college, as professor of divinity. With this view they gave a commission to Gilbert Primrose, a Scotchman, who had been for some time minister at Bordeaux, and was then on a visit to Britain,[4] authorising him to deal with King James to set Melville at liberty and allow him to come to them. James excused himself from complying with this request, by alleging that he had not yet resolved how to dispose of the prisoner. This negotiation gave offence to the French court. Their ambassador at London received instructions to make particular inquiry into the facts. Primrose, on returning to France, was called before the king, and questioned strictly as to the nature of his commission; and the Duke of Sully was ordered to reprimand the inhabitants of Rochelle for carrying on a correspondence with a foreign power, without the knowledge and permission of their native sovereign.[5] Rochelle was one of the fortified cities in the hands of the Protestants, and a principal key of the kingdom. The connection which it had maintained with England during the reign of Elizabeth, and the weak and vacillating conduct of James, might justify caution on the part of Henry; yet it must be confessed that this great prince, for

Si venissem ultro, spectassem singula et ultro,
Et quæsissem ultro; tunc mea culpa levis?
At veni jussus, spectavi et singula jussus,
Quæsivi et jussus; nunc mea culpa gravis?
. . . . . .
Hoc Belga, hoc Batavus, Germanus, Gallus, et Anglus,
Hoc Liger, hoc Scotus quærit, et hostis Iber
Injussus, quod jussus ego Regique Deoque
Quæsivi, officio functus utrique meo.
Solus ego plector, solum me fulmina tangunt,
Solus ego vulgi fabula factus agor.
—Ibid. p. 23.

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 1, 329.

[2] The person here meant is the Earl of Dunbar, the king's favourite, who professed great regard for James Melville, with whom he had been intimate in his youth. Melville more than once rallies his nephew on his trusting to the empty promises of this courtier —"Heroe vestro collimitaneo."

[3] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 54.

[4] Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. p. 289.

[5] De la Boderie, Ambassades, ii. 386, 430, 433, 486; iii. 26. Sully's Memoirs, v. 14. Lond. 1778. The fact is also alluded to in a letter by James Cleland to King James. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3, 21. In Sully's Memoirs it is said that James had acceded to the application from Rochelle; but this is contradicted by de la Boderie.

some years before his melancholy death, evinced a jealousy of his Protestant subjects, and a partiality to the most inveterate of their enemies, which it is difficult to defend either on the principles of gratitude or policy.[1]

At this time Melville was consulted by both parties on the theological disputes which agitated the church in Holland. These were occasioned by the novel opinions of the celebrated Arminius respecting the origin of moral evil, predestination, free-will, and grace; which afterwards spread extensively in all the reformed churches. In the year 1607, Melville received a letter from Sibrandus Lubbertus, professor of divinity at Franeker, giving him an account of the sentiments and procedure of the innovators, and requesting his opinion on the subject. This was followed by a letter from Arminius himself, in which he complained that Lubbertus had misrepresented him to foreign divines, and entered at considerable length into a defence of his opinions and conduct.[2] Arminius possessed an acute and perspicacious mind, and was well skilled in the controversies of the age; but he was full of confidence in his own powers, flattered himself that he understood all mysteries, and cherished the idea that he was raised up to effect a revolution in religious sentiment, and to give to the world a system of belief entirely new and superior to anything which had been hitherto received or taught. He was by no means scrupulous in stigmatising as heretical the opinions of his opponents who hesitated to apply this invidious epithet to his own.[3] Had his life been spared, he would have produced a much greater change on public opinion than he did; for to his other talents he added the most consummate self-command and address, and kept free from those extravagances and that disgusting display of vanity which have defeated the pretensions of others who had the same lofty idea of their powers and destiny. Melville did not entertain the same favourable opinion of this bold speculator which he had formerly expressed concerning Piscator;[4] and we shall find him opposing his sentiments at a subsequent period.

[1] This drew from Du Plessis, who was equally distinguished for loyalty to his sovereign and attachment to his religion, the following striking remarks: "We do not envy your killing the fatted calf for the prodigal son, provided you say with a sincere heart to the obedient son, *Thou knowest, my son, that all I have is thine*, or rather, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. In fine, I am pleased with whatever is done, provided it turns out well; but I dread those treaties in which *things* are given up and nothing got but *words*, and these the words of men who until of late had no words." Mémoires, ii. 398, 399.

[2] Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. pp. 187, 190. Lubbert's letter is addressed "Reverendo et Clarissimo viro D. *W.* Melvino, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctori et Professori in inclyto Sanctandræano." The other is addressed, "*W.* Melvino." In both instances the transcriber has, by mistake, put *W.* for *A.* Melvino. This appears from comparing Epist. Eccl. et Theol. p. 220, with Brandt, Vita Arminii, p. 322.

[3] Those who would ascertain the real views and spirit of Arminius must consult the letters which he wrote to his confidential friends. "Demersa est veritas," says he, "etiam theologica—in puteo profundo, unde non sine magno labore erui potest.—Ne mirare, Uytenbogarde; puto enim *paucos* esse qui istum articulum (the doctrine of the Trinity) intelligunt. — Fatebitur Helmichius nullam esse hæresin in ista mea doctrina: at *ego dico* in Helmichii et aliorum doctrina non unam hæresim, et non exiguam, sed fundamentalem, &c.—Illa proferam quæ putabo veritati, paci et *tempori* serviri posse," &c. Epist. Eccles. et Theol. pp. 39, 87, 139, 147.

[4] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 67, 96.

In the end of the year 1608 he was visited by several persons of rank, who put him in hopes of obtaining a release from prison. At their desire he addressed a copy of verses to the king, which Secretary Hay undertook to present.[1] We are told that James once pardoned a poet who had satirised him, for the sake of two humorous lines with which he concluded his lampoon; saying, he was "a bitter but a witty knave." But the elegant appeal which was now made to his generosity had no effect on him. By the advice of Archbishop Spotswood, Melville also wrote a submissive letter to the privy council of England, in which, after mentioning the occasion and motives of his writing the poem which had given them offence, and for which he had suffered an imprisonment of nearly two years, he begged their forgiveness for any expressions in it which might be deemed indecorous or inconsistent with English feelings. This apology, without containing anything dishonourable to the writer, afforded the court a fair opportunity to relieve him from prison. But no such thing was intended. What sincerity there was in the archbishop's professions of friendship we shall soon see; and what reliance Melville placed on them appears from the account of the affair which he wrote to his nephew. "I have sent you a copy of my submission, which Glasgow, your scholar, has taken with him to the king. For the archbishop has been thrice or four times with me, showing me that the kirk laments my absence, and that his earnest desire is to have me at home. *Sed non ego credulus illis.* Dunbar must have the honour of my deliverance: you may conjecture all the rest that shall ensue. Relying on divine aid, I am prepared for whatever the event may be —to remain here, to return home, or to go into exile. I am well in body and soul, thank God. Let me know of your welfare, and your news, either historical or conjectural, if not prophetical."[2]

During the whole period of his imprisonment, Melville's courage never once failed him, nor did his spirit suffer the least depression. The elation of his mind was displayed in a poem which he wrote at this time, containing an apologetical portrait of himself, and which, he tells us, was "extorted from him by the importunity of both friends and foes."[3] It was considered as betraying vanity, because it traced his descent in the royal line, and recorded the services which he had done for his native country. But may not a modest and humble man be placed in circumstances which "compel him to glory?" When those by whom he ought to have been honoured and rewarded traduce and persecute him, and when the credit of the office which he fills, and of the cause which he has espoused, is in danger of suffering through him, he may warrantably

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 24.

[2] Ibid. p. 29—31

[3] It is entitled Prosopopeia Apologetica. Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 22, 23. Among the writings of Melville, Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 497), mentions "Melviniana superbia, lib. i. cui exordium,—

Scotorum, Anglorum, Gallorum, a sanguine Regum, Ille ego Melvinus."

He evidently refers to the Prosopopeia, which contains something similar to what he quotes, although not in the exordium. This is one proof among many that Dempster's mistakes were often owing to the circumstance of his quoting from memory.

overstep the ordinary bounds of modesty, and employ expressions, in speaking of himself, which in other circumstances would be sufficient to convict him of ostentation and folly.

In a letter to his nephew, enclosing this poem and the couplets addressed to his majesty, he writes thus: "These, you know, are only light recreations in which I indulge for the purpose of recruiting my mind in the interval of severer studies and anxious cares. But I am preparing for a greater undertaking: join with me in wishing it success. I shall execute it, if not according to the importance of the subject, yet, to the utmost of my ability, royally; and shall not dishonour myself or you, to say nothing of others, whether friends or foes, whose expectations, through divine assistance, I shall endeavour not to disappoint. Not that I wish to hurt any one: that is contrary to my natural disposition. But I must prepare to defend the cause in the best manner I can. Shall I fly hope? shall I court fear? or shall I waste the flower of my mind in a state of dubiety between hope and fear? Thus was I wont formerly to jest with the muses, and thus am I now forced seriously to discourse with you about our affairs, public and private. But away with fears! I will cherish the hope of everything that is cheering and joyous. Meanwhile I bid you farewell in Christ. Give me frequent and early intelligence of everything you hear as to our affairs. Again farewell, and take care of your health." In another letter to the same correspondent, he says: "My mind is fresh and vigorous, nor is my bodily strength in the least impaired. I am preparing for the combat, and shall wonder if things pass over thus. I am persuaded that N. (the king) remains unaltered in his intentions, and that it will not be easy to drive him from them. The saying, *Fronti nulla fides*, often comes into my mind. But, leaving events to Providence, let us do our duty, and not hesitate to act a courageous part in the cause, and under the auspices of Him who rules in the midst of his enemies. Though we have endured contradiction, we have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin; but this also will we do when called to it by the master of the combat. I am at present engaged in a work which will let our adversaries see how they will be able to keep their feet on the slippery ground of human authority, after they have been driven from the solid and firm footing of divine right."[1]

These extracts evidently refer to a work on the episcopal controversy which he had planned. In the course of the year 1608, copies of a sermon published by Dr Downham in defence of the government of the Church of England were sent down to Scotland, and distributed *gratis* among the ministers, with the view of promoting their conversion to Episcopacy. Melville had sent his nephew a hurried review of this sermon when it was first printed.[2] He now sent him two large letters,

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 24—28.

[2] Ibid. p. 1 — 8. He concludes the review by saying: "Such tautologies and vain babbling I wald never have looked for at this tyme to have proceidit from the man, who is a Logicioner, nor to be directed

containing a luminous, rapid, and spirited refutation of the principal arguments for prelacy drawn from Scripture and antiquity. These were immediately transmitted to Scotland by James Melville, along with a letter from himself, which shows that they had operated as a cordial in reviving his drooping spirits. "When I reflect," says he to Patrick Simson, "on the fortitude and constancy of my banished brethren; when I consider that you have been miraculously plucked from the jaws of the grave and restored to the church; when I muse on the premature death of my friend Nicolson, by which he who possessed such rare gifts was snatched from the current which threatened to carry him completely away, and along with him to wreck the interest of religion among us; when I think of the good health of my revered uncle, and the excellent spirits which he enjoys at the close of his climacteric year, and after being shut up in a strait prison during two severe winters and as many scorching summers; and when I perceive that royal authority, bribery, and the most consummate craft and subtilty have hitherto been employed against us with so little success;—I am wonderfully encouraged, and at intervals my breast heaves with the hope that the captives shall yet return, and that the city and temple of our Jerusalem shall again be built.

Huc me raptat amor dulcis, et impotens
Ardor ferre moras. O niveum diem
Qui templo reducem me statuat tuo!
O lucis jubar aureum![1]

Nothing less however appears as yet:

——— sed cui inops fidit Deus
Spes et vota bonos ducat ad exitus.[2]

In the mean time, my beloved and upright brethren, on whom the defence of the cause at home is devolved, and whom Jesus, our leader and commander, has placed in the front of the battle, rouse up, fight, stand, show yourselves men, be strong, and you shall be more than conquerors. O that we who are removed to a distance from you were employed like Moses, Aaron, and Hur, on the mountain! Swayed by the opinion of my dear brother M. W. C.,[3] I was once inclined to think that we might tolerate at this time many things which we cannot approve; but when I consider all circumstances, I am much afraid that such forbearance would prove highly injurious, and deprive us of the simplicity, sincerity, liberty, and power of the gospel. Read, I beseech you, again and again and again, these pages of Andrew Melville, written hastily on the spur of the occasion, but fraught with divine truth and learning, and apparently intended for you and your fellow-combatants against intruding bishops. When you have perused them,

toward the north for convincing our brethren, who, if they be not corrupted more with the 14,000 lib. Sterling, sent thither (as they say) *tanquam aureus hamus*, than with the evidence of this book, they will never be persuaded to leave the truth embraced, &c. *Multos ego vidi ineptos homines, at Phormione neminem.* Bilson is more dangerous."

[1] Buchanani Psalm. xlii.

[2] Ib. Psalm. xiv. a quotation from memory.

[3] Probably Mr William Cowper of Perth.

with his petition to the king, return the whole to the bearer, that he may take a copy of them for the use of other brethren."[1]

Melville was not a little amused in his prison with the accounts which he received of the literary contest in which his majesty was involved, in consequence of his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. The cock-fighting, and "the admirable pastime, lately taken up, of hunting or daring of dotterels and other of that nature," in which James had been lately spending the greater part of his time, and at which the people of London were so indignant,[2] were now laid aside, and his majesty was continually closeted with a select number of the most learned of his clergy. One was employed in writing an answer to Cardinal Bellarmine, and another to the Jesuit Parsons, while a third superintended the impression of Barclay de Potestate Papæ. As James was "never the man that could think a cardinal a meet match for a king," he chose to call the book which was to appear under his own name, A Premonition to all Christian Monarchs. The bishop who made the first draught of this work, and to whom the correction of it was afterwards submitted, found that he had got Penelope's web to weave; for what he finished at night his majesty undid in the morning; and when the work came at last from the press, it was found necessary to have some parts of it still farther altered, and the poor printer was sent to prison for having given out copies of it before this operation was performed. It was immediately translated into the different modern languages by the clerks in waiting, and sent by special ambassadors to all Christian states except the Swiss cantons. But the *Premonition* pleased nobody but those against whom it was directed, who, having started a royal stag, were resolved to have sport of him. It was attacked from various quarters, and with great keenness, in replies both serious and satirical. "In the mean time," says Melville, "his majesty chafes, and everybody else chuckles. *Rex ringitur; alii rident.*"[3]

Melville was again tantalised with the prospect of obtaining his liberty. At a convention held in Scotland it had been agreed to petition the king to allow the exiled ministers to return home. On this occasion the bishops acted with great duplicity. They agreed to the petition; and yet they gave the agent whom they sent to London written instructions to apologise to his majesty for what they had done, and to request him not to set the ministers at liberty.[4] Spotswood, on going to court, promised to bring Melville along with him, to be placed as Principal in the University of Glasgow; and he expressed much regret at his return that he had not been able to effect his pur-

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 44—47.

[2] Winwood's Memor. vol. i. p. 217. The people threatened, if he did not desist from his unkingly sports, to poison his dogs and other game companions, and to send himself to the hills whence he came. The subject was introduced on the stage, and all the players were for a time banished from the capital by an order from court. De la Boderie, Ambassades, i. 56, 310.

[3] De la Boderie, Ambassades, tom. iv. pp. 271, 301, 318, 324, 372. Melvini Epist. 51, 79.

[4] Printed Calderwood, p. 602. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 219

pose.[1] But we learn from a letter of the archbishop's, that in all this he acted a hypocritical part. "For these matters of the ministers," says he, "please your majesty, we are here quiet; and their absence will even breed a forgetfulness. The Bishop of St Andrews has peace at will, whereby your majesty can take up the instruments of his trouble."[2] It would appear that Archbishop Gladstanes had been less cautious than his brother of Glasgow in expressing his real sentiments on this subject. His words had come to the ears of Melville, who, in one of his letters to his nephew, speaks of the Scottish Primate in the following severe terms: "*Vertumnus*, you know whom I mean, the rapacious *Gled*[3] that nestles in the old ruins of the meretricious Babylon, boasts that he has received the king's hand and promise that I shall not see my native country while he lives. *Loripes* (whom it is easy to reprove but impossible to reform) has not forgotten certain words which I addressed to him jocularly when he was dining with me before we left Scotland."[4] On the subject of their liberation we find James Melville writing thus to his uncle: "I waited on the chancellor, as he passed through this town on his return to Scotland, and thanked him for the concern which he had taken in your affair. He repeated to me what passed between his majesty and him, and a long conversation which he had with the primate (to whom his majesty referred him) in the porch of the palace of Whitehall. His grace finally promised that he would use all his influence in your behalf with the king, and with the bishops of Scotland, who would not stand in the way of your returning to your college, provided it did not endanger the peace of the church. 'Leave him to me; I will pledge myself that he shall not take part in any plots against you,' said the chancellor. I took the opportunity of laying my own case before his lordship. I complained that I was detained here, and deprived of my stipend, though innocent, uncondemned, unjudged, unaccused, without even the shadow of a crime laid to my charge. I begged that I might be permitted to return home, and resume the oversight of my poor sea-faring people; or, if this could not be granted, that liberty should be given me to go to France, or at least that my expenses here should be borne. With many expressions of regard he promised to take an early opportunity of writing the Earl of Dunbar in our behalf, adding that it would give him the greatest pleasure to be of any service to us."[5]

Despairing of being permitted to return to his native country, Melville entertained at this time a serious intention of going to the New World,

[1] Calderwood, vii. 323.

[2] Letter to the King, Nov. 1609; MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 65. In this letter Spotswood professes that it was his design to yield up his bishopric, and retire from public life, to show the world that he was not actuated by ambition. Yet, only two months after this, he accepted the office of an Extraordinary Lord of Session, in addition to those burdens which he had pronounced "insupportable!"

[3] *Gled*, in the Scottish language, is the name of the *Kite*. This play on the primate's name (including an allusion to the intemperance with which he was charged) occurs in different epigrams written on him. Simsoni Annales, 129, 130. Melvini Musæ, 18—20.

[4] Melv. Epist. 48. [5] Ibid. 121—123.

and in pursuance of it had several interviews with a person who had embarked in an extensive colonial expedition. It does not certainly appear to what part of America he purposed to retire, but it was most probably Virginia. "My friend," he writes to his nephew, "has prepared a fleet; he has raised two thousand soldiers and four hundred supernumeraries; and is in daily expectation of the return of a servant whom he has sent before him. With a slender fortune and involved in debt, he cherishes sanguine hopes of ultimate success, and omits no part of the duty of a good and prudent commander. I had a visit from him to-day along with his son-in-law. What expectations I should entertain, I know not; but of one thing I am sure, that he is a good and worthy man, and wants the means, not the inclination, to do well. I betake myself to my sacred anchor, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be added to you."[1] We can scarcely suppose that the court would hinder his emigration to such a distant quarter of the globe; it is therefore most likely that something occurred to divert his mind from the project.

His solitary hours were relieved by the company of two of his name-sons, who successively resided with him, and whom he instructed in languages and philosophy. The one was a son of James Melville and the other a son of one of his brothers, who had left a large family unprovided for.[2] This last young man was of a romantic and unsettled turn of mind, and appears to have insinuated himself into the affections of his grand-uncle, who was induced to advance him, at different times, sums which his limited finances could not well bear.[3] But the principal recreation which Melville found was in the cultivation of his favourite muse. Every packet which he sent to his nephew contained one, and some of them three or four, of his poetical productions. "I have added to this," says he, "the second and sixteenth psalms, both of them warm from the anvil, and the last hastily struck off this morning, so that I have not had time to apply the file to it. I wish you to consider this remark as applying also to the first psalm, which I sent you some time ago, both as to the translation and to the numbers and poetical ornaments. If you compare them with Buchanan's, you will observe a considerable difference. The first psalm almost pleases me."[4] Men of real genius often defraud the public by the desultory nature of their

[1] Melvini Epist. p. 55. The English were at this time very eager in forming settlements in America. De la Boderie, Amb. tom. iv. pp. 263, 264. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then in the Tower, had projected the expedition to Guiana which afterwards cost him his life; and Melville, in one of his letters, speaks of one of his grand-nephews, who was with him, wishing to visit that country. Epist. p. 143.

[2] James Melville's son, after leaving the Tower, resided for some time with a Scotchman named Guthrie, who taught an academy in the neighbourhood of London. He was brother to Alexander Guthrie of Edinburgh, and a relation of James Lawson, the minister. He died in the year 1609. Melvini Epist. pp. 56, 64, 100. His school was at Hoddesdon in the year 1584. Life prefixed to Bishop Cowper's Works. "De filio Andrea quam gratum!" says James Melville. "Guthræi, amicissimi viri, Lucubratiunculam ubi perlegero, testimonio quali author meretur ornabo. Ego ad eos literas dedi. Melv. Epist. 98.

[3] Ibid. pp. 143, 153, 170, 305, 306, 324. Letter from A. Melville to Boyd of Trochrig, in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 49.

[4] Melvini Epist. p. 87.

studies, or by the injudicious choice which they make of subjects on which to exert their talents. This was one of Melville's faults, of which his nephew frequently admonished him. "Why do you require my judgment of your verses, when you know that I am disposed to form too favourable an opinion of all that you do? However, I will tell you what others say of them. They say that you are doing what has been already well done, contending in vain with the great Buchanan, and neglecting what you ought to do. Notwithstanding, I doubt not that, in the course of providence, better things may be produced than have yet been executed; and I am persuaded that you have not forgotten the work which you promised."[1] This drew from Melville a defence of his conduct. "I send you certain psalms which I have translated into Latin verse: an Iliad after Homer, forsooth! But I am not like the prince of Latin poets, who says,—

> Etsi me vario jactatum laudis amore,
> Irritaque expertum fallacis premia vulgi.

By such trivial performances I do not seek for glory or popular applause, nor do I court the bounty of kings and princes; but I yield to the power, whatever it is, that inspires me; and do not so much seek to escape from private vexations, as obey my ruling passion and indulge my genius. I indulge it the more willingly that I derive advantage mixed with the purest pleasure from such studies, and think that I sometimes elicit the hidden meaning of the prophet which had escaped others. And I employ poetic numbers, that I may make a show of contending with those champions who have deservedly carried away the palm in this field of literature. It becomes me to think modestly of my own works; we are all ready to flatter ourselves; and where is the individual who does not sometimes slip a foot on this dangerous ground? But I trust to the keeping of the great Ruler of heaven and earth, to whom I have dedicated and devoted my all, and whose glory I wish I could advance with a willingness and alacrity somewhat answerable to the great and manifold proofs of His kindness and beneficence conferred on me."[2] Notwithstanding the dissuasions of his judicious friend, Melville continued his labours on the psalms, and a specimen of them was committed to the press during the time that he lay in the Tower.[3]

A misfortune which befel him at this time gave him no small uneasiness. His purse, containing all the money which he possessed, and on which he depended for his support during the approaching winter, was stolen. It is probable that this act of theft was committed by one of the keepers of the prison; and in his circumstances it would have been useless and even dangerous to complain, or to take steps for recovering his lost property. He was under the necessity, therefore, of applying to James Melville, to whom he conveyed information of the unpleasant

[1] Melvini Epist. 93.

[2] Ibid. 100—102. "Mitto ad te versus aliquot meos typis excusos, ut scias me non temere in Psalmos incurrisse, ex quibus pedem retraho vel invitus." Melvini Epist. p. 144.

[3] The only notice of this publication which I have seen is in one of his letters to James Melville, dated "Ex Turri, Jan. 8, 1610."

occurrence in the following delicate allegory: "I had lately in my possession upwards of twenty birds of the Seraphic species, kept with no small care, and cherished in a warm nest under the shade of my wings. Whether they were tired of their confinement and seized with a desire for liberty, or what was the cause, I am not prepared to say; but without bidding their unsuspicious host farewell, poising their airy wings, they fled, not to return, and have left me to deplore their absence. I soothe my grief by meditating on that beautiful discourse on providence contained in the sixth chapter of Matthew, and by the consciousness that I was not deficient in at least ordinary care. The saying, *The Lord will provide*, often comes to my mind. I have experienced the truth of it through the whole course of my life; my indulgent Father, out of regard to my infirmity, having prevented me hitherto from ever feeling extreme want. Such an accident as this I never before met with, but it is one common to men:

Qualia multa mari nautæ patiuntur in alto.

Be not inquisitive as to the particulars, of which I am neither altogether certain nor altogether ignorant; and I have vowed silence.

Desine meque tuis incendere teque querelis.

The loss could not have been foreseen or provided against, and it is counterbalanced by another unexpected event, the friendly treaty respecting the affairs of our church which is in prospect; so that it would seem that the master of the feast and supreme disposer of all events has seen meet to mingle for me a bitter-sweet cup. Our excellent friend Traill has visited me and delivered Lindsay's token of remembrance, which I received as a pledge of my restoration to the college.[1] I am afraid lest the approaching winter should prevent sailing, and put a stop to all communication between us. Wherefore, if you have anything that can be of use to me, transmit it as expeditiously as possible."[2]

This call was instantly obeyed. Indeed, the purse of James Melville was always at his uncle's command, and his remittances were uniformly conveyed with such readiness and delicacy as made them appear rather as the performance of a filial duty or the discharge of a debt of gratitude, than as gratuitous favours and acts of generosity to a distressed friend. "Riches," says he, in the letter which he sent along with the money, "take to themselves eagles' wings, and fly away. But there is enough in the sacred promises to which you refer. He who has such securities may surely rest satisfied. Be of good courage, therefore, my father; the Good Shepherd will supply you abundantly with all good things. I shall send you money, and you will send me songs,

Jucundiora melle et auro,
Et nitidis potiora gemmis.

Let us continue this mutual intercourse; and I have good hope that you will run short of verses for my use, before I run short of gold for

[1] This refers, probably, to a legacy from Secretary Lindsay, who had been Chancellor of the University of St Andrews.

[2] Melvini Epist. pp. 91, 92.

yours."[1] Melville's answer affords a beautiful example of the union of piety and gratitude: "Your succedaneum for the fugitive gold came most seasonably to my relief. So profusely beneficent has my divine and indulgent Father been towards me as even to exceed my wishes. O that I may be found grateful and mindful of the benefits bestowed on me by Him who has accepted me gratuitously in his Son! O that I may love Him, who first loved me, with all my mind, soul, and strength! and that I may bring forth the fruits of this love, by promoting the good of His church in these difficult times, and amidst all the ingratitude that abounds! I received the Spanish and British angels, equalling in number the Apostles, the Graces, and the Elements, with a supernumerary one of the Seraphic order: *aurum contra caro*. I do not rejoice so much in them (although these commutable pieces of money are at present very useful to me), as I do at the renewing of the memory of my deceased friends, and the prospect of our friendship being perpetuated in their posterity, who have given such a favourable presage of future virtue and genuine piety; for what else could have induced them to take such an interest in my affairs at this time? Wherefore I congratulate them, and I rejoice that this favourable opportunity of transmitting friendship inviolate from father to son and grandson has been afforded.[2] So you have the confidence to say, that the fountain of the muses from which I draw will be exhausted sooner than the vein of that gold mine, whence you extract the treasures with which you supply me so liberally. Hold, prithee! take care what you say, especially to poets like me, who when I do sing, sing at the invitation of the muses and under their inspiration. This makes me more regardless of the capricious judgment of critics; for in writing verses I do not aim at vainglory or any human reward, but yield a free homage to the muses and seek a liberal recreation to my own mind. About anything beyond this, I am quite indifferent; only I reckon all the time gained which is spent in these sacred lucubrations, as they help to recall my mind from sensible things to divine contemplation, and fit me for the better discharge of the duties of my station. Nor do I contend with any individual so much as with myself, over whom if I gain an advantage I consider myself as having carried off the prize."[3]

In the course of this year he had to mourn the loss of several of his relations and acquaintance. His feelings on receiving these melancholy tidings are expressed in the letters he wrote to his favourite and constant correspondent. "I am just come from reading in the second epistle to Timothy, which has allayed the tumult raised in my breast by the tidings I have received. Yet I cannot but feel. See that the funeral obsequies be duly performed. Let no mark of respect and

[1] Melvini Epist. pp. 92, 93.

[2] This refers to the family of George Greir, from whom James Melville had received part of the money which he sent to his uncle. Melvini Epistolæ, p. 117. Greir was second minister of Haddington (Record of Presb. of Hadd. Jan. 26, 1603), and married Elizabeth, daughter of James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh. Testament of Elizabeth Lowsone, in Commissary Record of Edin. April 5, 1615. Comp. Inquis. Retorn. Gen. num. 142.

[3] Melvini Epist. p. 108—111.

friendship be wanting to the memory of two brethren—brethren both of them by the bonds of piety, grace, and celestial parentage, and one of them by the additional tie of nature, and still more nearly allied to me than to you. Act, I pray you, a pious and becoming part. Discharge the debt due to grace and friendship, to nature and propinquity. Discharge it with tears, but let them be the tears of Abraham, the father of us all, 'who rose up from weeping for his wife.' These are temporary things: we mind things that are eternal. 'Put the brethren in remembrance,' and exhort them to constancy. What a loss, in respect of piety and erudition, has the church sustained by the death of my friend the great Scaliger, who, about the end of January, exchanged an earthly for a heavenly country! How can I but be touched and deeply affected for the loss of such a person, and of others whom I loved in this world, and who have gone before me! Of such there are not a few known to you who belonged to our church, and were allied to us either by natural or spiritual consanguinity. Need I name them? Knox, Arbuthnot, Smeton, Lawson, Row; the two Melvilles, my dearest brothers and your father and uncle; the two brothers, George and Andrew Hay; Pont, Craig, Rollock, Ferguson, Christison, Davidson, your father-in-law Dury, and many others, after whose example, and in whose footsteps we ought to press through all impediments, seeking the crown of glory in that new and straight path which the author and finisher of our faith hath trodden before us, and paved and consecrated for us by his own blood.

> Cur tam sollicitis vitam consumimus annis,
> Torquemurque metu, cœcaque cupidine rerum,
> Æternisque senes curis?——
>
> Humana cuncta fumus, umbra, vanitas,
> Et scenæ imago, et, verbo ut absolvam, nihil.

I am an old man and garrulous; for there is nothing in which old men take greater pleasure than talking. Love also prattles. What do I say? You know it was formerly rumoured that I was in love; and why should I not be seriously so now, seeing I began this last spring to grow young again, and to play the boy—perhaps that I might imitate you as closely as possible. You know what I mean. *Dictum sapienti.*"[1]

In Melville's letters to his nephew there is often much playfulness, proceeding from the vivacity of his imagination, and the kindness of his heart, which showed that the writer possessed a great flow of spirits, and a mind which, though not always exempt from distress, was always at peace with itself, and at ease and in love with the person to whom it imparted without reserve its thoughts and its feelings. He delighted in the *seria mixta jocis;* and in discoursing on the gravest and most momentous subjects was wont to relieve his own mind and that of his correspondent by throwing out some pleasant repartee, or suggesting some agreeable and joyous reminiscence. But all this will not account or apologise for the appearance of incongruity, and even

[1] Melvini Epist. p. 76—78.

levity, that there is in the concluding part of the last extract—in the sudden transition from lamenting over the dead to jesting on love and matrimony. The following explanation will, however, show that the writer was never more deeply in earnest than on this occasion. The reader must by this time be aware, although he has not been expressly told, that Melville was a bachelor, and consequently that he was now an old one. He will therefore be surprised to have a correspondence upon a matrimonial affair laid before him; and will find that it is not chargeable with that total absence of everything worldly which made the love-letters of John Knox so unattractive. To prevent disappointment, however, I must state that Melville was not the lover; he was only his friend and counsellor. James Melville, who was ten years younger than his uncle, had now been upwards of two years a widower. During his residence at Newcastle he had become acquainted with a young woman, the daughter of a deceased clergyman in Berwick-upon-Tweed. Suffice it to say, that the accomplishments of this young lady had made a conquest of his heart, and there was every reason to think that he would marry her. Some of his friends in Scotland, who were of opinion that it was imprudent for him to marry at all, or at any rate to marry one who was so very much younger than himself, communicated the intelligence to his uncle, who, they knew, had greater influence with him than any other individual. Melville was of the same opinion with his friends, and he made the transition alluded to, that he might draw on a correspondence on the subject, and suggest to his nephew the impropriety and unseasonableness of the step which he was meditating.

He had scarcely sent off his letter, when he received one from James Melville, in which, after modestly introducing the affair "beneath well-sounding Greek," he gave him a description of the object of his attachment, who had every recommendation but a fortune, stated the reasons for and against the step which he proposed to take, and earnestly begged his uncle's advice. Melville immediately replied. "On the subject of matrimony," says he, "I am at a loss what to write; as I have no experience of that happy state. With you I bow with reverence to the declarations in favour of it which you quote from the sacred oracles, though my years place me beyond the reach of their application. You state the arguments on both sides with great accuracy; but it is not difficult to perceive to what side you incline. You entirely pass over the widow,[1] and launch out in praises of the young woman. This gives ground for suspecting your judgment, and for thinking that affection and not reason has the dominion. Love has got admittance and keeps the door fast bolted on reason. Perhaps this is *cum ratione insanire.* I know you have sharp eyes, but in this business it is proper to make use of the ears also." Having suggested

[1] The lady with whom James Melville lodged at Newcastle, and whom his friends thought a fitter match for him than the object of his choice.

some considerations, all in favour of the widow, he adds: "but you know these things much better than I do; and it becomes me to remember the adage, Γλαυκας εις Αθηνας, or rather, *Sus Minervam.*" After some ingenious remarks on the different seasons of human life, backed with the authority of Solon, Seneca, Varro, and Virgil, he concludes: "Thus, my dear James, do I address you with the same freedom which the elder Africanus used with the younger. Act a part becoming your extraction, your judgment, and your prudence. With respect to what I hinted about the age at which your father died, may Heaven avert the omen from you, and turn it rather on your friend. *Tu vero serus in cœlum redeas.* You see what a prolix letter I have written you, and without a spice of wit in it. Advise well. Time, under God, will direct you. The bearer is a-going, and yet I cannot leave off prating to you. Love is fond of prating."—"I congratulate myself," says James Melville in his reply, "that, by starting the subject of marriage, I have drawn from you three golden pages, filled with proofs of the greatest love to me and of profound learning and prudence. They shall lie in my bosom, in place of a wife, during the winter months, until I have taken that time for deliberation which the affair and my circumstances require. Nevertheless, I am resolved to end my days, sooner or later, in honourable wedlock:

> Nubila mens est,
> Vinctaque frenis,
> Hæc nisi regnet."

Having assigned his reasons for thinking that the widow whom his friends recommended would be an unsuitable partner for him, he adds: "I have not forgotten the saying of an ancient sage, 'A man cannot be wise and in love at the same time;' and I recollect the words of the Italian writer, 'Senza moglie, ben che non senza donna, avenge che le cose che superano le force nostre sono piu in desiderio che in magisterio.' To the instance of my father you might have added that of my brother; for both of them died in their fifty-third year, a circumstance which occurred to my own mind, and which has affected me not a little since you objected it. But is it not eligible to have a faithful and affectionate wife, if it were only to watch by one's death-bed and to close one's eyes? and is it not allowed us to enjoy the comforts of life while we live? I thank God I never enjoyed better health. Perhaps it is the last effort of nature, as in the case of my father. Be it so: I will rejoice in it as the first step of my entrance into true life; and much rather would I meet a premature grave than suffer the grief which I would feel at witnessing your death or the ruin of the good cause."[1]

His uncle was still afraid that the step was an imprudent one; and therefore resolved to use stronger language than he had employed in his former letter, with the view of making him pause, although at the

[1] Melvini Epist. pp. 81—90, 93—96.

risk of offending him. This was a proof of the truest friendship; for he was at this time deeply in debt to his nephew, and had the prospect of yet needing to make additional draughts on his kindness and liberality. Having made some remarks on the intelligence which James Melville had sent him as to the state of church matters in Scotland, and the prospect of their speedily coming to a crisis, he thus addresses him: "Therefore, I cannot but exhort you to be vigilant, and prepared with renovated vigour to fight this glorious battle, for which you have been restored to health and reserved to this day. All effeminacy of mind must be laid aside; the old man must be put off; and we must behave ourselves stoutly and resolutely, lest in the last scene of the conflict we fail through error or fear, not to say dotage, to which every slip of old men is commonly imputed. Your son, Andrew, has, I hope, been with you for several weeks. He, with John, Elizabeth, and Anne (whose names must renew the memory of your dearest wife), will prevent you from being fascinated and lulled asleep by the charms of this young woman so distinguished for taciturnity and prudence. The very arguments which you adduce to prove that you are guided in this affair by judgment more than affection, betray affection; not to recur to the age which proved fatal to your relations. I dare not say,

> Otium, Melvine, tibi molestum est:
> Otio exultas nimiumque gestis;
> Otium Reges simul et beatas
> Perdidit urbes.

But what shall I say of your discourse on sepulchral wedlock, and so forth? It is really quite extravagant, and only shows how much you are carried away by your affections. The plain case is this: you are the father of five children, four of whom are at a very critical age, and two of them daughters, well-born, liberally educated, and approaching to maturity. They need your paternal solicitude and watchfulness. Your brother's children are dependent on you, and require much of your attention. And, in these circumstances, you ——— Conceive that you hear your friend Dykes, with severe brow and ardent eyes, with an impassioned but affectionate tone, urging these and similar considerations upon you. I merely suggest them, and am forced to break off. May the Author of all good counsel give you direction. Farewell, and live in the Lord, my dear James, by far the best beloved of all my friends. Take time to deliberate. *Festina lente.*"

It must be confessed that there are in this letter some severe things, and that it contains insinuations which the conduct of James Melville had not merited, and which could not fail to hurt his feelings. It drew from him a spirited reply, in which respect for his uncle and a conviction of his friendly intentions, though they restrained, could not altogether suppress the irritation which he felt. "It would seem that I have used too great freedom in writing to you on the subject of marriage. To what but this can I trace your unfavourable, not to say injurious

suspicions of me—that I have fallen into dotage, am playing the fool, idling, slumbering, and giving myself up to love. Good words, prithee! I am constrained to answer, lest forbearance should injure my reputation and the cause for which I appear. In answer to the charge of dotage, I might, as Sophocles says, repeat such things as could not proceed from a fool or a dotard. I am not conscious that I have turned a hair's-breadth from the straight course which I have been all along pursuing, or that there is any change in my conduct, except that, as I draw nearer the goal, I feel my mind, through the grace of Christ, more propense to piety and holiness. I live here daily under the eyes of very acute censors, and yet I have not heard that I have been charged with anything foolish either in speech or behaviour. It is true that I at present enjoy greater ease than I could wish; but I can say with Virgil's shepherd,

O Melibœe, *Deus* nobis hæc otia fecit.

And perhaps I was never less idle than I now am; so that I could give such an account, not only of my former active life, but also of my present repose, as a wise and good man ought to be prepared to give. I certainly do not mean to deny that I take my rest in the night, and enjoy sound sleep; God having blessed me with health and a mind free from corroding solicitude. Nor do I deny that I am in love; but it is legitimate, holy, chaste, sober love. But I think of a second marriage! I do; and I wish I had thought of it two years ago. It is surely very unreasonable that what is 'honourable in all' should be turned to my disgrace. Do not, my chaste father, measure all others by yourself, who, inflamed with the sacred love of the Muses, and reposing in the embraces of Minerva, look with severe indifference on conjugal felicity, and have all your days abstained from it for the sake of purer and more refined delights. But I restrain myself. I do not pretend that I am not under the influence of the affections, for how then could I be in love? All that I profess is, that they are kept under the restraints of reason and religion. Your friend Dykes talks scoffingly in what he says about sepulchral wedlock. It is a crude cavil, and savours too much of choler. Indeed, I can perceive nothing of any weight in what you adduce, except it be the incongruity of an old man marrying a young woman. But I am not an old man, I am only elderly. She indeed is in the flower of life, being only nineteen years of age. And who that is wise would not prefer for a partner one who is sound in mind and body, modest, yielding, humble, affectionate, open-hearted, sweet-tempered, and thus every way qualified for rendering life agreeable? A widow, or one of more advanced age, who possesses these properties, is *rara avis in terris*. At least I can meet with none such here. If therefore you concede to me the liberty of taking a wife, and do not forbid matrimony entirely (which I hope you will not do), you must allow me to choose a fit partner for myself. I have many reasons for not taking a widow, and more for taking a young woman; nor do I want examples of the best

men who have acted as I mean to do; such as Knox, Craig, Pont, Dalgleish, and others in our own church. But, that you may know how differently my real friend Dykes[1] thinks from your fictitious friend of that name, I beg leave to inform you that I have just received a letter from him, in which he congratulates me on my attachment to an excellent young woman who entertains for me a reciprocal affection, will take care of me in my declining years, and be a solace to me during my exile. I have only to request of you, my loving father, that you will form an equally favourable opinion of my intentions, or that at least you will pardon in me what you may not be able entirely to approve."[2]

This letter convinced Melville that his nephew's resolution was fixed, and that he had proceeded too far in opposing his inclinations. He therefore yielded with as good a grace as possible. "Our friend Bamford has delivered me your very serious and long, but not prolix letter. The longer the more agreeable; although it contained some things which I could not read without tears. Your apology, like the garden of Adonis, planted with the most delicious flowers, and adorned with bower-work, exhales nothing but pure and sacred loves, which, although of the most delicate kind, might captivate Minerva instead of Venus:—

> Illam dulcis amor tinctis in Nectare telis
> Imbuit: éque suis proprias attexuit alas,
> Inque meas quibus acta manus perque ora volaret.

It has penetrated my heart, not to say wounded it; and almost made me sigh after such happiness. But, alas! it is too late at my advanced age. What remains, therefore, but that I congratulate you, and encourage you to go on in your virtuous course? You do injustice to my Dykes and me when you accuse us of bantering—a fault which is not more foreign to his disposition than it was to the design of my letter. What, my son! would I mock you on so serious and sacred a subject? Far be this from one who strives against everything that is unamiable about him, or which merits the dislike of good men. May your love succeed, and be crowned with the most fortunate and auspicious issue to you and yours! If I seemed to oppose it, impute this to yourself and your urgent request for my opinion. Nor could I prevail on myself to conceal from you what I heard from others or suspected they would say, that I might excite you to look narrowly to yourself and your affairs at this crisis. I now congratulate and give joy to Melissa as the successor of Eliza. It is my prayer that she may spend many happy years in your company, and, what is more, that she may make you the father of a fair offspring."[3]

The marriage took place accordingly, and appears to have been attended with happy effects. Melville never had the pleasure of seeing his fair young niece, but he sent his affectionate salutations to "the

[1] John Dykes was James Melville's brother-in-law, as well as colleague. He married a daughter of John Dury. Testament Testamentar of John Dury, in Commissary Record of Edin. 2d July 1600. See also above, p. 151.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 114—116, 126—133.

[3] Ibid. pp. 134—141, 142, 143.

honied Melissa" in every letter which he wrote to his nephew, who took particular pleasure in acknowledging the compliment. Whatever may be thought as to the prudence of his second marriage, it is but justice to James Melville to say, that it had no influence in enervating his mind, or in making him indifferent or remiss in his exertions in behalf of the cause for which he was a sufferer. He rejected the offer of a bishopric, which Sir John Anstruther made him in the name of the king; he refused to purchase his liberty by acceding to conditions inconsistent with his principles;[1] he continued to counsel and encourage his brethren in Scotland by his letters; and he drew up several writings, historical and apologetical, relating to the Church of Scotland, which he only waited the consent of his brethren and a fit opportunity to publish to the world. In this last respect he had some ground for retaliating on his uncle, whom he urged to perform his promises, by putting the finishing hand as speedily as possible to his work on the episcopal controversy. This work, though not laid aside, proceeded slowly, and was often interrupted by studies more congenial to the taste and dispositions of the author. To the friendly remonstrances of his nephew, Melville replied: "By the paraphrases of which I send you a specimen, I sustain the imbecility of my spirit, which hitherto has not been left destitute of Christian confidence, or of any kind of consolation, by Him who in His mercy has honoured me to favour His cause, if not by actual services, at least by sincere, though many ways imperfect, purposes and endeavours. It grieves me that I cannot be present to assist its defenders, and that I can do so little for it in my absence. But why do I say it grieves me? No; I do not grieve, though I once grieved that I had been so unprofitable to the Church of Christ. Without my assistance the supreme Judge hath pleaded His own cause, and He will still plead it.[2] In reminding me of my promise, you act a friendly and a prudent part, knowing, as you do, my habitual indolence and supineness. Yet I can redeem my pledge with no great expense or labour. The controversialists to whom you refer, torture the passages of Scripture which they allege for pseudo-Episcopacy; and their arguments have been already refuted by others. Nor do they place their chief confidence in argument, but in the mask of antiquity, and the pretext of royal authority, which they boastingly represent as absolute and omnipotent. They dare not come out into the open field, nor will they commit themselves in any contest which is not to be finally decided by the arbitrary will of an individual. By means of injunctions, proclamations, edicts, and pretended judicial processes, they break through every barrier, and pervert all laws, human and divine. Keep yourself easy on the head of my 'thrasonic boasting;' for I measure the cause by the force of truth and not my own abilities, and look for victory over the prostrate audacity of our adversaries through the divine blessing. In so good a cause I do not despair of being able at least to answer when challenged; but,

[1] Cald. vii. 72, 208.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ. pp. 107, 108.

instead of arrogating anything to myself, I am disposed to place great confidence in my brethren, whose diligence in preparing for the combat I cannot but highly applaud." [1]

It is proper now to turn to Scotland, and take a view of those ecclesiastical transactions in which Melville felt so deep an interest. The same arts of court policy which had been put in practice for a number of years continued to be employed for the overthrow of Presbytery. And as its ablest and most resolute defenders were either exiled or imprisoned, these arts were but too successful. The bishops were conscious that there were still great difficulties in the way of their accomplishing their object. While they were at work in removing these, they contrived to lay asleep the jealousy of their opponents, and to bind up their hands, by engaging them in a treaty for peace and accommodation. At a conference held at Falkland in June 1608, and at a packed General Assembly convened at Linlithgow in the subsequent month, both parties, with professions of mutual regard, agreed to leave the matters in dispute to be settled by a certain number of individuals, and promised upon oath to abstain in the mean time from agitating them, or saying anything in private or public which might tend to keep alive the dissension.[2] At a meeting held in May 1609, they renewed this engagement, and joined in a common address to the king, in which they gave him thanks for his exertions to settle the peace of the church.[3] When a scheme is on foot for overturning the constitutional liberties of a society, all such engagements to silence and the maintenance of peace are ensnaring and dangerous. In the present instance, the engagement was a virtual retractation of the opposition hitherto managed against Episcopacy. It implied an acknowledgment, on the part of the Presbyterians, that the point in dispute was indifferent, and consequently might be yielded out of regard to peace, and in obedience to the royal authority. It shut the mouths of such as feared an oath, and exposed them to censure as violators of their promise if they resisted any step which their opponents might take; while it imposed no restraint on those who had the power in their hands, and had shown by their former conduct that they could trample on the most sacred engagements.[4]

It was during this deceitful truce, accordingly, that the ecclesiastical leaders took a step which they had hitherto carefully avoided. They had all along denied that there was any intention of moulding the government of the church after the English form, and had vindicated the changes which had been successively introduced on the ground of their being necessary for recovering the ecclesiastical property, or to give satisfaction to the king. But they now avowed a change of senti-

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 134, 135.

[2] Cald. vii. 146, 195—201. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 211—217. Melville's Hist. of Decl. Age, pp. 225, 240—243.

[3] Cald. vii. 297—310. Scot, p. 222—227. Melville, p. 252—265.

[4] In a letter to the king, dated Linlithgow, July last, 1608, the bishops say, "So now, Sir, as we hope for an end of all our contentions, *and a prevailing in your majesty's service*," &c. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 61.

ment. A new light, they alleged, had sprung up in their minds during their late studies; they were convinced that Episcopacy was more agreeable to Scripture than that form of government which had been established in Scotland; and they were willing to impart the reasons which had convinced them to their brethren who were of a different mind. With this view they proposed that the question should be submitted to a formal dispute. Considering what the conduct of the bishops had been for a course of years, their professions of sudden conversion were more than suspicious, and it was not difficult to trace their "new light" to its genuine source.[1] However, three of the ministers of Fife—Scot, Dykes, and Carmichael—accepted their challenge, and prepared for the contest. But it was enough for the patrons of Episcopacy to have called in question the received discipline, and they found excuses for putting off the discussion which they had provoked. To assist them in the dispute, or rather to deter their opponents from agreeing to it, Dr Abbot and two other learned divines were sent down from England. Without wishing to derogate from the talents of the English missionaries, we cannot help saying that they gave but slender proofs of their prowess on this occasion. Had they come to Scotland four years earlier, when the ablest defenders of Presbytery were in the country and at liberty, they would have had an opportunity of signalising themselves honourably as the champions of the hierarchy; and, notwithstanding the royal insinuation at the Hampton Court conference, we will venture to say that they would have run no risk of having their doctoral habiliments torn, although the sleeves of their cassocks might perhaps have been a little disordered by the rude fervour of Scottish eloquence. But their coming at the present time and traversing the country in state, bore too strong a resemblance to the conduct of a bravo, who proudly walks the stage, when he knows that his antagonists have been seized by the officers of justice or bound over to keep the peace. The English doctors were content with insinuating themselves into the good opinion of the ministers in private, and pronouncing eulogiums on their church polity from the principal pulpits in the kingdom. Dr Abbot preached before the General Assembly at Linlithgow, and had public thanks given him for his "excellent sermon."[2] Such commendations were then less complimentary than they have become in the present charitable age, and I doubt not that the sermon was excellent. Indeed, a more prudent choice of a missionary could not have been made. The amiable manners,

[1] When Cowper was made bishop of Galloway, an old woman who had been one of his parishioners at Perth, and a favourite, could not be persuaded that her minister had deserted the Presbyterian cause. Resolved to satisfy herself, she paid him a visit in the Canongate, where he had his residence as Dean of the Chapel Royal. The retinue of servants through which she passed staggered the good woman's confidence; and on being ushered into the room where the bishop sat in state, she exclaimed, "Oh, sir! what's this? And ye hae really left the guid cause, and turned prelate!"—"Janet," said the bishop, "I have got new light upon these things."—"So I see, sir," replied Janet; "for when ye was at Perth, ye had but ae candle, and now ye've got twa before ye: that's a' your *new light*."

[2] MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 61.

moderation, and zeal for the reformed religion, by which Abbot was distinguished, could not fail to have a prepossessing influence in favour of his opinions. But if his mission contributed to the overthrow of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, she, in her fall, took a severe revenge on her rival. In reward of his services on this occasion, Abbot was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury ;[1] and we are assured, by those who should know the fact, that his semi-puritanical principles and moderate administration were a principal cause of the subsequent ruin of the hierarchy, and triumph of Presbytery in England.[2]

From the accounts of the friendly treaty which were brought him in the Tower, Melville was at first inclined to form a favourable opinion of that measure. But his nephew, whose proximity to the scene of action gave him a better opportunity of being acquainted with the exact state of matters, and the real intentions of the ruling party, disapproved of it from the beginning, and had warned his brethren against agreeing to it.[3] "I am afraid," says he, in a letter to his uncle, "that your solution of my scruples is not satisfactory. These twenty individuals (who met at Falkland), were chosen by the General Assembly to determine all matters that were in controversy. They have decided that the truce, and the address approving of the royal measures, shall be published in all the churches of the kingdom, and that none shall speak against them. And they have promised to use their influence to induce their brethren to acquiesce in this decision. The bishops boast to his majesty of their success, and appeal to the letter subscribed by all the delegates. It is true that our excellent brethren who have been placed in the front of the battle were far from intending this, and are now grieved at the advantage which has been taken of them. But through their over-confidence, the whole discipline has been called in question. It has been with the greatest difficulty that I have been able for some time back to restrain Carmichael, Dykes, and certain others from disputation ; so secure were these young men in the strength of the cause (which no doubt is commendable) and in their own abilities. But who does not perceive the danger of disputing before such a judge ? for the king will be the judge. Therefore I dread the worst—not only the overthrow of the discipline, but also the thraldom of conscience under the mask of forbearance, toleration, and bonds of peace. For what will not episcopal men, Popish or Protestant, presume to do for the advancement of their schemes ? while those of the purer sort will not dare even to mutter. N.[4] has long ago finished a large answer to Barlow ; but unless he can secure a maintenance for his family in exile he is unwilling to publish it, and I cannot urge him. I also have many things in my *Adversaria*, but they are as a sword in its scabbard. In the mean time the Greeks are masters of the city, which, if not in flames, is deserted by its defen-

[1] Birch's Hist. View of Negotiations, p. 328.
[2] Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 383. Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. pp. 88, 89. 1707, 8vo.
[3] Cald. vii. 126, 202, 289. Melville's Decl Age, p. 216.
[4] Probably Mr John Carmichael, minister of Elie.

ders."[1] Melville could not deny the force of these reasons, but still he was disposed to put a more favourable construction on the conduct of his brethren. "If they have erred," says he in his reply, "I am of opinion that they have erred more through fear than self-confidence. If they have been guilty of any oversight, it has proceeded from dejection rather than elation of mind. Nor need we wonder at this, when we read what his majesty has lately published, in his contest with Bellarmine, the crimes which he imputed to the Puritans, and the violent hostility which he shows to the whole of that party. These declarations might make our brethren dread the worst, and induce them to ratify the bond of peace."[2]

This was one of the amiable traits in Melville's character. He was himself a stranger to fear; and no man was less disposed to make concessions hurtful to truth, or to give way, even for an hour, to the insidious proposals of its adversaries. Yet no man was more ready than he to make allowances for those who failed through defect of courage or of firmness; and, provided he was satisfied of their integrity and good intentions, he censured their faults with the utmost reluctance and tenderness. He was even averse to form a harsh judgment of the motives of those individuals whose conduct he most decidedly condemned. "Notwithstanding the stormy season," says he, in a letter to a friend in Scotland, "I have felt nothing hitherto but fair and pleasant weather, keeping both soul and body in a cheerful disposition. Such is the bountiful grace of our merciful heavenly Father toward me in this vale of misery and shadow of death. So that nothing has come against my heart to trouble me, but the affliction of my brethren, and the bearing down of the cause by the ignorance of some and the craft of others, for charity will not suffer me to suspect malice in any."[3]

James Melville's predictions were soon verified. During the time agreed on for a cessation of hostilities, the bishops were busily employed in strengthening their influence, and in ripening their plans for execution. At the parliament held in 1609, not one of the ministers was present to oppose any measures hostile to the church which might be proposed. The commissary courts were suppressed; and the power of judging in matrimonial and testamentary causes, and in all others of a mixed kind, was transferred to the bishops in their several dioceses.[4] Large sums of money were expended by the king in buying back the alienated episcopal lands and revenues, that the bishops might live in a style suitable to their rank.[5] Archbishop Spotswood was made an Extraordinary Lord of Session, to prepare the way for the restoration of the episcopal order to the place which they had formerly held in that court.[6]

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 123—125.
[2] Ibid. 134. [3] Cald. vii 210.
[4] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 430, 431. The bishops, in a memorial to his majesty, had requested his interposition to procure this power for them. Scot's Apolog. Narrat. p. 221. Printed Cald. p. 602.
[5] James Melville says that this cost the king "above 300,000 lib sterling." Hist. of the Decl. Age of the Church of Scotland, p. 265. Simsoni Annales, p. 124.
[6] This was one of the requests in the memorial referred to in the last note but one. In a letter, dated Feb. 18, 1610, Gladstanes says: "Your majesty may look for uniform and constant service from all my brethren,

But nothing contributed more to the advancement of their designs than the power which they received from the court to modify or fix the stipends of the ministers. "By augmentation they allured, by diminution they weakened, a number of the ministry; and that so covertly, that one cause was pretended publicly and another alleged in secret."[1] "The bishops sit at the helm," says James Melville, in a letter to his uncle; "the rest of the commissioners being either removed by them, or withdrawing of their own accord. The Bishop of St Andrews keeps a splendid establishment at Edinburgh, consisting of his wife, children, and a great retinue of servants; and ostentatiously displays his silken robes every Sabbath in Bruce's pulpit before the magistrates and nobility. Crowds of poor ministers, mean souls, besiege his door, press round him when he comes abroad, and for the sake of their stipends (the modifying of which is entirely in his power) do everything but adore him. What say you to this?"[2] At last, the power of the bishops was carried to the highest pitch to which the king could raise it, by the introduction of the English Inquisition—the Court of High Commission. This detestable court, whose procedure was regulated by no fixed laws or forms of justice, was armed with the united terrors of civil and ecclesiastical despotism. It had the power of receiving appeals from any ecclesiastical judicatory, of calling before it all persons accused of error or immorality, and all preachers and teachers in schools or colleges, charged with speeches which were impertinent, contrary to the established order of the church, or favourable to those who had been confined or banished for ecclesiastical offences; and, on finding them guilty, it was empowered to depose and excommunicate, to fine and imprison them. The presence of an archbishop was necessary to the validity of all its meetings, and it was easy for him to summon such of his colleagues as he knew to be devoted to his will; so that it was to all intents and purposes an episcopal court. "As it exalted the bishops far above any prelate that ever was in Scotland, so it put the king in possession of that which long time he had desired and hunted for, to wit, the royal prerogative and absolute power to use the bodies and goods of his subjects at his pleasure, without form or process of the common law: so that our bishops were fit instruments of the overthrow of the freedom and liberty both of the church and realm of Scotland."[3]

Being thus Lords of parliament, privy council, session, exchequer, and regality, Modifiers of stipends, Constant Moderators and Visitors of presbyteries, and Royal High Commissioners, the bishops thought they might now safely submit the question of Episcopacy to the de-

the prelates, whom also your majesty will please to encourage,—partly when places in the Session shall vaik by promoting some moe to the same, whilk will both repair the decay of our livings and patrimony, and procure the dependance of the rest of the ministry, who have their fortunes and estates subject to the pleasure of that judicatory." MS. in Bibliotheca Juridica Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 68.

[1] Printed Calderwood, pp. 574, 578.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 125.

[3] Melville's Hist. of the Declining Age, p. 270—276.

termination of a General Assembly. Accordingly, a meeting of that judicatory was, at their request, appointed to be held at Glasgow in the month of June 1610; royal missives were sent to the presbyteries, nominating the individuals whom they should choose as their representatives to it; and the Earl of Dunbar came down from London as king's commissioner, to be present at its deliberations, and to provide that everything should be done according to the royal will and pleasure.[1]

In his letter to the Assembly, his majesty told the members that he had expected, that, weary of the anarchy which reigned among them, they would have solicited him before that time to restore the primitive government of the church; but since they had failed in doing this, either through the culpable backwardness of the bishops, or the factious singularity of the meaner sort of ministers, he had been obliged to take up the affair himself. He had called them together, he said, to testify his affection to the church, and "not because their consent was very necessary," for "it was very lawful, and granted to him by God," to have done the work "absolutely out of his own royal power and authority;" and they would learn from the Earl of Dunbar and the Archbishop of St Andrews, to whom he had imparted his mind, what those alterations were which he was determined to make whether they consented to them or not. The Assembly was not of a temper either to resent or resist these magisterial and haughty orders. A committee was appointed to draw up such resolutions as would prove satisfactory to his majesty, or rather to receive what had already been agreed upon between him and the bishops; and their report was immediately adopted and approved. The General Assembly held at Aberdeen in the year 1605 was condemned, and the right of calling and dismissing Assemblies was declared to be a branch of the royal prerogative. The bishops were declared moderators of diocesan synods; all presentations to benefices were appointed to be directed to them, in place of presbyteries; and the power of excommunicating and absolving offenders, of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of visiting all the churches within their respective dioceses, was conferred on them. In ordination and deposition, the bishop was to be assisted by the "ministers of the bounds" (for the name of a *presbytery* was insufferable to the royal ears); and if found culpable he might be removed by the General Assembly, "with his majesty's advice and consent."[2] But these limitations of the episcopal power were merely a blind thrown over the eyes

[1] In a common letter sent by the bishops to his majesty, requesting him to call this Assembly, they say: "We shall take, by God's help, the most safe and sure way: and what we undertake, we shall be answerable to your majesty for performance. *We have all our ministers, even such as were most refractory, at the point of toleration. They will suffer things to proceed, and be quiet, because they cannot longer strive.*" MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 66.

[2] In a letter written to his majesty, March 14, 1610, Spotswood says: "They have at this time a strong apprehension of the discharge of presbyteries; and, for the standing thereof in any tolerable sort, will refuse no conditions: *so it were good to use the opportunity, and cut them short of their power, and leave them a bare name, which for the present may please, but in a little time shall evanish.*" MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1, 12, num. 44.

of the simple; and, accordingly, they were excluded from the subsequent ratification of the acts of the Assembly by parliament.[1] There were only five votes against the resolutions. Primrose, and some other ministers in Ayrshire, intended to protest against the whole proceedings, but means were found to prevent them from carrying their purpose into execution.

Constituted as this Assembly was, it is altogether unnecessary to enter into any particular account of the way in which it was managed. It had no pretension to be regarded as a regular meeting of the supreme judicatory of the Church of Scotland; it had not the semblance of that freedom which belongs to a lawful Assembly; and as it would have been less insulting to the nation, so it would have been equally good in point of authority, if the matters enacted by it had been at once proclaimed by heralds at the market-cross, as edicts emanating from the royal will. One fact only shall be stated. The commissioner produced a proclamation, which he said he was appointed to make, abolishing presbyteries, and prohibiting them to meet for the future. While alarm and grief at this intimation sat on the countenances of the members, some of the nobility, who were instructed to act their part in the farce, rose and entreated the commissioner to keep back the proclamation until the king should be informed of their present proceedings; upon which his lordship, with affected condescension, acceded to their proposal, and promised to join with them in soliciting his majesty to rest satisfied with what the Assembly had done, and to permit the presbyteries to continue. This transaction deterred any from appearing as protesters, and it was industriously circulated through the country, to induce ministers and people to submit to the obnoxious decisions. Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this Assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* Assembly, in allusion to the name of the coins distributed on the occasion.[2] Those who voted with the court endeavoured to excuse their receiving these "wages of unrighteousness," by alleging that they were given them to defray their travelling expenses.[3] Two years were allowed to elapse before the acts of this Assembly were ratified, and the laws in favour of Presbytery rescinded, by parliament.[4]

Thus, after a struggle of more than ten years, was Episcopacy established in Scotland. The way in which it was introduced exhibits

[1] In the preamble of the act of parliament, the conclusions of the General Assembly are thus introduced: "In manner, substance, and effect following; with the explanation maid be the estaitis of parliament presentlie convenit of some of these articles resolued vpoun in foirsaid Assemblie of Glasgow." Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469.

[2] Sir James Balfour says, the Earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers "40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages." Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 398. Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the Assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Read, who had been there in the course of his profession, having heard what a country minister got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for *two* angels, when he (the pauper) had got *three* for nothing. Simsoni Annales, p. 124. Row's Hist. p. 160. Proceedings of the Assemblie holden at Glasgow in 1638; MS. *penes me*, p. 66.

[3] Cald. vii. 389—406. Row, 147—155. Melville's Decl. Age, 277—284. Scot, 233—240. Wodrow's Life of Law, p. 9.

[4] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 469, 470.

a complete contrast to the introduction of the ecclesiastical polity which it supplanted. Presbytery made its way by the weapons of argument and persuasion, without the aid of the civil power, which viewed its progress with a jealous eye, and raised its arm repeatedly to crush it. Its patrons avowed from the beginning all that they intended, and never had recourse to falsehood or fraud to accomplish their favourite object. And it had been rooted in the opinions and affections of the nation long before it obtained a legal establishment. Episcopacy, on the contrary, was the creature of the state. It had the whole weight of the authority and influence of the Crown all along on its side; and even with this it could not have prevailed, or maintained its ground, without the aid of those arts to which government has recourse for carrying its worst and most unpopular measures. Deceit and perfidy and bribery were joined to fines, and imprisonments, and banishments, and the terrors of the gibbet. Dissimulation was the grand engine by which the presbyterian constitution was overthrown. While the court disgraced itself by a series of low and overreaching tricks, the aspiring clergy plunged themselves into the deepest and most profligate perjury. They refused no pledge which the jealousy of the church courts, awakened by the measures of government, required of them. When engaged in a scheme for overthrowing the established discipline, they renewed the assurances of their inviolable attachment and adherence to it.[1] With the most solemn asseverations and execrations, they disclaimed all intention of bringing Prelacy into the church, and swore to observe the cautions enacted to guard against its admission. Every change which was made was declared to be the only one intended; but no sooner had the alarm excited by it been allayed than it was followed by another, until at last the whole system of the hierarchy was introduced and established by the exertions of those who had so frequently disowned and abjured it. No expressions can be too strong in reprobating a scene of deliberate, systematic, and persevering prevarication and

[1] On the 2d of August, 1604, all the members of the presbytery of St Andrews, including Gladstanes, renewed their subscription of the National Covenant, and at the same time subscribed the act of parliament 1592, which ratified Presbytery, as an authentic explanation of the discipline which they swore to maintain,—"to testify their harmony and hearty agreement in all things both concerning doctrine and discipline; promising solemnly to defend the same always, according to their callings, and never to come in the contrary, according to the great oath set down in the foresaid Confession of Faith." And what was the form of this oath? "Promising and swearing by the great name of the Lord our God, that we shall continue in the obedience of the doctrine and discipline of this kirk, and shall defend the same, according to our vocation and power, all the days of our lives, under the pains contained in the law, and danger both of body and soul in the day of God's fearful judgment. And seeing that many are stirred up,—to promise, swear, and subscribe deceitfully, — we, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his kirk, protest and call the searcher of all hearts for witness, that our minds and hearts do fully agree with this our confession, promise, oath, and subscription," &c. To this engagement, sanctioned by this awful appeal and protestation, did Gladstanes set his hand immediately after the moderator of the presbytery. Extract from the Record of Presbytery of St Andrews in Melville's Declining Age of the Church, p. 109—111. Spotswood and Law subscribed the *Book of Policy*, among the members of the presbytery of Linlithgow. Record of Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, Oct. 6, 1591. And, in the year 1604, they renewed their pledges. Simsoni Annales, pp. 89, 107. Printed Calderwood, pp. 484, 485.

perfidy, to which it will not be easy to find a parallel in the whole history of political intrigue, and which, as practised by churchmen, must have had the most pernicious influence on religion, by debasing the character of its ministers, especially in the estimation of the higher ranks, whom they now vied with in honours, and sought to supplant in the highest offices of the state. A victory gained by such arts was more dishonourable than many defeats. It required only another triumph of a similar kind to secure the perpetual proscription of Episcopacy from this country, and to fix a stigma upon it which must induce its warmest admirers to wish that every trace of its existence were erased from the annals of Scotland.

A Scottish gentleman of the name of Colville communicated the result of the Assembly at Glasgow to Melville. He was deeply affected by the intelligence; and continued for a considerable time in a state of profound and distressing silence. When his grief at last found utterance, it vented itself in a vehement denunciation against the commissioner, Dunbar, whom he regarded, and justly, as the prime agent in overturning the ecclesiastical liberties of his native country.[1] Not that he wanted considerations to alleviate the distress which he felt on this occasion. His conscience acquitted him of having wilfully failed in any part of his duty during the long and painful struggle; and he had the satisfaction to reflect, that though the cause was unsuccessful, its honour remained untarnished. Until he and his associates were removed out of the way by fraudulent and forcible means, the enemy gained no real advantage, and durst not attack the citadel, notwithstanding their knowledge of the treachery and feebleness of many of its defenders. With all his vanity and boastfulness, Gladstanes acknowledged that they would have been unable to execute their designs if Andrew Melville had remained in the country and been at liberty. The firm and independent, though oppressed and overborne, opponents of Episcopacy were the real victors; and it was not without reason that Melville applied the elegant description of an ancient historian to himself and his fellow-combatants: "Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. Neque majore unquam triumpho vicimus, quam quum decem annorum stragibus vinci non potuimus."[2]

The overthrow of Presbytery afflicted James Melville as acutely as his uncle; but it did not surprise him so much, as he was less san-

[1] Scot reports Melville's words to have been, "That man (Dunbar) that hath overthrown that kirk and the liberties of Christ's kingdome there shall never have the grace to set his foot in that kingdome againe." Apolog. Narrat. p. 248. And the same account is given by Row. Hist. p. 158. But in the confidential correspondence between Melville and his nephew, there is not the most distant allusion to any prophecy, although Dunbar's death is repeatedly mentioned. It is most probable that a prophetical turn was given to Melville's words after the sudden death of the premier; and this remark may be extended to many of those sayings which have been recorded as prophecies in the lives of good men.

[2] Melvini Epist. p. 27: ex Sulpitii Severi Hist. Sacr. lib. i. cap. 33.

guine in his hopes of a successful resistance, from the knowledge which he possessed of the actual state of matters in Scotland. Before the late General Assembly sat down, his fears had anticipated the issue, and he had bewailed it in the most tender strains in his letters to his brethren.[1] Jealous of the personal interviews and epistolary correspondence which he held with his brethren in Scotland, the bishops procured an order to remove him from Newcastle to Carlisle, where he would have it less in his power to counteract their plans. The only consolation which he had in the prospect of this change of abode was the opportunity that it would give him of meeting with his much-esteemed friend and fellow-sufferer, John Murray.[2] But by means of his friends at court he obtained a revocation of the order, and was permitted to take up his residence at Berwick.[3] If he was indebted for this favour to the interest of the Earl of Dunbar, he met at the same time with an injury from that nobleman, which cured him of any inclination which he still felt to rely on his patronage, and which may be added to the numerous proofs of the good faith of courtiers. "I cannot conceal from you," says he, in a letter to his uncle, "the affront which I have received from my Lord of Dunbar. On passing through this place to Glasgow, he charged me once and again and a third time—ultroneously charged me, when I was asking no such favour of him, to send for my son Andrew, and have him in readiness to accompany him when he returned to the south; as he intended to place him in one of the English universities, and would supply him with everything that he needed. At considerable expense I recalled the young man from France, and, placing him before his lordship on his return, I told him that my son waited his orders. He took no notice of him; but, mounting his horse and contracting his brows, stretched out his hand to me, and departed without uttering a word."[4] This proud man was soon after brought down from his elevation, and laid where "the kings and counsellors of the earth rest with the prisoners, who no longer hear the voice of the oppressor."

Melville was visited in the Tower by several of the supporters of Episcopacy, whom he received in such a way as to testify his sense of their courtesy, at the same time that he told them his opinion of their conduct with his characteristical frankness and warmth. "Two of my old scholars," says he, "called on me when they were lately here. The sight of them made my mouth water; and I poured forth my indignation on them in my usual manner. I did not dissemble the

[1] See his letter to William Scot in printed Calderwood, p. 614.

[2] John Murray, minister of Leith, was at this time confined in Dumfriesshire. He was prosecuted for a sermon containing some free remarks on the conduct of the bishops, which had been printed without his knowledge. The privy council sustained his defence, but the bishops procured a letter from the king, reprimanding the council, and ordering Murray into confinement. Regist. Secret. Concil. Royal Letters, &c., 20th March, and 30th April, 1608; and 5th March, 1609. Printed Cald. p. 580—582. His sermon was printed along with "Informations or a Protestation, A. 1608;" but it is rarely to be found in the copies of that tract.

[3] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 150, 166.

[4] Ibid. pp. 183, 184.

injury done to the brethren through their fault. I exhorted them to return to their duty and not to go on to 'fight against God.' The injuries done to myself I forgave the commonwealth and church. I showed them that the arms of all ought to be turned against the common enemy, unanimity and fraternal concord cultivated, and the exiled brethren recalled. They agreed with me on these points, but pleaded that the king is bent on maintaining order, and he must be obeyed in all things :

Et veterem in limo ranæ cecinere querelam.

I parted with these civil gentlemen on the most civil terms ; and they of course will trumpet everywhere the praises of your friend's profound erudition." [1]

Among his visitants was his countryman, John Cameron, who had come over at this time from France. As he was favourable to the ecclesiastical plans of the court, a dispute soon ensued between them. Cameron was dogmatical and loquacious, and Melville was not disposed to allow him to run away with the argument. When they were hotly engaged, the Tower bell gave warning that all visitors should retire, and the combatants were reluctantly separated. At parting, Melville admonished Cameron, that, being a young man, he should beware of "being lifted up with pride," and of disparaging that discipline which, from the time of the Reformation, had formed an integral part of religion in his native country, and had hitherto resisted the attacks of all its adversaries, both domestic and foreign.[2]

He had at this time an opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with Isaac Casaubon ; but he found the sentiments of that great scholar much altered from what they were when his epistolary correspondence with him commenced. During his residence at the French court, Casaubon's attachment to the reformed religion had been shaken, and the Roman Catholics entertained confident hopes of making him a convert, when his patron, Henry the Great, was assassinated.[3] On that tragical event he retired into England, and was warmly received by James and the bishops. But, though he obtained a dispensation to hold two prebends without entering into holy orders, the tasks allotted to him were neither creditable to his talents nor congenial to his feelings.[4] He who had devoted his life to the cultivation of Grecian and Oriental literature, and who had edited and illustrated Strabo, Athenæus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polyænus, and Polybius, was now condemned to

[1] Melv. Epist. 54. [2] Ibid. 112, 113.

[3] When Rosweid afterwards published that Casaubon had intended to profess himself a Roman Catholic, the statement was strongly contradicted by his son Meric, and by Jacobus Cappellus. But it is evident from his own letters, that Casaubon, although he could not easily digest some of the grosser articles of the popish creed, was seriously deliberating on the change: and his son has kept back a part of one of his letters which contains strong evidence to that purpose. Merici Casauboni Epistolæ, pp. 85, 89, coll. cum Epist. Isaaci Casauboni, p. 607. Epist. Eccles. et Theol. p. 250. Du Moulin wrote to the Bishop of Bath and Wells advising him by all means to detain Casaubon in England : as there was every reason to fear his recantation if he returned to France. Casauboni Vita, as Almelov. p. 55.

[4] Birch's Historical View of Negotiations, p. 340.

drudge in replying to the Jesuit Fronto le Duc, correcting his majesty's answer to Cardinal Du Perron, refuting the Annals of Cardinal Baronius, and, what was still more degrading, writing letters to induce his illustrious friend De Thou to substitute King James's narrative of the troubles of Scotland in the room of that which he had already published on the authority of Buchanan. Melville is mentioned as one of three individuals in whose learned society he found relief from these irksome and ungrateful occupations.[1] The warm approbation of the constitution of the Church of England which Casaubon expressed, and the countenance which he gave to the consecration of the Scottish prelates at Lambeth, were by no means agreeable to Melville.[2] But notwithstanding this, he received frequent visits from him in the Tower; and on these occasions they entertained and instructed one another with critical remarks on ancient authors, and especially on the Scriptures.[3]

During his imprisonment he received marks of civility and friendship from several of the episcopal divines in England; among whom was Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, and well known by his pious and ingenious writings.[4]

By Sir William Wade, the Governor of the Tower, he appears to have been treated with every indulgence which was consistent with his safe custody.[5] Among his fellow-prisoners were Sir Walter Raleigh, and the favourite *Magi* of the Duke of Northumberland.[6] There were also in the Tower at this time three Scotchmen of the popish persuasion,—the noted John Hamilton, Paterson, a priest, and Campbell, a Capuchin friar, who were kept under an easy restraint, and sumptuously provided for.[7] Melville had several interviews with them; and waited on the death-bed of Hamilton, whom he exhorted, though without success, to rest his hopes of final acceptance on the atonement and advocacy of Christ, instead of the merits and intercession of creatures.[8] In the year 1610, Sir William Seymour, afterwards Duke of Hertford, was sent to the Tower for clandestinely marrying the Lady Arabella, who was nearly allied to the royal family. On this occasion Melville composed

[1] Casauboni Vita, p. 54.

[2] In a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Melville mentions this last circumstance with regret. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 210.

[3] Casaubon has preserved, in his *Ephemerides*, a critical emendation of the common text of 1 Timothy, iii. 15, 16, which Melville suggested to him at one of these interviews. He proposed to read the passage thus: "These things write I unto thee—that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. The pillar and ground of the truth, and great without controversy, is the mystery of godliness, God was manifest in the flesh," &c. Casauboniana, pp. 92, 292. "Mira novitas!" exclaims Casaubon. But, with all deference to the learned critic, the proposed reading was not a novelty. It is to be found in the Basil editions of the Greek Testament, *annis* 1540 and 1545; and has been adopted by several modern critics of great authority.

[4] "Literas a D. Josepho Hallo christianæ amoris et humanitatis plenissimas accepi; pro quibus non potui non agere gratias. Ejus in Salamonem opella, nuper edita, bene placet." Melvini Epistolæ, p. 99.

[5] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 318, 321, 323.

[6] Biographia Brit. art. Harriot, Thomas.

[7] Melvini Epist. p. 137. In the year 1608 James sent a letter to the privy council of Scotland, reprimanding them for overlooking "Mr Johne Hamiltoune." Letter from the Counsall to his Maiestie: Lord Haddington's Collect. About the same time Mr Alexander Campbell and Mr Johne Young apologise to his majesty "for the resetting of one Johne Cambell, a Capuchin frier." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 1, 12. They were not apprehended until the year 1609.

[8] Rob. Johnston, Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 460.

the following couplet, expressive of the similarity of the cause of Seymour's imprisonment to his own, founded on an allusion to the lady's name, which in Latin signifies *a fair altar.*

Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris, Arabella tibi causa est; Araque sacra mihi.[1]

These lines he sent to the noble prisoner on his entering the Tower, and the witty distich of "the poetical minister" was much talked of at court.[2]

In the month of November 1610, upon the return of Lord Wotton, the English ambassador, from France, the Duke of Bouillon sent an application by him to King James, requesting him to release Melville from the Tower, and allow him to come to his university at Sedan. It is probable that Melville owed this interposition in his favour to his friend Aaron Capel, one of the ministers of the French church in London, who had a brother in the university of Sedan. As the duke was one of the grandees of France, and at the head of the Protestants in that kingdom, James was pleased at having an opportunity to gratify him by granting the request.[3] But when Melville had the prospect of immediately obtaining his liberty, a formidable opposition was made to it from an unexpected quarter. The French ambassador at London thought it proper to acquaint his court with the transaction which was going on between the Duke of Bouillon and James. The Queen-Regent instantly wrote that she did not judge it safe that a person of Melville's qualities should come into her kingdom, where there was already a sufficient number of turbulent and restless spirits; and therefore charged her ambassador to oppose the measure, by representing to James that it was not reasonable to send to France an individual whom he had found it necessary to lay under restraint at home on account of his seditious behaviour.[4] At an interview with his majesty, the ambassador laid this representation before him. James professed himself greatly embarrassed in consequence of his promise to Bouillon. The request, he said, had been publicly presented by Lord Wotton; and, not suspecting that a marshal of France, and one of the principal counsellors of her majesty, had not made her acquainted with the application, he had readily acceded to it, on condition that the prisoner should not be allowed either to preach or publish, but should confine himself to reading and teaching in Sedan. At the same time, he professed his

[1] The following translation of the lines is given in the Biographia Britannica:—

From the same cause *my* woe proceeds and *thine*,
Your ALTAR *lovely* is, and *sacred* mine.

For the imperfection of the translation, the apology of the learned compiler may be sustained, that it is "almost impossible to translate these lines into English without injuring either the sense or the spirit." But he has gone farther wrong in his commentary, in consequence of his being ignorant of the fact that the poet was confined for verses written on the Royal Altar. "The wit," says he, "consists in the allusion, grounded on the lady's name, signifying in Latin a fair Altar, and Melvin's being committed for the cause of God's altar, at least in his own opinion." Biogr. Brit. art. Arabella Stuart. This would have been but dull wit, however sound "his own opinion" had been.

[2] Sir Ralph Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 201. Row's Hist. p. 173.

[3] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 173.

[4] De la Boderie, Ambassades. v. 513—515.

desire to oblige the queen in this and all other matters; and only requested that, with the view of disengaging him from his promise, she should speak to the duke in such a manner as to prevent him from insisting on his request. In the course of the conversation with the French ambassador, his majesty discovered his strong antipathy to Melville, and gave a short narrative of his life, in which he appears to have been guided not so much by a regard to truth, as by a desire to increase the fears expressed by the French queen. The Duke of Bouillon, he said, would not be so urgent in his request, if he were acquainted with the fierce and contentious humour of the man. After he returned from Geneva, where he was educated, he had been placed in one of the universities of Scotland, which he kept in continual broils during the four years that he remained in it: on that account his majesty was obliged to remove him to another university, into which he also carried the torch of discord: and, finally, being called up to London to answer for his disorderly conduct, he was no sooner there than he fell upon his majesty and his principal counsellors, whom he treated so abusively that it became necessary, in order to prevent something worse, to shut him up in the Tower, where he still remained.[1] The Queen-Regent addressed a second despatch to her ambassador, instructing him to persevere in his opposition to Melville's journey.[2] The secret, however, was, that the French court was not so much afraid of the seditious spirit of the Scottish professor, as offended at Bouillon for presenting such a request without its knowledge, and jealous of his intercourse with the court of London.[3] Accordingly, the duke having made a satisfactory apology for the step which he had taken, the Queen-Regent withdrew her opposition.

Melville had sent the earliest information of the change in his prospects to his nephew. "The Duke of Bouillon has applied to the king, by the ambassador Wotton and by letters, for liberty to me to go to France. His majesty is said to have yielded. I am in a state of suspense as to the course which I ought to take. There is no room for me in Britain on account of pseudo-Episcopacy—no hope of my being allowed to revisit my native country. Our bishops return home after being anointed with the waters of the Thames. Alas, liberty is fled! religion is banished! I have nothing new to write to you, except my hesitation about my banishment. I reflect upon the active life which I spent in my native country during the space of thirty-six years, the idle life which I have been condemned to spend in prison, the reward which I have received from men for my labours, the inconveniences of old age, and other things of a similar kind, taken in connection with the disgraceful bondage of the church and the base perfidy of men. But in vain: I am still irresolute. Shall I desert my station? shall I fly from my native country, from my native church, from my very self? Or, shall I deliver myself up, like a bound quad-

[1] De la Boderie, tom. v. p. 530—533. [2] Ibid. p. 541. [3] Ibid. p. 517.

ruped, to the will and pleasure of men? No: sooner than do this, I am resolved, by the grace of God, to endure the greatest extremity. But until my fate is fixed, I cannot be free from anxiety. Be assured, however, that nothing earthly affects me so deeply as the treachery of men to God, and the defection of our church in this critical conjuncture. Yet our adversaries have not all the success which they could wish—but I dare not write all that I could tell you by word of mouth. Our affairs are in a bad state, but there is still some ground of hope. Take care of your health, and send me your advice, as quickly as possible, and in one word. Shall I go, or, shall I remain?"[1]

It is evident from this letter that he felt reluctant to go abroad. He was become attached to his native country by a long residence in it. Though he had no family of his own, he had formed attachments which were nearly as close and endearing as those which are strictly domestic. His health and spirits were still uncommonly good; but he had arrived at that period of life when the mind loses its elastic spring and its power of accommodating itself to external circumstances; and he felt averse to enter upon a new scene of action in a country where the people and the manners had undergone a complete change since he had known them. There were, therefore, no sacrifices, those of conscience and honour excepted, which he was not prepared to make, in order to obtain permission to remain in Scotland.

James Melville knew that all hopes of this kind were vain, and therefore advised him to embrace the offer which was in his power. "Summon up your courage, and prepare to obey the call of providence. Perhaps this is 'a man of Macedonia'—a messenger from God to invite you to the help of the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lorraine. Like the apostle, 'let none of these things move you, neither count your life dear, that you may finish your course with joy, and the ministry which you have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.'

> Te si fata tuis paterentur ducere vitam
> Auspiciis, et sponte tua componere curas,
> Urbem Trojanam primum ——
> Sed nunc Italiam.

Seeing you are bound like Jeremiah, you must go whither you are led, though not in obedience to the will of men, yet in cheerful submission to the will of God, who will keep you in all his ways. So far as I can see, there is no choice left, but a hard necessity is imposed on you. I may add, that those who are joined with you in the same cause, and I, in particular, would esteem it the greatest favour to have it in our power to accompany you. For what can I look for but continued distress of mind, whether here or at home? Take this then as my answer to your question, Either I must go abroad, or death will soon be the consequence. I entreat you to act the part of Joseph, and procure for me an invitation from the illustrious duke, to serve in the church or schools of France. I know the king will readily accede to his request; but if I leave the

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 173—175.

country without the royal license, I will incur proscription and confiscation. Melissa is as desirous of being with you as I am, and is ready to accompany me wherever Providence may direct my course. She lately sent you, as a mark of her regard, a small present, consisting of an embroidered cloak, a neckerchief, and some other articles, trimmed with her own hands. Have you received them?—I know not how it is, but my soul fails and melts within me, and the tears rush into my eyes at the thought, of which I cannot get rid, that I shall see your face no more. While I write, my sweet Melissa, my only earthly solace in my solitude and exile, overcome with womanly grief, wets my bosom with her tears, and desires me to bid you, in her name, a long farewell. And I—Would to God you had long ago closed my eyes at Montrose. I can write no more. Eternal blessings rest upon you."[1]

While Melville remained in a state of suspense, he resolved to make an attempt to regain his liberty on terms less hard than banishment. He addressed a letter to Sir James Sempill, in which, after modestly stating his claims, "at least to an honest retreat from warfare, with the hope of burial with his ancestors," he offered his services to Prince Henry, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age.[2] The prince, whose character was in every respect the reverse of his father's, would have received him into his family with the utmost pleasure, if he had been left to his own choice. But there was no ground to hope that the king would permit such an instructor to be placed about the person of his son, of whose active spirit and popularity he was already become jealous. Melville wisely committed the affair wholly to the discretion of Sir James Sempill, Sir James Fullerton, and Thomas Murray,[3] on whom he placed a more entire dependence than on any other of his acquaintance about the court. In his letters he often expresses a grateful sense of the kindness which they had shown him during his imprisonment. Of Sempill, in particular, he writes in the following terms to his nephew: "Did my friend Sempill, the assertor of my liberty, visit you in passing? If he did, as he promised he would, why have you not said a word about him? All my friends owe much to him on my account. He takes a warm interest in my studies as well as in the welfare of my person; and, what is more, I am persuaded that he takes a warm interest in the cause. The court does not contain a more religious man, one who unites in a greater degree modesty with genius, and a sound judgment with

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 176, 184.

[2] Original letter to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees: MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. xxviii. num. 6.

[3] Thomas Murray was tutor and secretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards Provost of Eton College. He was the son of —— Murray of Woodend. Douglas's Baronage, p. 286. His Latin poems, which were published separately, are included in the Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum. Various tributes were paid to him by the poets of the age. Leochæi Epigrammata, pp. 38, 44, 87. Dumbari Epigr. p. 114. Arct. Jonstoni Poem. p. 281. Middelb. 1642. In the year 1615, an attempt was made by Archbishop Gladstanes to have him removed from the prince, "as ill-affected to the estate of the kirk." Letters from Archbishop Spotswood to Mr Murray of the Bedchamber, Jan. 30, and Feb. 6, 1615: Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, pp. 51, 52. His appointment to be Provost of Eton College, in the year 1621, was opposed partly on suspicions of his puritanism. Cabala, pp. 289, 290. He died "anno æt. 59, A. D. 1623, April 9;" Le Neve, Mon. Arg. vol. i. p. 86; and left behind him five sons and two daughters. Latter will, extracted from Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

elegant accomplishments. In procuring for me a mitigation of my imprisonment, he has shown, both by words and deeds, a constancy truly worthy of a Christian. If you meet with him on his return (for he means to return with your hero) thank him on my account; for he will not rest satisfied until he has effected my liberation completely."[1]

In the month of February 1611, Melville received a letter from the Duke of Bouillon, stating that he had procured his release from the Tower, and inviting him to Sedan.[2] On this occasion he felt great embarrassment as to pecuniary matters. The government was so illiberal as to make him no allowance for bearing his expenses. He had been obliged to support himself in the Tower, where every individual who performed the smallest service expected to be rewarded according to the rank of the prisoner. His finances were so much exhausted that he could not fit himself out for making an appearance in a foreign country suited to his station and connections; and his nephew, on account of certain extraordinary expenses which he had lately incurred, felt himself unable to relieve him. The urgency of his necessities and the delicacy of his feelings, are well described in a letter written by him at this time to James Melville, relating to a collection which his friends in Scotland proposed to make for him. "Our friend of Elie," says he, "writes to me that I owe much to our brother at Stirling; referring, I suppose, to the collection which has been so much talked of, and which, I am afraid, must be viewed in the light of an exaction rather than a voluntary offering, and a gift to men rather than God. I know that I am under great obligations to Patrick,[3] both on public and private grounds. But my nature will not suffer me, as the orator says, to enrich myself from the spoils of others, and especially of strangers on whom I have no claims. I acknowledge that it is not unreasonable that my necessities should be relieved by such of my brethren as are able and willing, considering that I am reduced to these straits not for any evil that I have done, but for the public cause of Christ which they profess in common with me. 'It is more blessed to give than to receive' is an apostolical saying, which it is easier to use and act upon when fortune flows than when it ebbs. As it is the mark of a haughty mind to spurn the benevolence of brethren, so, on the other hand, it does not suit my disposition to grasp at money which has been wheedled from a promiscuous multitude by fair and flattering speeches. Necessity, you will say, has no law. But what necessity can be so great as to warrant one to compromise the character of a good man, or to sacrifice one's reputation? To sound a trumpet in bestowing a favour betrays ostentation; and an ingenuous and modest person will not be fond of having a noise made at the receiving

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 78. Three epigrams by Melville are prefixed to a work against Selden by Sir James Sempill, entitled, "Sacriledge sacredly handled—Lond. 1619," 4to. Sir James was the author of "Cassandra Scoticana to Cassander Anglicanus," (see above, p. 282); and, in part at least, of a satirical poem against the Church of Rome, called "The Packman's Pater Noster."—Robert Boyd of Trochrig, in mentioning Sempill's death, February 1625, extols his character and his friendship for Melville. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, 148.

[2] Cald. vii. 466.

[3] Patrick Simson, minister of Stirling.

of a favour. It was always my desire to be concealed in the crowd, even when the field of honour appeared to ripen before me. But I act a foolish part in reasoning so stoically about gifts of which nothing has yet reached me but the sound. I will not purchase hope; nor will I ever, on my own account, extort money by eucharistical letters. What I am requested to do is, to give thanks to Simson and Gillespie (both of them most deserving men), and to their flocks, with the view of stimulating them to the making of a collection. This, if not a preposterous, is certainly not a very honourable course. I could do many things for others which I would blush to do for myself. Advise me how to act, or rather take the management of the business into your own hands. You know how utterly unpractised I am in such affairs."[1] The collection was made and remitted to him; but it came so late as almost to prove, as he expresses it, *moutarde après diner*.[2]

His health had hitherto remained uncommonly good; but it began at last to suffer from confinement, and he was seized with a fever. On the certificate of the physicians he was permitted to leave the Tower, and to enjoy the free air for a few days within ten miles of London. But he was prohibited from coming near the court of the king, queen, or prince.[3] During this interval he was visited by the Earl of Cassillis, who insisted on making another attempt to procure liberty for him to return to his native country. But although his lordship exerted all his influence, the terms dictated by the court were so hard that Melville rejected them at once.[4] Some of the Scottish bishops who happened to be in London joined in the Earl's application; and Spotswood went so far as to request, publicly on his knees, that Melville might be sent to the university of Glasgow. His majesty humoured the farce, by turning to his courtiers, and extolling the Christian spirit which the archbishop displayed in interceding for the capital enemy of his order.[5]

Having recovered his health, Melville sailed for France, after having been a prisoner in the Tower for the space of four years. Before going aboard the vessel he wrote the following hasty lines to his affectionate nephew:—

"My dear son, my dear James, farewell, farewell in the Lord, with your sweet Melissa. I must now go to other climes. Such is the pleasure of my divine and heavenly Father; and I look upon it as a fruit of His paternal love towards me. Why should I not, when He has recovered me from a sudden and heavy distemper, and animates me to the journey by so many tokens of His favour? Now, at length, I feel the truth of the presage which I have frequently pronounced, That it behoved me to confess Christ on a larger theatre; which, so far as it may yet be unfulfilled, shall soon, I augur, receive a complete verification. In the mean time I retain you in my heart nor shall anything in this life be dearer

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 167—170.
[2] Ibid. 176, 185.
[3] Cald. vii. 466.
[4] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 295.
[5] Row's Hist. pp. 348, 349. We can be at no loss in judging of Spotswood's sincerity on this occasion, after reading what he has said of Melville's banishment in his History, pp. 499, 500.

to me, after God, than you. The excellent Capel has in the most friendly manner recommended you by letter to the Duke of Bouillon, but has as yet received no answer. To-day I set out on my journey under the auspices of Heaven : May God in His mercy give it a prosperous issue. Join with me in supplicating that it may turn out to His glory and the profit of His church. Although I have no uneasiness about my library, yet I must request you to charge those who are intrusted with its keeping to be careful of it, both for my sake, and for the sake of the church, to which I have dedicated myself and all my property. Who knows but we may yet meet again to give thanks publicly to God for all His benefits to us ? Why should we not cherish the hope of better days; seeing the fraud and pride of our enemies have brought us to a condition which appears to prognosticate the ruin of the lately-reared fabric ? Our three pretended bishops affirm that they urged, and on their knees supplicated his majesty, to restore me to my native country ; but you know the disposition of the men, and what was the drift of their request. In the mean time write to me frequently by Capel concerning everything, and especially what is doing respecting the ecclesiastical history. I am much grieved at the imprisonment of my young friend Balfour, your sister's son ; if I can procure his liberty, by the assistance of foreigners, I shall look upon it as a favour conferred on myself. The vessel is under weigh and I am called aboard. My salutations to all friends. The grace of God be with you always. From the Tower of London—just embarking—on the day after the funeral of your Mæcenas, the 19th of April 1611.

Yours, as his own, in the Lord,

ANDREW MELVILLE."[1]

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 188—190.

CHAPTER X.

1611—1622.

On landing in France, Melville stopped for a short time at Rouen. At Paris he was affectionately received by one of his scholars, George Sibbald of Rankeillour-over and Giblistoun, who was then prosecuting his studies in the French capital, and who, after taking the degree of doctor in medicine at Padua, spent his time and fortune in promoting literature and science in his native country.[1] He was also hospitably entertained by Du Moulin, the well-known Protestant minister of Paris, who was greatly pleased with the learning which he displayed in conversation. The Frenchman had heard that he was *un peu colère*, and therefore was afraid to enter with him on a controversy which was then keenly agitated among the Protestants of France. These fears were, however, groundless; for Melville's sentiments on that subject were very moderate. After remaining a few days in Paris, he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university.[2]

The Protestants of France had at this time six universities; Montauban, Saumur, Nismes, Montpellier, Die, and Sedan.[3] Besides these, they had fifteen colleges, erected in other parts of the kingdom, in which languages, philosophy, and belles-lettres were taught.[4] The number of Scotchmen who taught in these seminaries was great. They were to be found in all the universities and colleges; in several of them they held the honorary situation of principal; and in others they amounted to a third part of the professors. Most of them had been educated under Melville at St Andrews.[5]

The territory of Sedan and Raucourt had long formed a separate

[1] Sibbald expresses his eagerness to see Melville, after his long imprisonment, in the beautiful words of Horace, *Ut mater juvenem*, &c. Letter to Boyd of Trochrig, May 14, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 53. Dr George Sibbald is mentioned in Inquis. Retornat. Spec. Fife, num. 118. Comp. num. 123. Vita Arct. Jonstoni: Poet. Scot. Musæ Sacræ, tom. i. pp. xxx. xlix. lxiv. Dumbari Epigram. p. 183. There are a number of his MSS. in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. His only printed work, as far as I know, besides his academical theses, is "Regulæ bene et salubriter vivendi—Edinb. 1701;" published by his nephew, Sir Robert Sibbald. He married Anna de Maliverne, a French lady, and the relict of Robert Boyd of Trochrig. General Register of Deeds, vol. DLV. f. 39, b; and vol. DLXXXI. 12th April, 1653.

[2] Letter from Du Moulin to Boyd of Trochrig, May 29, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 56.

[3] Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. pp. 330, 382, 387, 388. This is exclusive of those of Pau, Orthes, and Lescar (the two last were united), in the kingdom of Navarre and Bearn.

[4] Quick's Synodicon, vol. i. pp. 275, 380, 388.

[5] It was my intention to subjoin, in the Notes, an account of such Scotchmen as were teachers in the Protestant academies of France; but I find that there is not room for it.

principality, governed by its own laws, under the Dukes of Bouillon, who were petty sovereigns, but subject to the crown of France. About the year 1578 a university was erected in the town of Sedan by Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon.[1] By marrying his only child, Henry de la Tour, viscount of Turenne, had succeeded to his titles and domains.[2] He proved a great patron to the university, which was supported partly by his munificence, and partly by a sum of money annually allotted to it from the funds of the National Synod. It had professorships of Theology, Hebrew, Greek, Law, Philosophy, and Humanity.[3] Walter Donaldson, a native of Aberdeen, and known as the author of several learned works, was Principal, and Professor of Natural and Moral Philosophy, during all the time that Melville was in the university.[4] Another of his countrymen, John Smith, was also a Professor of Philosophy.[5] James Capellus, one of the ministers of Sedan, taught the Hebrew class. Though not so acute and bold a critic as his brother Louis, he was possessed of extensive learning, and lived on terms of great intimacy with Melville.[6] The Professor of Divinity was Daniel Tilenus, a native of Silesia, who, having come to France in his youth, recommended himself to the chief persons among the Protestants by his conduct as tutor to the Lord of Laval, and as a writer in defence of the reformed cause.[7] The profession of Divinity, which Tilenus had hitherto sustained alone, was now divided between him and Melville. The former taught the system, while the latter prelected on the Scriptures. Each delivered three lectures in the week, and they presided alternately in the theological disputations.[8]

In the beginning of the year 1612, Melville was gratified by receiving an affectionate letter from his nephew. "Ah, my dear

[1] Emanuel Tremellius was Professor of Hebrew at Sedan when he died in 1580. Melch. Adami Vitæ Exter. Theol. p. 143. Teissier, Eloges, iii. 179.

[2] Marsollier, Histoire de Henry de la Tour, duc de Bouillon, pp. 139, 167, 173. Vie de Mornay du Plessis, pp. 153, 219. Laval, Hist. of the Reform. in France, vi. 879.

[3] Quick, i. 330, 342. Bayle, Dict. art. Perrot, Nicole. Bayle had been a professor at Sedan. Henry IV. allotted 45,000 crowns annually to the National Synod; and Louis XIII. added 45,000 livres. In 1609 the Synod granted to the University of Sedan £1500, of which £700 was to be given to the Professor of Divinity. The annual sum given to it from 1612 to 1620 was £4000. Aymons, Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reform. de France, tom. i. p. 378.

[4] Donaldsoni Synopsis Œconomica, Præfat. Paris, 1620. Two other works of his are mentioned in Bayle, Dict. art. Donaldson, Gualter. He is called "Poeta Laureatus," (Leochæi Epigram. p. 21), that is, one who had taken a degree in grammar and rhetoric. "Walterus Donaldson armiger, utriusque juris doctor apud Rupellam in Gallia, natus in Abredonia—fuit filius legitimus Alexandri Donaldson armigeri (ex nobilissima et antiquissima familia Donaldorum in regno nostro Scotiæ oriund.) et Elizabethæ Lamb quæ fuit filia legitima Davidis Lamb, Baronis de Dunkenny." Literæ Prosapiæ Alexri Donaldson Medicinæ Doctoris, dat. Edin. Nov. 15, 1642: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6, 26, p. 21. Conf. A. 3, 19, num. 116.

[5] Steph. Morinus, Vita Sam. Bocharti, p. 2; apud Bocharti Opera, tom. i.

[6] Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, pp. 157, 223. Colomies says: "Ludovicus Capellus, Jacobi *unicus* frater." But in a letter to Boyd of Trochrig, Ludovicus calls Aaron Capel in London his brother. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80. There are two poems by Melville prefixed to a work of James Capellus, entitled "Historia Sacra et Exotica—Sedani, 1613." Capellus introduces Melville's opinion on a question which he discusses in the course of that work, calling him "vir doctissimus et collega charissimus." Hist. Sacr. p. 236. Wolfii Curæ Crit. in Nov. Test. tom. iii. p. 657.

[7] Mémoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. ii. pp. 455, 456. Quick's Synod. vol. i. p. 187. Epistres Françaises à Mons. de la Scala, p. 420.

[8] Mons. de Launne to Trochrig; Sedan Nov. 20, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 58.

father! Are you well? where are you? what are you doing? do you still remember me? I have almost forgotten you for some months, so much has my attention been occupied with my petition to the king. I have received for answer, that I can have no hopes but in the way of yielding an absolute submission to the decrees of the late Assembly at Glasgow: so that I despair of returning to my native country." Before he had an opportunity of answering this letter, Melville received two letters from the same quarter, expressing great distress at not having heard from him, and communicating ample intelligence respecting the state of matters in Scotland. The bishops were triumphing in the exercise of their newly-acquired pre-eminence, and daily received fresh proofs of the royal favour. A remark of Chancellor Seaton was much talked of: "If our bishops get the kingdom of heaven they must be happy men; for they already reign on earth." Not satisfied with ruling the church courts, they claimed an extensive civil authority within their dioceses. The burghs were deprived of their privileges, and forced to receive such magistrates as their episcopal superiors, in concert with the court, were pleased to nominate.[1] No opposition was at this time made to them. The nation had not yet recovered from the terror inspired by the threatening proclamations of the king, and the despotical powers of the High Commission. "How shall I mention the state of our church!" says James Melville. "It overwhelms me with grief, shame, and confusion. All those whose duty it is to care for it have laid aside their concern. The pulpits are silent. A deep sleep has fallen down upon our prophets. The hands of all are bound. Issachar crouches, like an ass under his two burdens. The pangs of death are come upon me: fear and trembling have seized me: horror covers me. O that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly, that I might wander far away, and lodge in the desert!"

James Melville informed his uncle of the decease of two of his most intimate acquaintance in the university of St Andrews. "The father of St Leonard's College, our steady friend Wilkie, has happily ended his days. He has left all his property to the college, and nominated our acquaintance Bruce for his successor, to whom he kindly commended the care of my John. I hope your muse will not be forgetful of that good man and sincere friend. How much more happy is he than I! But I trust I shall not be long in following him. Indeed, unless you

[1] In the year 1609, Archbishop Spotswood put a stop to the election of the magistrates of Glasgow; and wrote to the king in the following terms: "In all humblenes I present my opinion to your most sacred Majesty that it may be your Highnes gracious pleasure to command them of new to elect the Baillies that were nominate by your Majesty in your first letter, and to signify that it is your Highnes mind that they have no Provost at this time." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 65. Two years after he treated the town of Ayr in the same manner. Letter, Spotswood to Beltrees, Oct. 12, 1611: Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 36. Archbishop Gladstanes, in a letter to the king, June 9, 1611, says: "It was your pleasure and direction,—that I should be possessed with the like privileges in the electione of the magistrats there (in St Andrews), as my lord of Glasgow is endued with in that his city. Sir, whereas they are troublesome, I will be answerable to your Majesty and Counsell for them, after that I be possessed of my right." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 72.

had survived to animate me, and my Melissa had watched over my health, my poor soul, pierced with wounds, would ere now have quitted its prison. But I endure by the strength of God, and comfort myself with your words, 'Who knows but we may yet meet again?' Ah! when will that day arrive!"[1] "Your colleague, John Jonston," says he, in his letter of the 25th November, "closed his life last month. He sent for the members of the university and presbytery, before whom he made a confession of his faith, and professed his sincere attachment to the doctrine and discipline of our church, in which he desired to die. He did not conceal his dislike of the lately-erected tyranny, and his detestation of the pride, temerity, fraud, and whole conduct of the bishops. He pronounced a grave and ample eulogium on your instructions, admonitions, and example; craving pardon of God and you for having offended you in any instance, and for not having borne more meekly with your wholesome and friendly anger. As a memorial, he has left you a gilt velvet cap, a gold coin, and one of his best books.[2] His death would have been a most mournful event to the church, university, and all good men, had it not been that he has for several years laboured under an incurable disease, and that the ruin of the church has swallowed up all lesser sorrows, and exhausted our tears."[3]

The answers which Melville returned to these letters were calculated to cheer the spirits of his tender-hearted nephew. "Your letter, my dear James, gave me as much pleasure as it is possible for one to receive in these gloomy and evil days. We must not forget the apostolical injunction, 'Rejoice always: rejoice in hope.' *Non si male nunc, et olim erit.* Providence is often pleased to grant prosperity and long impunity to those whom it intends to punish for their crimes, in order that they may feel more severely from the reverse.

Μεγαλα διδωσιν ευτυχηματ', αλλ' ἱνα
Τας συμφορας λαβωσιν επιφανεστερας.

No oracular response pronounced from the tripod of Apollo was ever truer than this couplet of Pindar.[4] It is easy for a wicked man to throw a commonwealth into disorder: God only can restore it. Empires which have been procured by fraud cannot be stable or permanent. Pride and cruelty will meet with a severe, though it may be a late retribution; and, according to the Hebrew proverb, 'when the tale

[1] This letter is dated July 15, 1611. Melvini Epist. p. 193—196.

[2] "Item, I leave in taikin of my sinceir love and affectioun to Mr Andro Melvill ane fyne new Duche cap of fyne blak velvet, lynit w^t^ fyne martrik skinnes." Testament of John Jonston. He died Oct. 20, 1611.

[3] Melvini Epist. pp. 196, 281. There are five of Jonston's letters printed in Camdeni Epist. pp. 41, 75, 95, 123, 127; and a number of his poems are to be found in Cambden's Britannia. In Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd (pp. 43, 47, 53), are several of his letters, and particularly one containing an account of certain of his MSS. which he sent to be printed at Saumur. He married Catherine Melville of the house of Carnbee. Appendix to Lamont's Diary, p. 285. In his Consolatio Christiana (101—102) are epitaphs which he wrote on her and two of their children. An attempt was made to obtain him for second minister of Haddington. Record of Presb. of Haddington, Oct. 24, 1599; June 11 and 18, and July 2, 1600.

[4] Aristotle quotes the lines as from a poet unknown. Rhetoric. lib. ii. c. 24, ed. Goulstoni. They are included in the Fragmenta of Euripides. Eurip. a Beck, ii. 496.

of bricks is doubled, Moses comes.' The result of past events is oracular of the future : 'In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.' Why then exert our ingenuity and labour in adding to our vexation? Away with fearful apprehensions!" The following quotation is a specimen of the familiar and classic pleasantry which he was accustomed to use with his friends : "What is the *profound Dreamer*[1] (so I was accustomed to call him when we travelled together in 1584)—what is our Corydon of Haddington about? I know he cannot be idle ; has he not brought forth or perfected anything yet, after so many decades of years? *Tempus Atla veniet tua quo spoliabitur arbos.* Let me know if our old friend Wallace has at last become the father of books and bairns? Menalcas of Cupar on the Eden[2] is, I hear, constant ; and I hope he will prove vigilant in discharging all the duties of a pastor, and not mutable in his friendships, as too many discover themselves to be in these cloudy days. Salute him in my name ; as also Damœtas of Elie,[3] and our friend Dykes, with such others as you know to 'hold the beginning of their confidence and the rejoicing of their hope firm to the end.' And, pray, do not forget my venerable old cousin, who must now, I fear, be on the brink of the grave, and who has long been afflicted with gout, gravel, and colic. When I came to this country I was the means of releasing his son from prison ; and I still look for his letter of thanks. It will give me the greatest pleasure, in this retirement of mine, to hear from him or any of his friends, and to be informed of everything about them. I must not forget the Laird of Dysart, the present chief of our family ; nor the baron of Rossie, our kinsman. We old men daily grow children again, and are ever and anon turning our eyes and thoughts back on our cradles. We praise the past days because we can take little pleasure in the present. Suffer me then to dote ; for I am now become pleased with old age, although 'I have lived so long as to see some things which I could wish never to have seen.' I try daily to learn something new, and thus to prevent my old age from becoming listless and inert. I am always doing, or at least attempting to do, something in those studies to which I devoted myself in the younger part of my life. Accept this long epistle from a talkative old man. *Loqui senibus res est gratissima*, says your favourite Palingenius, the very mention of whose name gives me new life ; for the *regeneration*[4] forms almost the sole topic of my meditations, and in this do I exercise myself that I may have my conversation in heaven."—"Your account of the happy death of my colleague Jonston filled me with both grief and joy. He was a man of real piety, attached to the purity of religion, and of a most courteous disposition. The university has lost a teacher, the church a member, and I a friend, to whom there are few equal."—"I cannot refrain from bewailing the death of my friend Myrrha, and the loss which I, in common with all good men, have

[1] "Βαθυφρων *songecreux.*" The person referred to is James Carmichael, minister of Haddington.

[2] William Scot, minister of Cupar in Fife.

[3] John Carmichael, minister of Elie.

[4] *Palingenesia.*

sustained by the removal of that most pious woman.[1] How dearly I loved her you know, and our friend Godscroft knows better than any other man. Remember me kindly to him, and say that his letter and poems have at last reached me. Often has the decease of that choice woman drawn tears from my eyes since I received the afflicting tidings. And at this moment my grief breaks out afresh—but I restrain myself."[2]

One of the first things which he did after his settlement at Sedan was to look out for an eligible situation for his nephew. But, however desirous of his company, he was obliged to discourage him from coming to the Continent. "I know," says he, "you will do nothing rashly in your own affair. At present there is no room for you here either in the church or academy. And I am afraid that the variableness and humidity of the climate in the Low Countries would be injurious to your health. Will Mar do nothing for you, or for the public cause? will Lennox do nothing?—nor the other noblemen who are in favour with his majesty? What crime have you committed? What has the monarch now to dread? Does not the primate sit in triumph—*traxitque sub astra furorem?* What is there then to hinder you, and me also (now approaching my seventieth year, and consequently *emeritus*), from breathing our native air, and, as a reward of our toils, being received into the Prytaneum, to spend the remainder of our lives, without seeking to share the honours and affluence which we do not envy the pretended bishops? We have not been a dishonour to the kingdom, and we are allied to the royal family. But let envy do its worst: no prison, no exile, shall prevent us from confidently expecting the kingdom of heaven."[3]

When Melville first went to Sedan, his friends in France were apprehensive that he would not find his situation quite comfortable.[4] He had every reason to be satisfied with the polite and munificent behaviour of the Duke of Bouillon.[5] But the number of students in the university was small. His colleague Tilenus was a man of talents, but haughty and morose. He was a keen stickler for the peculiar tenet of Piscator, and some other opinions which were generally disliked by the French ministers. Melville did not enter into these disputes, and treated all the students, whatever were their sentiments respecting them, with equal civility and attention. But Tilenus could not conceal his antipathy to such young men as thought differently from himself, or who came from academies in which his opinions were rejected; and in consequence of this many of them left Sedan and went to Saumur.[6] In these circum-

[1] It appears, from a letter of James Melville, that the lady here referred to was a sister of John Murray, minister of Leith. "Joannes Murraus, triumphantis tuæ Myrrhæ frater, et Joannes Carus Fadonsidius, Johnstoni tui nunc in cœlo ovantis, gener: qui viri!" Melvini Epistolæ, p. 303. John Murray had two sisters married, the one to Sir Robert Douglas of Spot, and the other to Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk. Douglas's Baronage, pp. 45, 102.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 290—295.

[3] Ibid. p. 296.

[4] Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 56.

[5] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 292.

[6] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 293. Letter from Mons. de Laune, a student at Sedan; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, pp. 57, 58. In the year 1612 the students of Sedan did not amount to a third of those of Saumur, who, in the year 1606, were upwards of 400. Life of Boyd, pp. 28, 58.

stances, Melville was induced to listen to the proposals of Monsieur de Barsac, Treasurer of the Parliament of Dauphiné, who wished him to superintend the education of his three sons. An annual salary of five hundred crowns was promised him, and he was to be allowed either to reside with the young men at Grenoble, or to take them along with him to Die, provided he obtained a professorship in the university which was established in that town. He went to Grenoble, in the month of November 1612, to make a trial of the situation; but, not finding it agreeable, he returned within a short time to Sedan.[1]

The intelligence which he received on returning from Grenoble was not of a cheering description. A letter from his old colleague Welwood, who was then at London, conveyed to him the melancholy tidings of the death of Prince Henry, by which the hopes of all good men in Britain and on the Continent were blasted.[2] Letters from his nephew at Berwick, and from Alexander Hume at Prestonpans, informed him that the parliament of Scotland had, in compliance with a royal injunction, conferred on the bishops spiritual powers more extensive than those which they had presumed to ask from the corrupt and servile Assembly at Glasgow. "The bishops," says Hume, "fret because they have failed in procuring for his majesty as large a subsidy as they had promised him. Their employment now is not to preach Christ, but the king. On the Sabbath before the meeting of parliament the bishops of Galloway and Brechin told the people that the king had a right, not only to their property, but also to their lives, and that they should grudge no sacrifice for one who was the defender of their faith, a confessor and a semi-martyr. Brechin farther exhorted the women to retrench their superfluous expenses in dress, and the men to avoid excess in the use of wine, that they might have it in their power to give the more to the king. Such is the doctrine of our Episcopal Church. We are to abstain from vice not as vice, but in order to fill the royal coffers!"[3]

The reader may wish to learn something concerning Melville's companions in exile—the six ministers who were banished for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen. Strachan sickened and died at Middelburg, soon after they landed on the Continent.[4] Welch, after remaining for some time at Bordeaux, became minister of Jonzac, in the province of Angoumois; Duncan was received into the college of Rochelle; Sharp was made professor of divinity in the university of Die, in Dauphiné.[5] Forbes and Dury settled in Holland: the former was preacher to the English merchants at Middelburg, from which he removed to Delft; the latter obtained a Scotch congregation in

[1] Letter from G. Sibbald; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 59.

[2] On the 18th of February 1613, a funeral oration on Prince Henry, by Principal Donaldson, was pronounced in the hall of the College of Sedan, before a great assembly. Lacrymæ Tvmulo nvnqvam satis Lavdati Herois Henrici Friderici Stvarti—a Gvaltero Donaldsono Scoto-Britanno—Sedani, 1613. 8vo.

[3] Melvini Epist. pp. 312, 317—320. Comp. Lord Hailes' Memor. of Britain, vol. i. p. 40—48.

[4] Calderwood, vii. 78.

[5] Melvini Epist. p. 161. Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, pp. 28, 160, 173.

Leyden.[1] Melville kept up a close correspondence with the two last; and, in the course of the year 1612, was gratified with a visit from Forbes, who spent several weeks at Sedan, along with his brother Arthur, an officer in the Swedish service.[2]

In the course of the year 1613 the report reached Melville that his nephew and Bruce had made their peace with the king, and submitted to the bishops. Strong as his confidence in the integrity and firmness of both of these individuals was, he could not help feeling uneasy at this intelligence. "If Bruce and you are to be restored," says he, in a letter to James Melville, "what is to be done with me? What is to be done with my brethren, who, though innocent, suffered two years' imprisonment, and have lived six years in this country as exiles? I know not what persecution is, if this is not. Give my salutations to Bruce, and tell him that I would rather hear of his base servitude than see it."[3] His apprehensions were removed by letters from his nephew. Some occasion had been given for the report which he had heard. The petitions which the congregations and friends of the banished ministers had from time to time presented in their behalf, were now supported by the chancellor and several of the nobility, who were disgusted with the pride of the upstart prelates, and desirous of imposing a check on their ambition. The bishops found it necessary to join in these petitions, and hoped to turn the measure to their own account, by procuring at least a partial approbation of their authority from some of those who had been its greatest opponents. Proposals were, accordingly, made to all of them, with the exception of Melville. Powerful considerations were not wanting to induce them to comply, at the expense of making some sacrifice of principle. Several of them had lost their health abroad; they were all advanced in life; they had families; and felt passionately attached to their native country. The commutation of capital punishment into exile is regarded as an act of clemency; and, if obliged to choose banishment or death, there is probably none who would not prefer the former. But, on the other hand, many who would willingly have laid their necks on the block rather than comply with what they deemed sinful, have had their resolution subdued by the mitigated but slow and exhausting pains of imprisonment or exile.

In the present instance, however, all the ministers rejected the terms offered them. The sentiments by which they were actuated in coming to this resolution, are forcibly expressed by Forbes in a letter to James Melville. "I always expected," says he, "some proposal of this kind, and indeed I wonder that the bishops have deferred making it so long after the establishment of their tyranny. The only way of accounting for the delay is, by supposing that, like all who are conscious of being

[1] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 286, 329. Forbesii Comment. in Apocalypt. Prefatio Interp.

[2] Melvini Epist. p. 306. Sir Arthur Forbes of Castle Forbes in Ireland, the fourth son of William Forbes of Corse, was the ancestor of Earl Grannard. Garden, Vita prefix. Oper. Joannis Forbesii. Lumsden's Genealogie of the Family of Forbes, p. 21—23.

[3] Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 308, 309.

embarked in a bad course, they can never think themselves sufficiently secured against danger. How wretched the condition of these men, who, harassed by continual fear and anxiety, can neither do well without us nor yet enjoy our company with safety! What wise man would court these unsatisfactory and precarious honours, which, instead of giving peace to the possessor, torment him with incessant apprehensions! Shall we then confirm what they feel to be so vain, by a single word, or the slightest mark of our approbation? God forbid that a cause which is destitute of intrinsic strength, and the innate excellence of virtue, should receive from us a prop to its weakness, or a covering to its turpitude! Suffer the self-convicted rogues to walk on their own feet, and we shall soon see them fall by their own act. Let us not fear their wiles, but turn our eyes to Him who, sitting above, governs all things, and overrules them to the good of those who love Him. He that shall come will come without delay, and will cleanse his floor, and consume the chaff and rubbish with the fire of his wrath. I have been grieved, but not staggered, at the weakness of A. D.[1] who has 'suffered so many things in vain.' He will not add to the strength of those to whom he has gone over, nor will he weaken us whom he has deserted. The crown which he has taken from his own head he has placed on ours. I am not moved by the foolish judgment of vain courtiers, nor by the empty triumphs of the bishops: such winds cannot shake the foundation on which we rest. If they appear for a time to be victorious, they shall feel at last that those who vanquish in a bad cause, vanquish to their ruin. At the same time we ought not rashly to contemn the peace and liberty offered us in the name of the prince. But if, under the external mask of liberty, they seek to draw us into a slavery worse not only than imprisonment and exile, but than the loss of life itself, we are not to purchase the liberty of our bodies by the enthralling of our souls. I had rather remain the captive of a legitimate sovereign than become the servant of illegitimate lords. I esteem it more honourable to carry the chains of a lawful king than to wear the insignia of usurping prelates. In the former case I am a witness with Christ in the hope of His glory: in the latter, perjured and an associate with wicked men, I would be found attempting to rebuild the city which had been thrown down and laid under a curse, would share of her plagues, and be involved in her ruin. Pardon my boldness. It would have become a son to be more modest in writing to a father. But grief and indignation at the present deplorable state of affairs, and at the hard condition of good men who cannot obtain corporal liberty without submitting to spiritual bondage, have unconsciously drawn these reflections from my pen."[2]

[1] This probably refers to Andrew Duncan, who had been lately allowed to return from banishment in consequence of his making some acknowledgments to the king respecting the Assembly held at Aberdeen. Calderwood, vol. vii. p. 500—503. He was afterwards prosecuted before the High Commission, and imprisoned for nonconformity to the Articles of Perth. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Duncan, p. 4—11. Printed Calderwood, pp. 730, 764.

[2] Melvini Epistolæ, p. 326—329.

Melville must have been gratified with the spirit which breathed in this letter. He could not despair of the liberties of his country as long as they had such friends as Forbes. Under the mortifications which he felt at the ingratitude of the public, and the defection of the greater part of those who had received their education under him, he could not say that he "spent his strength for nought and in vain," when he had been the means of training up a few individuals of such rare virtue and constancy. The next letter which he wrote to his nephew shows how much the late intelligence from Scotland had cheered him. "I cannot but hope for everything good from Bruce. The court rumours are vain and calumnious, especially with respect to heroes like him, adorned with every virtue. I am anxious to hear good accounts of Patrick Simson, the faithful Bishop of Stirling, and a few others of the same stamp with him. Godscroft has written to me once and again, ardently, vehemently. I love the sincere zeal and undaunted spirit of that excellent man and most upright friend. Would to God that the equestrian, not to say the ecclesiastical, order could boast of many Godscrofts![1] Our friend Welwood has also written to me; but at present it is not in my power, nor do I reckon it prudent to reply to them according to their desire. You know my disposition long ago. I am unwilling, for the mere purpose of making a show of good-will, to gratify my friends in such a way as may involve them in trouble, even although they request it of me. The Lord, on whom, and not on the pleasure or wishes of men, I depend wholly, has His own times. I keep all my friends in my eye: I carry them in my bosom: I commend them to the God of mercy in my daily prayers. What comes to my hand I do: I fill up my station to the best of my ability: my conversation is in heaven: I neither importune nor deprecate the day of my death: I maintain my post: I aspire after things divine; about those which are human I give myself little trouble. In fine, I live to God and the church: I do not sink under adversity: I reserve myself for better days. My mind is prepared by the grace of God, and strong in the Lord, for whose sake I am not afraid to meet death in that new and living way which He hath consecrated, and which leads to heaven alike from every quarter of the globe."[2]

A letter from Sir James Fullerton, which he received in the month of April, 1614, gave a shock to his feelings which it required all his fortitude to bear. His dearest friend, and most affectionate and dutiful nephew, James Melville, was no more. His health had for some time been in a state of decline, which was accelerated by grief at the issue of public affairs in Scotland, which his extreme sensibility disposed him to brood over with too intense and exclusive an interest. In consequence

[1] This refers to the letters which David Hume of Godscroft had written to Bishops Law and Cowper in defence of Presbytery. Wodrow has collected a number of them in his Life of Hume, p. 18—40, and in his Appendix to the Life of Cowper. "I wish they were printed," says James Melville; "one would scarcely desire to see anything better on the subject." Melvini Epist. p. 194.

[2] Melvini Epist. p. 325.

of the importunity of his friends, and an apparently earnest invitation from Archbishop Gladstanes, he set out for Edinburgh, in the beginning of the year 1614, to arrange matters for his return to Kilrenny, or, if this was found impracticable, to resign his charge and make permanent provision for that parish. But he had not gone far when he was taken so ill as to be unable to proceed on the journey, and with difficulty returned to Berwick. The medicines prescribed by the physicians failed in arresting the progress of the distemper, which soon exhibited alarming symptoms. He received the intimation of his danger with the most perfect composure, and told his friends that he was not only resigned to the will of God, but satisfied that he could not die at a more proper season. On Wednesday the 19th of January he "set his house in order;" and all his children being present, except his son Andrew (who was prosecuting his theological studies at Sedan), he gave them his dying charge and parental blessing. His friend Joshua Dury, minister of St Andrews, and Patrick Hume of Ayton, a gentleman who had shown him great kindness during his residence at Berwick, waited by his bed-side. The greater part of his time was spent in prayer. When he mentioned the Church of Scotland, he prayed for repentance and forgiveness to those who had caused a schism in it by overturning its reformed discipline; and, addressing those around him, he said: "In my life I ever detested and resisted the hierarchy, as a thing unlawful and antichristian, for which I am an exile; and I take you all to witness that I die in the same judgment." He made particular mention of his uncle at Sedan; gave him a high commendation for learning, but still more for courage and constancy in the cause of Christ; and prayed that God would continue and increase the gifts bestowed on him. In the midst of the acute pain which he endured during that night and the succeeding morning, he expressed his resignation and confidence chiefly in the language of Scripture, and often repeated favourite sentences from the Psalms in Hebrew. Being reminded by some of his attendants of the Christian assurance which the apostle Paul had expressed in the prospect of his death, he replied: "Every one is not a Paul; yet I have a desire to depart and be with Christ, and I am assured that I shall enter into glory." "Do you not wish to be restored to health?" said one of the attendants.—"No; not for twenty worlds." Perceiving nature to be nearly exhausted, his friends requested him to give them a token that he departed in peace; upon which he repeated the last words of the martyr Stephen, and breathed gently away.[1]

He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the eighth year of his banishment. From the account given of him, and the extracts produced from his letters, in the preceding part of this work, the reader will be able to form a correct idea of his character. The presbyterian ministers of that age were in general characterised by piety, assiduity

[1] Cald. MS. vii. 505—513.

in the discharge of parochial duties, disinterestedness, public spirit, and the love of freedom. In James Melville these qualities were combined with the amiable dispositions of the man, and the courteous manners of the gentleman. Though of a mild temper, and not easily provoked, he possessed great sensibility; could vindicate himself with spirit when unjustly attacked; and testified, on all occasions, an honest indignation at whatever was base and unprincipled, especially in the conduct of men of his own profession. He felt a high veneration for the talents and character of his uncle; but he was a confidential friend and able coadjutor, not a humble dependant or sycophantish admirer; and his conduct during the last years of his life, when he was thrown on the resources of his own mind, served to display the soundness of his judgment, and to unfold the energy of his character.[1] "He was one of the wisest directors of church affairs in his time," says Calderwood. "For that cause he was ever employed by the General Assemblies and other public meetings; and acted his part so gravely, so wisely, and so calmly, that the adversaries could get no advantage." Besides what he had published at an early period of his life, he prepared several treatises for the press a short time before his death. His Supplication to the King, in the name of the Church of Scotland, a work on which he bestowed great pains, is composed in an elegant and impressive style. Possessing less fancy than feeling, his poems, which are all written in the Scottish dialect, do not rise above mediocrity; but from this censure some parts of his Lamentation over the overthrow of the Church of Scotland deserve to be exempted.[2]

The distress which Melville felt at receiving the tidings of his nephew's death was calm and silent, because it was deep. It is expressed with a tender simplicity in the epitaph which he wrote for him.[3] In a letter to his friend Dury at Leyden, he says: "The Lord hath taken to himself the faithful brother, my dearly beloved son, Mr James Melville, in January; as I am informed by Mr James Fullerton. I fear melancholy to have abridged his days. He was in great perplexity and doubt what to do, as ye know and as Mr Bamford wrote me; and I answered by these letters which I sent to you. I cannot tell if they be yet beside you; but I persuade myself he has never seen them. He was resolved to accept no restitution without you and Mr Forbes. Now he is out of all doubt and fashrie,[4] enjoying the fruits of his suffering here: God forgive the instruments of his withholding from his flock. I cannot write more at this time. If ye have received the particulars of his sickness and his death, I pray you let me know the circumstances at large."[5]

[1] When some urged that James Melville might be allowed to return home, although it was dangerous to set his uncle at liberty, Archbishop Spotswood is said to have replied: "Mr Andrew is but a blast, but Mr James is a crafty byding man, and more to be feared than his uncle." Wodrow's Life of James Melville, p. 146.

[2] See Note OO.

[3] This epitaph is printed at the end of the Libellus Supplex of James Melville. See Note OO.

[4] Trouble.

[5] Letters from Melville to Robert Durie, num. 5; MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 42. These letters are written in English.

Besides the civilities which he showed to all the students, Melville paid particular attention to such of his countrymen as came to the university of Sedan. Among these were John Dury, afterwards well known for the persevering exertions which he made to accomplish a union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches,[1] and the learned Dr John Forbes, son to the bishop of Aberdeen.[2] Dr Arthur Jonston, the poet, also spent a considerable part of his early life in the university of Sedan. His juvenile effusions prove that he lived on a footing of intimacy with Melville, who treated him with kindness as the nephew of his former colleague, and could not fail to be pleased with a young man whose literary taste was so congenial to his own, and who had already given flattering presages of those talents which entitle him to rank, as a sacred poet, next to Buchanan.[3] During his residence at Sedan, Melville kept up a correspondence with different literary characters on the Continent, of whom Heinsius, Gomarus, and Du Plessis were the principal.[4]

In addition to his ordinary academical employment, he was involved at this time in a controversy, which was peculiarly delicate, from the connection in which he was placed with the individual who was his principal opponent. At his first coming to Sedan he found several of the students infected with Arminianism.[5] His colleague Tilenus, after publishing against this system of faith, became a convert to it.[6] But instead of avowing the change, he exerted himself covertly, and contrary to his subscription, in instilling his new opinions into the minds of the students.[7] Melville had an instinctive abhorrence of everything like duplicity and breach of trust. He accordingly concurred with some of his colleagues in exposing an insidious attempt to pervert the sentiments of the young men under his charge, and to ruin the university. In consequence of this, Tilenus left Sedan, and became an open and virulent adversary of Calvinism.[8]

[1] He was the son of Robert Dury at Leyden. Melville's Letters to Durie, num. 4.

[2] See the Preface and Letters prefixed to his Latin translation of his father's Commentary on the Revelation, Amst. 1646. He is known by his learned work, Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ, in 2 vols. folio.

[3] Vita Arct. Jonstoni, in Poet. Scot. Mus. Sac. pp. xxxi. xxxv. In the works of Jonston, besides an encomiastic poem on Melville, are Lusus Amœbei, consisting of a poetical correspondence supposed to have passed between the author and Tilenus and Melville, at Sedan. Tilenus is rallied on the long-delayed birth of a daughter, and Melville on his being childless and an old bachelor. Arturi Jonstoni Poemata, pp. 371, 387—397. Middelb. 1642.

[4] Letters to Robert Durie, *passim*. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, pp. 53, 58.

[5] Melville's Letters to Robert Durie, number 1.

[6] Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica, tom. ii. pp. 544, 558.

[7] Letter from Rivet to Boyd of Trochrig, Dec. 5, 1617; in Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 194.

[8] Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis, pp. 34, 35. Epistolæ Eccles. et Theolog. pp. 17. 616, 619, 770. Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. tom. iv. p. 606.

Tilenus showed himself so violent and unfair in his representations of the opinions of his old friends that the more judicious Remonstrants were ashamed of his conduct. Yet a late controversial writer against Calvinism, in stating the opinions of his opponents, has given the propositions of the Synod of Dort, not in the words of the Synod itself, but of its adversary *Tilenus*, as "*the most moderate and impartial* account of their proceedings!" Copleston's Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination, pp. 217, 218. But this is not all: the quotation is purely apocryphal. The propositions are not those of Tilenus, nor are they taken from a work of his, but from a satirical dialogue or mock-trial, published by an anony-

Spotswood betrays his ignorance, as well as his spleen, in the short account which he gives of Melville after he was released from the Tower. "He was sent to Sedan," says he, "where he lived in no great respect, and, contracting the gout, lay almost bedfast to his death."[1] Considering his advanced age when he was banished to France, it would not have excited surprise if he had spent the remainder of his days in inactivity, or without performing anything which attracted the public attention. But the facts which we have stated testify the contrary. Nor durst the bishops of Scotland grant permission to this same unrespected and bedfast invalid to return to his native country, although they knew that the act would have gained them the greatest credit. The archbishop ought to have avoided any allusion to his disorder, considering that it was contracted in the prison to which the bishops had been the instruments of dooming him. He had, indeed, begun to feel the infirmities of old age, but not to such a degree as to prevent him from performing his professional duties, to subdue the undaunted spirit of which his adversaries stood in so much awe, or even to mar his wonted cheerfulness.[2] In a letter written in the year 1612, he says, as if in answer to the above insinuation: "Am I not threescore and eight years old; unto the which age none of my fourteen brethren came? And yet, I thank God, I eat, I drink, I sleep as well as I did these thirty years bygone, and better than when I was younger—*in ipso flore adolescentiæ*. Only the gravel now and then seasons my mirth with some little pain, which I have felt only since the beginning of March the last year, a month before my deliverance from prison. I feel, thank God, no abatement of the alacrity and ardour of my mind for the propagation of the truth. Neither use I spectacles now more than ever; yea, I use none at all, nor ever did, and see now to read Hebrew without points, and in the smallest characters. Why may I not live to see a changement to the better, when the prince shall be informed truly by honest men, or God open his eyes and move his heart to see the pride of stately prelates?"[3] In a letter written to the

mous sectary during the Cromwellian Protectorate, into which the name of Tilenus was *fictitiously* introduced. The work is entitled, "The Examination of Tilenus before the Triers, in order to his intended settlement in the Office of a Public Preacher in the Commonwealth of *Utopia*." The following are the names of some of the Triers: Dr Absolute, Mr Fatalitie, Mr Narrow-grace, alias Stint-grace, and Dr Dam-man. Now, if it had so happened that the propositions of the Synod of Dort had been put into the mouth of this last personage instead of Tilenus, we should no doubt have been told by the learned Provost of Oriel College, that this said Dr *Damn-man* was a "most moderate and impartial" writer, and left to seek for him and his works in the land of *Utopia;* where also, if anywhere, we might have found "the Landgrave of *Turing!* a patron of the reformed doctrines," who justified his vicious life by the doctrine of predestination! Enquiry, p. 31. A modern writer who could trust *Heylin* as an authority, deserved to fall into such ridiculous blunders. As the subject has been introduced, I must be allowed to add, that the publications against Calvinism which have lately appeared in England are, in their statement of the question, unfair; in their reasoning, shallow; and, in respect of the knowledge which they display of the history of theological opinions, contemptible.

[1] History, p. 500.

[2] Speaking of Spotswood's behaviour in the General Assembly held in 1617, Simson says: "Necnon furere et debacchari in Andream Melvinum, virum optimum, et fœdissimis calumniis absentem mordere qui presentem nisi tremulus videre vix potuerit." Annales, p 137.

[3] Letters to Robert Durie, num. 1.

same correspondent in the course of the following year, he says: "I thank you, loving brother, for your care of us; but I fear I put you to over-great charge in paying for my letters, which I would not do if I were sure that my letters would be delivered in case I would pay for them; such is either the negligence or greediness of this age. I know your loving heart; but it is indiscretion on my part to burden you too much. Take this *English* word in good part—it fell out of the pen. My heart is a *Scotch* heart, and as good or better nor ever it was, both toward God and man. The Lord only be praised thereof, to whom belongs all glory. Who can tell when out of this confusion it may please Him to draw out some good order, to the comfort of his children and relief of his servants? Courage, courage, brother! *Judicabimus angelos; quanto magis mortales!*" And, in the year 1616, he writes again to Dury: "Let the bishops be mowdewarps:[1] we will lay up our treasures in heaven, where they be safe. My colic, gravel, and gout, be messengers (but not importune) to spoil my patience, but to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I would look for at this age: praised be the true Mediator, to whose glory may it serve, and to the benefit of His church."[2]

After his settlement at Sedan, he requested his friends in London to embrace any favourable opportunity that might offer for procuring his restoration. But this he did not so much from any hopes of success which he entertained, as to show "that he had not thrown off all regard to the church and land of his fathers, and did not contemn the favour of his sovereign."[3] In the year 1616 Forbes went to England, and, after waiting six months, was admitted to kiss his majesty's hand, and obtained a promise (which was never realised) that he and Dury would be relieved from banishment. In a letter which Melville wrote to Dury, he says, after some satirical reflections on the hand which Spotswood had in that affair: "This I write not to hinder you to accept of your liberty obtained already at the king's hands, as I am informed by Mr Forbes's letters. You are wise and resolute in the Lord, whose Spirit hath guided you hitherto in your wanderings through the wilderness of this crooked age. I am rejoiced to hear both of your coming home, and replanting in the ministry at home. As for me, I know their double dealing from the beginning, and how I am both hated and feared by them; and so was my cousin Mr James. The metropolitan, I ween, was minded to deal for me; but my late-written verses offended both king and bishops. Yet they be general, and such as none but a wan-shapen bishop can be offended with—*πανουργος και δεινος ανθρωπος*. I am not weary of this *sējour*, grace, and hospitality in Sedan."[4]

He lost this correspondent, who died at Leyden in the course of this year.[5] Of all his friends, next to his nephew, he felt most attached to Dury, and his letters to him are written in the most confidential strain,

[1] Moles. [2] Letters to Robert Durie, num. 3 and 4. [3] Melvini Epist. p. 293.
[4] Letters to Robert Durié, num. 6. [5] Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 145.

mingled with kind-hearted and familiar pleasantry.[1] John Forbes survived his fellow-exile many years, and died in Holland about the year 1634, after he had been removed from his charge at Delft by the jealous interference of the English government.[2]

In the beginning of the year 1619, the town of Sedan was a scene of festivity, in consequence of the marriage of Marie de la Tour, the eldest daughter of the Duke of Bouillon, to the Duke de la Tremouille.[3] On that occasion Melville resolved not to be behind the most juvenile of his colleagues in testifying his respect for the family of his noble patron; and he produced an *Epithalamium*. A marriage-song by a Professor of Divinity, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, may be regarded as a literary curiosity; and it proves that old age, though it could not fail to have cooled, had not been able to quench his genius. The theme which he chose was not, however, unbecoming his character and years; and probably thinking that, in his circumstances, it was enough to have shown his good-will, he did not finish the poem.[4]

To the latest period of his life, he continued alive to the general welfare of the reformed church, and the private welfare of his particular friends. But he felt peculiarly interested in the affairs of the Church of Scotland, which, before his death, was again converted into a scene of contention, in prosecution of the preposterous scheme of bringing it to a complete conformity to the Church of England. When episcopal government was forced on Scotland, if any person had asserted that this was only a prelude to the obtrusion of the English forms of worship, he would have run the risk of being prosecuted for "lese-making." Yet there can be now no doubt that this formed from the beginning an essential part of the plan of the court. The bishops were aware that the nation was averse to it, and afraid that it might excite such discontent as would prove hazardous to their precarious pre-eminence. They accordingly made an attempt to divert his majesty from pushing the projected change. But a manly opposition to any measure which was sanctioned by the royal pleasure, however impolitic, was not to be expected from those who had declared themselves the creatures of the court; and having received a magisterial reprimand for their ignorant scruples and impertinent interference, they consented to become servile instruments in executing the will of the monarch, and in forcing the obnoxious ceremonies on a reclaiming and insulted nation.[5] After an

[1] In one of his letters to him he says: "Faill not to send Arminius against Perkins *De Predestinatione*, whatever it cost, with the contra-poison done be Gomarus, *quem singulariter amo εν χυριω*. When our dame bakes you shall have a sconne [cake.] Commend me to my good cummer, and to my godson, and the rest of the bairns—I may see them once er I die, now entering my seventie year." And in another letter: "To be short, I have been these eight days exercised with a rheum, and this day have ta'en a sirope; so that er it be long I hope to drink to you. My cummer and all the bairnes be locked up in my heart."

[2] Preface to his "Four Sermons on 1 Tim. vi. 13—16. Published by S. O. Anno 1635." Forbes is the author of several other treatises, and lived greatly respected in Holland.

[3] Mémoires de Mornay du Plessis, tom. iv. pp. 105, 156.

[4] Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 66—81.

[5] Lord Hailes, Memor. and Letters, vol. i. p. 79—83. The bishops pleaded that his majesty was determined at all events to impose

ineffectual attempt at St Andrews in 1617, they succeeded in accomplishing their object in a General Assembly held at Perth in the course of the following year. By flatteries, falsehoods, and threatenings, a majority of votes was procured in favour of such of the English rites as it pleased the court at that time to select. *The Five Articles of Perth*, as the acts of this Assembly are usually called, enjoined kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, the observance of holidays, episcopal confirmation, private baptism, and private communicating. These were ratified by parliament in the year 1621, and enforced by the High Commission ; but they met with great resistance, and were never universally obeyed.[1]

About this time, also, certain changes on the university of St Andrews were completed. Soon after Archbishop Gladstanes obtained the direction of its affairs, he revived the professorship of canon law, to which he nominated his son-in-law ; "as the ready way to bring out the presbyterian discipline from the hearts of the young ones, and to acquaint even the eldest with the ancient church government whereof they are ignorant."[2] In commemorating the obligations which the literature of Scotland is under to the archbishop, we must not forget his exertions for the revival of academical degrees in divinity. Upon the expulsion of Melville, he expressed much anxiety to have his successor invested with "Insignia Doctoratus," and requested his majesty, in his "incomparable wisdom," to send him "the form and order of making Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity," that he might "create one or two doctors, to incite others to the same honour, and to encourage *our ignorant clergy* to learning." And the primate proposed that such graduates should, "in presentation to benefices, be preferred to others."[3] This object was not, however, gained until the year 1616, after the death of Gladstanes, when Dr John Young, Dean of Winchester, came to St Andrews with the royal instructions, and presided in the first act. His majesty directed that those who were found qualified for degrees should "preach a sermon before the Lords at Edinburgh, in a hood agreeing to their degree, that so they might be known" (by the *hood* or by the *sermon ?*) "to be men fitte for the prime places of the church."[4] Pre-

the ceremonies, and that, if they did not yield, he would overthrow the church. This might be the impression on the minds of some of them ; but it is evident, at least, that there was a collusion between the court and the primate. Before the General Assembly had agreed to the innovations, Spotswood writes : "We are here to communicate, God willing, on Easter-day, when I shall have everything in that manner performed as your majesty desires. All of our number are advertised to do the like in their places ; and the most I know will observe the samine. Our adversaries will call this a transgression of the received custom ; *but I do not yet see that anything will effect their obedience, save your majesty's authority* " Letter to the King, March 29, 1618 ; Wodrow's Life of Spotswood, p. 74.

[1] Printed Cald. p. 698—715. Spotswood, p. 537—540. Course of Conformity, p. 58—103. Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis, p. 179—181. Perth Assembly, pp. 7—10, 14. Printed anno 1619. The account, given in the last-mentioned tract, of the threats employed in the Assembly, is not materially contradicted by the episcopal advocate. Bishop Lyndsay, in his True Narrative of Proceedings in the Assembly at Perth, p. 87—89 ; and it is confirmed by the official account of the King's Commissioner, published by Lord Hailes. Memor. i. 87—91.

[2] Letter to the King, May 3, 1611 ; MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. V. 1, 12, num. 17.

[3] Letter and Memoires to his Sacred Majesty, Sept. 8, 1607 ; MS. *ibid.* M. 6, 9, num. 58, 59.

[4] His Majesty's Letter and Articles for the

viously to the introduction of this important improvement, the divines who came from England for the purpose of forwarding the conformity between the two churches, were exceedingly struck with the literary sterility of our country. Like a celebrated traveller who could scarcely observe a tree above the size of a bush between Berwick and St Andrews, the English doctors could not hear of above *one* of their own species in the whole kingdom : so that, if prompt measures had not been taken to have the race propagated by help from England, it must inevitably, within a short time, have become wholly extinct.[1] The Presbyterians, indeed, had doctors, but then they were no more than teachers ; and in their church calendar were placed below the pastors of parishes. It cannot be denied that "our ignorant clergy" exerted themselves in promoting literature ; but then their exertions were confined to the task of *making* men learned, and they neglected the work of *calling* them so. They prescribed, it is true, an extensive course of theological instruction, and enacted that none should be admitted to the ministry who had not completed this course, and could not procure testimonials of his diligence and proficiency from the professors under whom he had studied ; but then they were completely ignorant of the art of creating divines by certain mystic words and symbols. The truth is, that they did not object to academical graduation, so far as it was necessary to mark the progress which young men had made in their theological studies.[2] But they did not admit that it belonged to universities to license persons to teach divinity *ubicunque terrarum ;* they were jealous of those titles which, in the English Church, had been always associated with ideas of ecclesiastical superiority ; and they knew that, considered merely as badges of honour, instead of being a reward to merit or an incentive to diligence, they served chiefly to tickle the vanity of the weak, bolster up the pretensions of the arrogant, and induce persons to sigh after the name instead of the reality of learning. *Lis est de nomine, non re.*

An overweening fondness for mere forms is usually accompanied with indifference to the substance, in literature and in religion. The same prelate who testified such eagerness to have the clergy decorated with empty titles and silken robes, banished the man who had done more to raise their character, in point of literary and theological endowments, than

University. In the Articles it is appointed that five holidays shall be annually celebrated in the university, with suitable prayers and sermons.

[1] "The name of a School Doctor was grown out of date : only one Graduat (that I did hear of) at St Andrews did outlive that injury of times. Now comes his Majesty (as one born to the honour of learning) and restores the schools to their former glories." Letter of Dr Joseph Hall to Mr William Struthers; in Wodrow's Life of Struthers, p. 3 : MSS. vol. ii.

[2] "Anent proceding be degrees in Schools to the degree of a Doctor of Divinity, it was ordained (by the General Assembly, Anno 1569) that the brethren of Sanct Andrews convene and form such ordor as they sall think meit, and that they present the same to the next Assembly to be revised and considered, that the Assembly may eik or diminish as they sall think good, and that thereafter the order allowed be established." Cald. ii. 123. "The appellation of the degries appoyntit be his Ma^tie to be heirefter in the yierlie course of theologie w^tin the New College to be advysed be the counsell [of the university] and reported to his Ma^tie upon the forsaid day." Visit. of University of St Andrews, anno 1599.

all the gowned graduates who had filled the academical chairs of Scotland for two hundred years. And the same parliament which ratified the Articles of Perth, repealed the act of 1579, which reformed the university of St Andrews, and thus threw education back to the state in which it was before the revival of letters. The apology made for this disgraceful act of the legislature was, "that it is equitable that the will of the original founders should take effect so far as is consistent with the religion presently professed. But, if a deviation from the will of the founders in such an important point as that of religion was warrantable and proper, what reasonable objection could be urged against such a change on the mode of instruction as was necessary to accommodate it to the progress which the age had made in knowledge and literature? The true reasons for the repeal of the act of 1579 were, on the part of the professors, an aversion to the arduous course of instruction which that act prescribed; and, on the part of the bishops, an antipathy to the men who had recommended it, and an anxiety to remove every monument of the existence and triumph of Presbytery. But, eager as they were to accomplish this object, the utility of the New College, as constituted on Melville's favourite plan, was so universally acknowledged, that they durst not touch it; and, accordingly, an express exception, though at variance with the principle assumed in the act, was made in its favour.[1]

What Melville's feelings on receiving information of the procedure of the General Assembly at Perth were, we learn from a letter written, at his direction, by one of his students to a friend in Scotland who had lately been at Sedan. He was not prepared to expect that the rulers would push matters to such an extreme. Cherishing the hope that the corruptions lately established would work their own cure, and that the barons would soon grow weary of a tyranny which they had unwarily contributed to erect, he had of late curbed, instead of stimulating, the zeal of such of his acquaintance as returned from France to Scotland, and whom he knew to be ardently attached to the presbyterian constitution; but now he judged it necessary to rouse his brethren to a vigorous resistance of the innovations which it was attempted to impose. He felt deeply concerned for them, and expressed a great desire to receive the earliest intelligence of all their proceedings.[2] As often as he took up the *Basilicon Doron* (which he frequently did) he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the disclosure which it made of the king's designs against the church, and on the crooked policy with which they had been carried into execution.

His desire to assist his brethren at this critical period prompted him to break through a restraint imposed on him when he was released from the Tower, and to which he had hitherto submitted. He composed

[1] Acta Parliamentorum Scotorum, vol. iv. pp. 682, 683.

[2] Letter, John Hume to Mr John Adamson, Sedan, March 9, 1620; MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 80. It appears from this letter that Adamson was then employed in making a collection of Melville's poems.

a small treatise, which was published anonymously, consisting of aphorisms on things indifferent in religion, and bearing upon the chief argument used by the advocates for conformity to the obtruded ceremonies. Another work commonly ascribed to him is an answer to his late colleague, Tilenus, who, disappointed in his scheme of raising partisans in France, sought to ingratiate himself with King James by a defence of the late proceedings in Scotland, and by an unprovoked and vituperative attack on the Scottish Presbyterians.[1] The answer to Tilenus is written with great ability, and in a style of nervous reasoning, seasoned with satire, which is, upon the whole, less severe than the rudeness of the attack which it repels would have justified.[2] But it was not the work of Melville; although it is not unlikely that he furnished materials to his friend, Sir James Sempill, who was the real author.[3]

The sources of intelligence have now failed me, and I have it not in my power to communicate any additional information relative to the latter period of Melville's life. In 1620 his health grew worse;[4] and it is probable that the distempers with which he had been occasionally visited ever since he was in the Tower, became now more frequent in their attacks, and gradually wasted his constitution. He died at Sedan in the course of the year 1622, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years.[5] At that time, there was at least one of his countrymen in the university, Alexander Colville, who enjoyed his friendship, and, it may be believed, would not fail to pay every attention to his venerable master in his last moments.[6] In consequence of the civil war which raged in France, it was a considerable time before his friends in Scotland were

[1] "Paræneſis ad Scotos, Genevensis Disciplinæ Zelotas. Autore Dan. Tileno Silesio. Lond. 1620." Cambden says: Anno 1620, Sept. 5. Tilenus, magnus Theologus, venit in Angliam, & edit librum contra Scotos, zelotas disciplinæ Genevensis." Annales, p. 61. He published another work on the same subject, but written with greater moderation: "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica Brevis & Modesta dissertatio, ad Ecclesiam Scoticam. Autore Gallo quodam Theologo, Verbi Divini Ministro. Abredoniæ, Excudebat Eduardus Rabanus, Impensis *Davidis Melvill*, 1622."

[2] "Scoti του τυχοντος Paraclesis contra Dan. Tileni Silesii Paræneſin. Cuius pars prima est, De Episcopali Ecclesiæ Regimine. Anno 1622." At the close of the work, the author signifies his intention of publishing two other parts, on Elders, and on the Five Ceremonies obtruded on the Church of Scotland. But the necessity for these was superseded by the elaborate Altare Damascenum of Calderwood, which appeared in the course of the following year.

[3] Melville is repeatedly referred to in that work, and we cannot suppose that he would have spoken of himself, even for the purpose of concealment, in such terms as the following,—"In quibus præcipuus erat *divinus* noster Melvinus." P. 86. Conf. p. 231. Add to this the testimony of Calderwood, who had the best opportunity of being informed on the subject: "About this time (1620) Tilenus, a Silesian by birth, a professor in Sedan, came to England, looking for great preferment and benefit for a pamphlet, intituled 'Parænesis ad Scotos Genevensis disciplinæ zelotas,' wherein he defended the state of bishops and the five articles. The booke was confuted soone after be Sir James Sempill of Beltrise, and be the author of the booke intituled Altare Damascenum." Calderwood, viii. 962, 963.

[4] Hume's Letter to Adamson, *ut supra*.

[5] "Andreas Melvinus, vir maximæ pietatis, singularis zeli (zelus domus Dei comedit eum), omnium linguarum et scientiarum acumine primus, imo solus; Athenas et Solymam in Scotiam induxit; pseudo-episcopatus et papistarum hostis acerrimus; cœlebs, castus; advocatus a Rege, Turri conjicitur: post Dux Buloniæ in Galliam ducit, ubi fortissimus αθλητα, jam octogenarius moritur, 1622." Simsoni Annales. See also Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, 112."

[6] Hume's Letter, *ut supra*. "Petri Molinæi Oratio—habita Sedani viij. Idus Decembres 1628, ante inaugurationem viri doctissimi Alexandri Colvini in gradum Doctoratus eiusq; admissionem ad Professionem Theologicam. Sedani, 1629." From this Oration (p. 129) it appears that Colville had been for

apprised of the fact of his death; and, even then, they were left in ignorance of the circumstances which attended it.[1]

It is natural for us to desire minute information respecting the decease of any individual in whose life we have taken a deep interest; and we cannot help feeling disappointed, when we are barely told that "he died." But, laudable as this curiosity may be, and gratifying and useful as it is to have the spiritual portrait of a great and good man drawn on his death-bed and at the hour of his departure, we ought not to forget that there is a still more decisive and unequivocal test of character. It was by the faith which he evinced during his life that the first martyr "obtained witness that he was righteous; and by it he, being dead, yet speaketh." We have no reason to regret being left without any authentic record of the manner in which the apostles finished their course, nor are we under any temptation to have recourse to suspicions and apocryphal traditions in order to supply the defect, when their writings and the history of their lives enable us "fully to know their doctrine, manner of life, purpose, long-suffering, charity, patience, persecutions, afflictions." I have met with no account of the last sickness of Melville; but I have no doubt that he died as he lived. At a period when it was not uncommon to circulate false rumours of the death-bed recantations of men who had distinguished themselves in public controversies, it was never whispered that he had retracted his sentiments, or that he signified the smallest regret for the sufferings which he had endured in behalf of the civil and religious liberties of his country.

It is not an easy task to form a correct and impartial estimate of the talents and character of those who have distinguished themselves in great national struggles. If their contemporaries were unduly biassed by the strength of their attachments and antipathies, we who live at a later period lose in correctness of views what we gain in impartiality of judging, by the distance at which we are placed from the men whom we

several years Professor of Hebrew before he was admitted to the theological chair. In 1642, he was called from Sedan to be Professor of Divinity in the New College of St Andrews. Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 305. Index to Unprinted Acts of Assembly, 1642.

[1] Robert Boyd of Trochrig, at that time Principal of the University of Edinburgh, has the following notice of Melville's death in his Obituary: "May the Lord have pity upon us, and preserve in us the work of His own grace, for the good and salvation of our soul, and the destruction of this body of death and sin! As to the death of that venerable father of our church, the ornament of his nation, and great light of this age, in all virtue, learning, vivacity of spirit, promptitude, zeal, holy freedom and boldness, and invincible courage in a good cause, with a holy course of life and resolution, who dyed at Sedan last year, 1622, aged about 80 years. He was rejected of his native country, by the malice of the times and men, because he had, with fortitude and firmness, maintained the truth, and given testimony to it before the princes of this world. He had keeped a good conscience, without changes, either out of fear, or by the flattery and favour of men, after his imprisonment in the Tower of London, and his living an exile of more than 10 years. As to his death, I say, and the particular circumstances of it, I have not yet received distinct and certain information, because of the trouble and persecutions arisen in the Church of France for some years. May the Lord conduct us by the strait gate to His kingdom of everlasting peace, for the merits of His weel beloved Son, Jesus Christ, our Saviour. Amen." Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 146. Calderwood, in a work which he published in Holland in the year 1623, says: "De Melvino autem affirmare nulla assentatione (nam audio paulo ante fatis cessisse) melius Regi ab infantia voluisse, quam assentatores istos." Altare Damasc. p. 741. And, in the Preface to that work, he says: "Andreas Melvinus, qui fere octogenarius diem supremum clausit in exilio, vir undiquaque doctus, pius, candidus, et strenuus Christi miles."

attempt to describe, and by want of sympathy with manners and feelings so dissimilar to our own. In forming our opinion of them from contemporary records, we are as much embarrassed by the narrow views and want of discrimination of their friends, as by the hostility and misrepresentations of their adversaries. The narratives of public transactions transmitted to us by those who lived at the time, often resemble the description of a great battle by a spectator: officers and men are beheld confusedly mingled together, and the issue appears to depend on the exertion of brute force, aided by insensibility to danger; while the military skill and presence of mind by which the whole mass is disposed, put in motion, and governed, are disregarded and left out of view. There is still another source of error. If civil history is chiefly the record of wars and bloodshed, the pages of ecclesiastical history are too often filled with accounts of theological contention; and, accustomed to contemplate the principal individuals who figure in these scenes, either in the attitude of eager assault or of stubborn resistance, we are ready to form an unfavourable opinion of their moral qualities and private dispositions. Cooler reflection, and a more minute acquaintance with facts, will serve to correct our over-hasty conclusions. When we follow the warrior into the retreats of peace, and find him displaying, in the social and domestic circle, all the gentle and amiable features of human nature, we may regret that it should ever have been necessary for him to enter on a scene which called forth the sterner feelings; but we will, at the same time, be convinced that he is incapable of wanton and deliberate cruelty, and it will require the strongest evidence to induce us to believe that he was in any instance guilty of conduct so much at variance with what we know of his temper and habits. With respect to those who lived in former times, this information can be derived only from private memoirs and letters. When such documents relating to any individual exist, and when they have been referred to as authorities, and produced as illustrations, with fidelity and judgment, the outlines of his character are no longer left to be filled up by the fancy or the prejudices of his biographer. If I have succeeded according to my wish, the reader is already acquainted with the person whose life is recorded in this work; and it is not necessary for me to attempt an elaborate delineation of his character. Nor is it necessary for me to enter into a formal refutation of the erroneous opinions which have prevailed concerning it. The facts which have been produced will best serve to correct these mistakes, whether they have originated in ignorance or in prejudice.

Melville possessed great intrepidity, invincible fortitude, and unextinguishable ardour of mind. His spirit was independent, high, fiery, and incapable of being tamed by threats or violence; but he was at the same time open, candid, generous, affectionate, faithful. The whole tenor of his life bears testimony to the sincerity and strength of his religious convictions. We do not find him making disclosures, even to

his most confidential correspondents, of the secret communings of his heart with its God. But we find, what is a less equivocal proof of genuine devotion, a habitual sense of divine things, a subjection of mind to the divine will, and a uniform aim and desire to advance the divine glory, pervading and intermingling with all that he did or said. The spirit of his piety was strikingly contrasted with that compound of indifference and selfishness which is so often lauded under the much-abused names of moderation and charity. "Thou canst not bear them that are evil, and thou hast tried them that say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars," was the commendation which he coveted and which he merited. He felt, and he was not ashamed to avow, an ardent attachment to civil liberty. Possessing, in a high degree, the *perfervidum ingenium* of his countrymen, sudden and impetuous in his feelings, as well as prompt and vivacious in his conceptions, he poured out a torrent of vigorous, vehement, regardless, resistless indignation, mingled at times with defiance and scorn, on those who incurred his displeasure. But his anger, even when it rose to its greatest height, was altogether different from the ebullitions of a splenetic or rancorous mind. On no occasion was it ever excited by a sense of personal injuries, which he meekly bore and forgave. It was called forth by a strong feeling of the impropriety of the conduct which he resented, and of its tendency to injure those public interests to which he was devoted. And there was always about it an honesty, an elevation, a freedom from personal hate, malice, and revenge, which made it respected even by those who censured its violence, or who smarted under its severity. If his religious and patriotic zeal was sometimes intemperate, it was always disinterested; if, by giving himself up to its influence, he was occasionally carried beyond the bounds of virtuous moderation and prudence, it is also true that he was borne above every sordid and mercenary aim, and escaped from the atmosphere of selfishness, in which so many who have set out well in a public career have had their zeal cooled and their progress arrested.

Notwithstanding the heat and vehemence displayed in his public conduct, he was an agreeable companion in private. Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren. His heart was susceptible of all the humane and social affections. Though he spent the greater part of his life in a college, he was no ascetic or morose recluse; and though "his book was his bride and his study his bride-chamber,"[1] yet he felt as tender a sympathy with his friends in all their domestic concerns, as if he had been himself a husband and a father. The gay, good-humoured, hearty pleasantry which appears in his familiar letters, evinces a cheerfulness and kindli-

[1] An expression applied to Archbishop Grindal, who never married.

ness of disposition, which continued, to the latest period of his life, unsoured by the harsh treatment which he met with, and uninjured by the fretting infirmities of old age.

His intellectual endowments were confessedly superior. Possessing a vigorous mind, cultivated by study, he excelled all his countrymen of that age in the acquirements of a various and profound erudition. He was the first Scotchman who added a taste for elegant literature to an extensive acquaintance with theology. In all the important public transactions of his time he sustained a conspicuous part. But those who have represented him as exercising, or affecting to exercise, the authority of the leader of a party, in the common acceptation of that term, have greatly mistaken his character. He had no pretension to those talents which qualify one for this task. He was a stranger to the smooth arts and insinuating address by which persons whose talents were not of the highest order have often succeeded in managing public bodies. He could not stoop to flatter and fawn upon the multitude, nor was he disposed to make those sacrifices of principle and personal independence which are required from every one who sets up for the head of a party. Nevertheless, his reputation for learning and probity, his extensive acquaintance with the subjects in debate, his promptitude of mind, his ready, fervid, and vehement eloquence, and, above all, the heroic courage and firmness which he uniformly displayed in the hour of danger, gave him an ascendancy over the public mind which was in some respects greater than that exerted by any acknowledged leader. In the church courts there were others better qualified for moderating in a debate, for directing the mode of procedure, or conducting a negotiation with the court; but still Melville was regarded by the nation as the master-spirit which animated the whole body, and watched over the rights and liberties of the church. His zeal and fearlessness led him sometimes, in the heat of action, to leave the ranks of his brethren, and to seize a position which they deemed improper or hazardous; but still their eye was fixed on him, and they were encouraged by his example to maintain the conflict on lower and less dangerous ground.

I have not met with any description of his external appearance, except that given by his majesty, who has informed us that he was of low stature.[1] Nor do I know of any portrait of him. His bodily constitution was sound; he enjoyed a long course of good health; his animal spirits were lively; and he was a stranger to those alternate visitations of morbid sensibility and oppressive languor by which men of talents and studious habits are often tormented.

The greater part of Melville's writings consists of Latin poems.[2] These display the vigour of his imagination and the elegance of his taste; and some of them will bear a comparison with the productions of such of his contemporaries as were the greatest masters of that species

[1] See above, p. 175.

[2] A list of his works will be found in Note PP.

of writing. But, though his poems were admired at the time when they appeared, it must be confessed that they have not transmitted his reputation to posterity. This is chiefly to be ascribed to the change which has taken place in literary taste, and the disrepute into which such compositions have fallen in later times. It has been also owing in some degree to his not having produced a work of any great extent, a circumstance which has no small influence on public opinion. Had Buchanan not published his Paraphrase of the Psalms, the merit of his other poetical pieces would probably have been now known only to a few. Melville found always sufficient active employment to excuse him from the duty of writing for the public. He was not ambitious of literary fame, and was quite superior to mercenary views; nor had the art of converting authorship into an engine for making a fortune been discovered in that age. Another circumstance which has proved injurious to his literary fame is, that a great number of his poems are satires on the hierarchy. This, together with the firm resistance which he made to the episcopal polity, excited a strong antipathy against him among the defenders of the English Church, who have either disparaged his talents or treated his writings with neglect.[1] Not that all of them are chargeable with this injustice. Isaac Walton, though displeased with the freedoms which Melville had taken with his favourite church, does not attempt to deny or conceal his talents.[2] A modern English divine, who is a much better judge than Walton, speaks of him in the following terms: "The learning and abilities of Mr Melville were equalled only by the purity of his manners and the sanctity of his life. His temper was warm and violent; his carriage and zeal perfectly suited to the times in which he lived. Archbishop Spotswood is uniformly unfriendly to his memory. He seems to have been treated by his adversaries with great asperity." And, having quoted Duport's poem against him, he adds: "Let it not, however, be inferred from

[1] See Dr Duport's verses "In Andream Melvinum Scotum, de sua Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria, Saphico versu conscripta;" added to his edition of "Ecclesiastes Salamonis—1662." A striking specimen of the spirit referred to in the text is given by Bishop Nicolson. In his account of treatises left by Scotchmen "on the description and antiquities of their country," he says: "I have not seen And. Melvin's Fragmentum de Origine Gentis Scotorum. Nor will the character which a modern writer gives of the author tempt any man to inquire after it." Scottish Hist. Library, p. 15. Lond. 1702. 8vo. Now, the work was staring the worthy bishop in the face all the time, in a book which he had repeatedly quoted. The reader may be curious to see the character which made an Antiquarian so indifferent about a discourse on Antiquities; and as this character is really a curiosity of its kind, I shall subjoin it. "Master Andrew Melvil—was a Man, by Nature, fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peevish and ungovernable: Education in him, had not sweetened Nature, but Nature had sowred Education; and both conspiring together, had trickt him up into a true Original; a piece compounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of Satyre and Sarcasm; of venome and vehemence; He hated the Crown as much as the Mitre, the Scepter as much as the Crosier, and could have made as bold with the Purple as with the Rochet: His prime Talent was Lampooning and writing Anti-Tami-Cami-Categorias. In a word, he was the very Archetypal Bitter Beard of the Party." Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined, pp. 217, 218.

[2] He was, says he, "master of a great wit, a wit full of knots and clenches; a wit sharp and satirical: exceeded, I think, by none of that nation but their Buchanan." This testimony to Melville, which appeared in the first edition of the Life of George Herbert, was suppressed in the subsequent editions. Dr Zouch restored it in his edition of Walton's Lives, p. 295.

these verses, that Andrew Melville always sought to dip his pen in gall; that he was principally delighted with the severity of satire and invective. He occasionally diverted his muse to the subject of just panegyric. In many of his epigrams he has celebrated the literary attainments of his contemporaries. He has endeared his name to posterity by his encomium on the profound learning of the two Scaligers, and the classic elegance of Buchanan, his preceptor, and the parent of the Muses. His Latin paraphrase of the Song of Moses is truly excellent—exquisitely beautiful.[1]

Melville's reputation, however, does not rest on his writings. It is founded on the active services which he performed for his country—on his successful exertions in behalf of its literature, and his activity in rearing and defending that ecclesiastical polity by which it has long been distinguished. There may be some who are disposed to depreciate the last of these services, and to represent him as contending, and exposing himself to sufferings, for disputable and controverted points of small moment, relating to forms of government and plans of discipline. Such language, though sometimes employed by good and well-meaning men, proceeds from very narrow and mistaken views. If applied to civil government, who does not see the sweeping inferences to which it would lead? It would discredit the most meritorious struggles in behalf of liberty and law which mark the most glorious epochs in our history. It would condemn those patriots who nobly bled in defence of this sacred cause on the scaffold or in the field, and represent them as having "died as a fool dieth," if not as rebels and ringleaders of revolt. And it would sink and degrade the free constitution of Britain to a level with the despotical autocracies of Turkey and Spain. Who that has duly reflected on the subject can be ignorant that forms of government exert a mighty influence, both directly and indirectly, on the manners, and habits, and sentiments of the people who live under them; and that some of these forms are unspeakably preferable to others? That they are better adapted to impose a check on ambitious or corrupt rulers—prevent or correct abuses arising from maladministration—provide for the impartial distribution of justice—preserve the spirit and perpetuate the enjoyment of liberty—promote education, virtue, and religion; and, in fine, to secure to the people at large all that happiness which it is the original and proper design of government to procure and bestow? The opposite sentiment is so palpably absurd, that there is ground to suspect that it is often adopted by persons as an excuse for their apathy to the public welfare, or an apology for maintaining connections which they find to be conducive to the advancement of their secular interests. These remarks apply with greater force to ecclesiastical than to political government. Setting aside entirely the argument from Scripture; the advancement of the interests of religion, the preservation of purity of faith and morals, the regular dispensing of

[1] Dr Zouch, Walton's Lives, pp. 354, 355.

religious instruction and of all divine ordinances, and, in general, the promoting of the spiritual improvement and salvation of the people, have always depended, and must always depend, in a high degree, on the form of government established in a church, and on the rules by which discipline is exercised in it. Perfection is not to be expected in any society on earth, and the best system of laws may be abused, and will cease to accomplish its ends when the vivific spirit has been suffered to depart; but when these ends are habitually and glaringly counteracted in any church, it will generally be found, on examination, that some check or corrective which Scripture, reason, and the circumstances of the times warranted and pointed out, has been removed or was awanting. The ecclesiastical constitution which Melville had the chief hand in establishing, is eminently calculated to advance these ends. And to it, joined to the spirit which he infused by his example and instructions, Scotland has been indebted for other blessings of a collateral kind, and of the highest importance. To it she owes that system of education which has extended its blessings to the lowest class in the community. To it she owes the intelligence, sobriety, and religious principle which distinguish her commonalty from those of other countries. To it she owed a simple, unambitious, laborious, and at the same time independent order of ministers. And to it she was indebted for that public spirit which has resisted manifold disadvantages in her political situation and institutions;—disadvantages, which otherwise must have reduced her to a state of slavery, and made her the instrument of enslaving the nation with which she became allied, first by the union of the crowns, and afterwards by the union of the kingdoms.

It is a great mistake to suppose, and the facts which have been adduced in the preceding narrative refute the supposition, that Melville and his associates were engaged merely in resisting the imposition of certain ecclesiastical forms. The object of the contest was far more extensive and momentous. The efficiency, if not the existence, of that discipline which had long operated as a powerful check on irreligion and vice, was at stake. The independence, and consequently the usefulness of the ministers was struck at. The inferior judicatories might be allowed to meet, but only under a guard of episcopal janizaries. The General Assembly might be occasionally called together, but merely for the purpose of recording royal edicts, and becoming an instrument of greater oppression and tyranny than the court could have exercised without its aid. The immediate object of the king, by the changes which he made in the government of the church, was to constitute himself Dictator in all matters of religion; and his ultimate object was, by means of the bishops, to overturn the civil liberties of the nation, and to become absolute master of the consciences, properties, and lives of all his subjects in the three kingdoms. It was a contest, therefore, that involved all that is dear to men and Christians—all that is valu-

able in liberty and sacred in religion. Melville was the first to discover and to denounce the scheme which was planned for the overthrow of these; and he persisted in opposing its execution at the expense of deprivation of office, imprisonment, and perpetual banishment from his native country. No sufferings to which he was subjected could bring him to retract the opposition which he had made to it. No offers which he received could induce him to give it the slightest mark of his approbation. By the fortitude, constancy, and cheerfulness with which he bore his exile, he continued to testify against it; and, by animating his brethren who remained at home, he contributed materially to bring about a revolution, which, not long after his death, levelled with the ground that ill-omened fabric, the rearing of which had cost the labour of so many years, and the expense of so much principle and conscience.

CHAPTER XI.

STATE OF LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND WHEN MELVILLE WAS SETTLED AT ST ANDREWS, ANNO 1580.

We have had repeated occasion, in the preceding pages, to advert to the state of literature in Scotland. But the subject, from its importance, and the connection in which it stands with the life of Melville, is entitled to something more than a cursory notice and incidental illustrations. I shall therefore endeavour, in this chapter, to throw some light on the state of our literature when Melville was first established in the university of St Andrews; and, in the following chapter, shall conclude with an account of the progress which it had made when he was removed from that situation.

The literary history of Scotland at the first of these periods embraces the universities, the parochial schools, and the individuals who distinguished themselves by their writings. The university of St Andrews was the earliest, and continued long to be the most celebrated of our academical institutions. For two centuries almost all the eminent men who appeared in this country were connected with it, either as teachers or pupils. A brief description of its constitution, the mode of instruction practised in it, and the changes made on this, will convey a better idea of the state of our literature than any sketch which I could propose to give of the history of all the universities.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, no great school existed in Scotland; and the youth who were desirous of a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad. The inconveniences arising from this were increased by the dissensions which the conflicting claims of the rival popes excited on the Continent. To remedy the evil, Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, with the consent of parliament, erected, in the year 1411, a General Study, or university, in the chief city of his diocese;[1] and, two years after, the charter which he had granted was confirmed by a bull from Benedict XIII., whom the Scots then acknowledged as sovereign pontiff.[2]

The university of St Andrews was formed on the model of those of Paris and Bologna, and enjoyed the same privileges. All its members, or supposts, as they were called, including the students who had attained

[1] Forduni Scotichronicon, lib. xv. chap. 22. Boethii Historia Scotiæ, lib. xvi. The bishop erected the university "de consilio, consensu, et communi tractatu trium Statuum personarum regni Scotiæ." Bulla Fundationis Universitatis Sanct. Andreæ.

[2] Papers of the University.

the degree of bachelor as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came. At a congregation or general meeting, they elected four procurators, who had a right to act for them in all causes in which their interests were concerned, and four intrants or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors,[1] in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which incurred the highest punishment.[2] He had a right to repledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical; and, in certain cases, those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and, accordingly, a concordat was entered into, at an early period, between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their jurisdictions were defined and adjusted.[3] The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom, within the city and the regality of the abbey.[4] It was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the Estates, with the exception of what is called *the great custom.* Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices with cure, were liberated by the papal bull from obligation to personal residence as long as they taught in the university.[5] Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication.[6] It may be mentioned as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it was determined that the Rector of the University should take precedence of the Prior of the Abbey in all public processions.[7]

[1] In general the university elected the assessors, and empowered the Rector to appoint his deputies. The number of assessors was twelve: three from each nation.

[2] "Dummodo ad atrocem injuriam non sit processus."—Concession of Privileges by Bishop Wardlaw. There is one instance of capital punishment being inflicted by the sentence of the rector of the university of Glasgow. Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Append.

[3] Concordia inita, per episcop. Jac. Kennedy, inter supposita universitatis et cives Sti. Andreæ, A.D. 1440.

[4] The prior joined with the bishop in the Charter of Concession of Privileges. The Abbey of St Andrews had a jurisdiction of its own, and magistrates independent of those of the city. About the time of the Reformation, the Master of Lindsay was "principall baillie of the priorie of Sanct-androis," and Robert Pont was "procurator phiscall of the said priorie." Summonds—David Monepenny, elder of Pitmilly, ag^st^ Mr James Wilkie, &c., March 6, 1577.

[5] Bulla Concess. Privileg. Univ. S. A.

[6] In a dispute which the rector and professors of theology in the university had with the masters of St Salvator's College about the power of conferring degrees, the former threatened the latter with ecclesiastical censures. The matter was settled by a provincial council held in 1470, in the way of the College consenting to renounce the right which they had acquired by a papal bull. Hovei Oratio de Fundat. Univ. Andr. MS. In the reformation of the University of St Andrews in 1579, it is provided, "that in place of the pane of cursing vsit of befoir vpoun offendo^rs^ and inobedientis, They be now decernit be decreit of the recto^r^ and chief membris of the vniūsitie efter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit, secludit, and remouit out of the vniūsitie, And to tyne and foirfalt the priuilegis and benefittis y^r^of." Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 181.

[7] Hovei Oratio.

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of each of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty for regulating the mode of study, and for examinations. The chancellor presided at meetings of the university for the conferring of degrees.[1] It was long before medicine was taught, as a separate science, in our universities, and it does not appear that they were accustomed anciently to confer degrees in law. The branches taught were the arts or philosophy, canon law, and divinity.[2]

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge. The erection of the university of St Andrews may be regarded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterised Scotchmen, students came to St Andrews from every part of the kingdom.

The university appears to have been possessed of very slender funds until the erection of colleges in it. The College of St Salvator was founded by Bishop Kennedy in the year 1450; that of St Leonard was founded by John Hepburn, the prior of the abbey, in the year 1512; and the erection of St Mary's, or the New College, was begun by Archbishop Beatoun in the year 1532, and completed by Archbishop Hamilton in the year 1552. Each of these was endowed with funds for the support of a certain number of professors and bursars. In the regulations of St Mary's College, we may observe the advancement which knowledge had already made, and the influence which it exerted over the minds of the popish prelates or their advisers.[3]

A college has been compared to an incorporated trade within a burgh; but it bears a still more striking resemblance to a convent. The principal difference between them is, that the latter was an association entirely for religious purposes, whereas learning was the chief object of the former. The members of a college, like the monks, were bound to live, eat, and sleep in the same house, they were supported in common upon the goods of the college, and were astricted in all things to the will of the founder. A university, though a chartered body, was not under the same regulations, nor was the same provision made for its members. The college was within the university; the members of the former were also members of the latter, partook of its privileges, and were subject to its government.

Two things deserve notice as to the College of St Leonard. In the first place, although it owed its erection to monks, was placed under their immediate superintendence, and taught constantly by persons taken from the convent, and although its original foundation and

[1] Hovei Oratio. The mode of study, and of examination for degrees in the arts or philosophy, appears to have been regulated soon after the erection of the university. James of Haddiston was dean of the faculty of theology in 1432, when similar regulations were made as to theological study and graduation. [2] See Note QQ. [3] See Note RR.

subsequent endowments were highly calculated to foster superstition,[1] yet the reformed opinions obtained an earlier and more extensive reception in this college than in the rest of the university.[2] In the second place, this seminary had at first to struggle with great difficulties, on account of the slenderness of its funds; but, by the vigilance of its patrons, and the diligence of those who had the charge of education, it not only surmounted these, but attained great celebrity. So many of the sons of the nobility and gentry came to study at St Leonard's, that the name of the College of Poor Clerks, which the founder had originally given it, conveyed a very erroneous idea of those who resided within its walls.[3]

The defence and increase of the Catholic faith was one declared object of the erection of all the colleges. This is more particularly expressed in the deeds founding and providing for the College of St Mary. It was erected "for defending and confirming the Catholic faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the word of God might be more abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and to oppose the heresies and schisms of the pestiferous heretics and heresiarchs who, alas! have sprung up and flourished in these times, in this as well as in many other parts of the world."[4] Yet, within a short time after this language was held, these "pestiferous heretics" prevailed against the Catholic faith, and obtained possession of the very places and funds which were destined for their suppression and extirpation. The Protestant sentiments had for many years been secretly spreading in all the colleges of St Andrews, and they were now embraced by the greater part of the professors, with perhaps the exception of those of St Salvator's.

During the agitation of the religious controversy, the academical exercises were interrupted, and the number of students diminished. In the year 1559, the faculty of arts was under the necessity of superseding the public exhibitions usual at graduation.[5] Several of the masters in St Salvator's, including William Cranston, the principal, adhered to the ancient religion, and left their places; but the greater part, if not the whole, of those belonging to the two other colleges, embraced the Reformation, and consequently retained their situations.

[1] In 1525, John Archibald founded an altar in the College of Poor Students, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, "for the salvation of John Hepburn, prior of the monastery and all the canons, also for the souls of Mr Michael Livingston, former vicar of Wemis, and of Sir Robert Wallis, former archdeacon of St Andrews; also of the souls of his own father and his mother, and his spouse, Margret Symsoun, and all his benefactors and friends." The masters appear to have entertained notions of piety somewhat different from the above, when, in 1550, they ordained that the fines levied from absentees should, after growing to a round sum, be converted "in vinum, ad refocillandos conversantium animos, et *in alios pios usus.*" Papers of University.

[2] See Life of John Knox, p. 15.

[3] Hovei Oratio. Comp. Cald. MS. ii. 431.

[4] Donatio de Conveth, Jun. 26, 1550; et Donatio de Tarvet, Mart. 31, 1558.

[5] "Nonus Rectoratus Magri Joannis Douglasii præpositi novi collegii Mariani, 1558. Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis ergo exertos, paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt." (Only three names of Incorporati are inserted.) "Consiliis habitis 15 Maij a° 59 de promovendis discipulis statuit academia ōes laureādos hujus anni pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reip. perturbaone et religionis reformatione veteres ritus seruare impediretur."

John Douglas, afterwards Archbishop of St Andrews, was at this time Principal of St Mary's College,[1] and John Duncanson was Principal of St Leonard's.[2]

Everything connected with the Roman Catholic faith and worship, which was interwoven with the laws and practice of the university and of the colleges belonging to it, was removed at the establishment of the Reformation. Other alterations were at the same time contemplated by the reformers, but various causes prevented them from being carried into effect. Accordingly, the mode of teaching, and the academical exercises, so far as related to philosophy or the arts, continued nearly on their former footing.

All the scholars who entered at one time into a college formed a class, which was put under the government of a regent, with whom they continued four years. The regents had not, like the professors, permanent situations in the college. It would appear, that originally every master of arts was bound to teach a class, and came under an engagement to this purpose at his laureation. Afterwards it became customary to grant dispensations from this duty. When the number of graduated persons had increased, and it became in other respects an object of importance to obtain a regency, those who were desirous of it presented a petition to the faculty, in which they professed their knowledge of the text of Aristotle, and requested permission to explain it, or, in other words, to govern a class. They were ordinarily bound to continue until they had taught two classes; but at St Andrews, the greater part of the regents retained their situations, to which the profits arising from altarages or chaplainries were attached, until they obtained a living in the church or an office in the state.

Though the regular time of the course was four years, it was usually finished in three years and a half. The session began on the first of October, and continued through the whole year, except the months of August and September, which were allowed as a vacation. The regent assembled his class three hours every day, and read and explained the books of Aristotle, which the students were bound to bring along with them. He began with dialectics or logic, then proceeded to ethics, next to physics, and concluded with metaphysics, which was called *prima philosophia*, or the highest branch of philosophy, and mathematics, which included arithmetic. During their course, the students were frequently employed in disputations and declamations, both privately in their class, and publicly before the college and the university. Besides seeing that the regents and students did their duty, the principal

[1] Keith (Scottish Bishops, p. 25) has confounded the archbishop with a preacher named Douglas, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argyll in 1558. The description given of the latter will not answer to the former, who was provost of St Mary's College, from 1547 till his death in 1574, and was always resident in the university.

[2] Duncanson demitted in 1566. In a donation of books, and other valuable articles, subscribed by his own hand, he styles himself "umqle Maister principall of Sanctleonardis College,—and Mr James Wilkye, Principall regent and maister of the samyn in name of the College askit instrument." Wilkie appears to have considered the succession to the principality as his due, but it was conferred on Buchanan.

usually read public lectures on what were then reckoned the higher branches of philosophy, which were attended by all the students in the college, except those of the first year.[1]

In the middle of the third year of their course, such of the students as obtained an attestation of regular attendance and good behaviour from their regent and the principal of their college, were admitted to enter on trials for the degree of bachelor. For this purpose the faculty chose every year three regents, one from each college, as examinators. In the presence of these the candidates *determined*[2] a question, in logic or morals, in a continued discourse, and answered such questions as were proposed to them on any of the branches which they had studied under their respective regents. The examinators made their report to the faculty, when such as had given satisfaction were confirmed as bachelors by the Dean, and the rest were sent to a lower class. The act of laureation at the end of the course was conducted in a similar manner. But on this occasion the candidates were examined on the whole circle of the arts, and bound to defend a thesis, which had been previously affixed to the gates of the different colleges. They were divided into circles, and their names arranged according to their merit, with a certain preference, however, to persons of rank.[3] And the degree of master of arts was solemnly conferred on them by the chancellor of the university, *in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti.* The intermediate degree of licentiate of arts is recognised by the laws, but it was not separately conferred, at least in later times. Both at receiving the degree of bachelor and master, the graduates paid certain sums of money, according to their rank, to the purse of the university and of the faculty, to the dean, and to other officers; and those who were poor obliged themselves to give what was due to the public funds as soon as they were in ability. By an old law, each student, including those who held bursaries, was bound to give to his regent annually, for three years, a Scots noble, which in later times was interpreted as answering to a pound Scots, "*salva cujuscunque uberiore liberalitate.*"[4]

[1] James Melville has left an account of the course of study followed by William Collace, who was his regent in St Leonard's, between 1570 and 1574. After stating that he began with teaching "Cassander's Rhetoric," he adds: "We hard the Oration pro rege Deitaro. Then he gaiff ws a compend of his awin of Philosopi and the partes y^rof. We enterit in the organ of Arist. y^t year, and leirnit to the Demonstrations. — The secund yeir of my course we hard the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist captiones. And the Primarius, Mr James Wilkie, a guid peacable sweet auld man, wha luiffed me weill, teached the four species of the arithmetik and sum thing of the sphere.—The thrid yeir of our course we hard the fyve buiks of the Ethiks, w^t the aught buiks of the Physiks, and de ortu et interitu. That yeir we had our Bachelar act according to the solemnities then vsed of Declamations, banqueting, and playes.—The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast and 18 rinning, we learned the buiks de cœlo and meteors, also the sphere more exactly teachit by our awin regent, and maid ws for our vices and blackstons, and had at Pace our promotion and finishing of our course." Diary, 22—24.

[2] From this act they were called *Determinantes.*

[3] "Examinatos secundum scientiæ et morum eminentiam principaliter locent et ordinent. Ex præclara tamen domo paterna nobilitatem sanguinis trahentes, nec non cum Regentibus honeste et commensaliter viventes, modo in literis aliqualiter eruditi et moribus probi, nonnihil pensitantes." Statuta anni 1570.

[4] Statuta 17 Mart. 1583. By the Statutes

We cannot form such an exact judgment respecting the ancient mode of teaching theology, as the Reformation necessarily made a greater change on this department of instruction. Many of the ancient forms, however, were still retained and observed. There continued to be a theological faculty, consisting of the doctors, licentiates, and bachelors of divinity, who resided within the university.[1] They assembled, along with the students of divinity, annually on the first of October, when a sermon or oration, intended to excite the hearers to diligence in sacred studies, was delivered. The masters and bachelors then met apart, and arranged the subjects on which each should read lectures during the year, and the times at which they should read them. The lectures were delivered on the Scriptures, which were divided into five parts; the Pentateuch or legal books, the historical books, the sapiential, the prophetical, and those of the New Testament.[2] "Formerly, under papacy, the students ascended to degrees in theology, by reading the sentences of Peter Lombard; but now, since the reformation of religion and the burial of popery, this practice is altered and reformed." From the beginning of July to the end of September there was an intermission of the lectures; and during this interval, the students were exercised once a week in theological disputations, at which one of the masters presided, and the rest were present and took a share in the debate. The disputants were exhorted to avoid the altercation usually practised in the schools, "and not to bite and devour one another like dogs, but to behave as men desirous of mutual instruction, and as the servants of Christ, who ought not to strive but to be gentle to all."

The lectures were chiefly delivered by those who were proceeding in their theological degrees. Before entering on this duty, it behoved them to have been students of divinity for three years, to have sustained the part of a respondent twice in the public disputes during the vacancies, to have given proof of their talents twice in the weekly exercise, and to have preached once in the vulgar language before the people, and in Latin before the university. After this, being admitted by the faculty, they taught for four years in the public schools, by expounding the Scriptures, according to the arrangement formerly mentioned. The probationary lecture which they delivered at the commencement of each part of the course, may be viewed as a specimen of the mode of teaching then practised. The lecturer began with pronouncing a panegyric

of 1561, the student was bound to give *thirty shillings*, "unless he be poor."

The designation *pauper* does not appear to have been always used in the same sense. In Feb. 1579, it was declared "Solos bursarios et mendicos pauperes esse censendos." But from other documents it appears that all the students of philosophy were divided into three classes; "Primars or *potentiores*, Secondars or *potentes*, and Ternars or *minus potentes*, olim *pauperes*;" and the latter paid dues, although proportionally smaller than the two former.

[1] Baron speaks of John Winram as dean of the faculty of theology about 1574. MS. Orat. super Jac. Martinio.

[2] The particular books included under each of these divisions are specified; and it is a curious circumstance, that most of the Apocryphal books are among them. Thus, among the historical books are "duo Esdræ, duo Tobiæ, Judith, quibus et duo Macabeorum libri adjungi possunt." Among the sapiential books we find "Librum Sapientiæ et Ecclesiasticum;" and "Baruch" is enumerated along with the books of the prophets. Statuta Theolog. Reformata, ann. 1570.

on the books of Scripture which he proposed to expound; he next gave a summary of their contents; and, in the third place, having selected a particular passage, he started a question from it, stated the opinions held on the affirmative and negative sides, laid down certain propositions for clearing the truth, confirmed it by testimonies of Scripture, and solved the difficulties that might be urged against it. Before the students in the public schools, the lecturers were bound to confine themselves to a single chapter at a time, and were directed to explain the text distinctly and methodically, by comparing it with other passages of Scripture, or by producing the judgment of the most approved and skilful interpreters, "provided nothing was brought forward that could not stand the test of Scripture." It would seem that this was nearly the method which the professors followed in their theological lectures.[1]

When the student commenced lecturing on the legal books, he was declared by the faculty a *cursory* bachelor of divinity; on commencing the prophetical books, he became a *formed* bachelor; and, on entering on the books of the New Testament, he was pronounced a *confirmed* bachelor. On finishing his course of teaching, he proceeded to take his degrees of licentiate and doctor. The statutes describe at length the disputations which were maintained, and the ceremonies which were used on both these occasions.[2]

Such was the plan of study agreed upon by the theological professors about the time of the Reformation. But there is no good reason to think that it was reduced to practice; and though this had been the case, it has little claim to our commendation. The lectures read by young men who had studied divinity for so short a period as three years, must have been extremely jejune and superficial; and it does not appear that any effectual provision was made to secure their diligence in these exhibitions. Yet their lectures, such as they were, served as a pretext for the regular professors neglecting the duty of theological instruction. In these circumstances, we need not be surprised to find that the study of divinity in the university was nearly nominal, and that scholastic philosophy engrossed the attention of both masters and scholars.[3]

The First Book of Discipline proposed a plan for remodelling the three universities, which contained the following arrangements for St Andrews. The first college was to contain classes for dialectics, mathematics, natural philosophy, and medicine. In the second college, a lecturer on ethics, economics, and politics, and two lecturers on law, Roman and municipal, were to be established. And the third college was to be provided with two teachers of languages, one of Greek and another of Hebrew; and two teachers of divinity, the one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. None were to be graduated in their

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 24.

[2] Statuta Fac. Theolog. olim condita, et jam abolito papismo et reformata religione, circa A. D. 1560, in parte mutata, et juxta normam verbi Dei in melius reformata.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 92.

respective faculties unless they had attended the regular course, which, for students of philosophy, was three years; of law, four years; and of medicine and divinity, five years. This plan was unquestionably an improvement on the original constitution, according to which the three colleges were completely independent, and exactly the same branches were taught in each. And in other respects it was favourable to the advancement of literature and science. But it was not adopted. In vain did the authors recommend it to the nobility, along with a proposal to erect parochial schools, as contributing to "the most high advancement of the commonwealth." In vain they urged, "If God shall give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasures ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort."[1] Prejudice is blind, and avarice deaf, to all considerations of public good; but the plan will remain a lasting monument of the enlightened and patriotic views of its compilers.

In the year 1563, a petition was presented to the Queen and Lords of Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm ar desyrous that leirning and letters floreis,"[2] stating that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, particularly at St Andrews, was wasted, and that several sciences, and especially those which were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, to the great detriment of the whole lieges, their children, and posterity; and praying that measures should be taken to remedy these evils. In consequence of this representation, the parliament appointed a committee to visit the colleges, and to report their opinion as to the best mode of improving the state of education.[3] No report from the committee is on record; but there has been preserved a plan for the colleges of St Andrews, which appears to have been drawn up, in virtue of this appointment, by Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners. The arrangements which it proposes differ in detail from those of the First Book of Discipline, though they proceed on the same general principle. The first college was to be entirely confined to the teaching of languages, and regulated in a great measure as a grammar school.[4] The second, called the college of philosophy, was to have four regents in the arts, and a lecturer on medicine. The third, named the college of divinity, was most poorly provided for: it was only to have a principal, to be reader in Hebrew, and a lawyer.[5] The author of this draught had his

[1] First Book of Discipline: Art. Of the Erection of Universities.

[2] This petition continued to lie before the parliament; and in 1567, and again in 1581, it was referred by them to the consideration of commissioners. It must, therefore, have contained proposals additional to those which were sanctioned by the act of 1579. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 30, 214.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 544.

[4] It seems to have been formed on the model of the college or school of Geneva. Les Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise de Geneve: Item l'Ordre des Escoles, p. 83—87.

[5] The plan is published in Dr Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, App. No. iii. 2d edit. According to the old plan of teaching in universities, mathematics formed, rather preposterously, the last part of the course. The First Book of Discipline appointed them to

attention too exclusively directed to the cultivation of languages and humanity.

The civil war which raged between the adherents of the king and queen put a stop to these measures of academical reform, but no sooner was peace established than the design was resumed by the friends of literature. In April 1576, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to visit and consider the state of the university of St Andrews ;[1] and in 1578, the parliament made a similar appointment as to all the universities in the kingdom.[2] Nothing having been done in consequence of this appointment, the General Assembly which met in July, 1579, presented a petition to the king and council, urging the necessity of a change on the university of St Andrews ; and nominated commissioners to co-operate in that business with such as the council might be pleased to appoint.[3] The council immediately appointed commissioners, to whom they gave ample powers. They were authorised to consider the foundations in the university, and not only to remove superstition and displace unqualified persons, but also to change the form of study and the number of professors, to join or divide the faculties, to annex each faculty to such college as they thought most proper for it, and in general to establish such order in the university as should tend most to the glory of God, profit of the commonwealth, and good upbringing of the youth in sciences needful for continuance of the true religion. The commissioners found that all the colleges had departed from their original foundations, and that these foundations disagreed in many things with the true religion, and were far from "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves ;" and they agreed upon a new form of instruction to be observed in the university. This was laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, by which it was ratified on the 11th of November, 1579. The following is an outline of the provisions made by the new establishment.

In the College of St Salvator, a principal, and four ordinary professors or regents of humanity and philosophy, were established. The first regent was to teach the Greek Grammar, and to exercise the students in Latin composition during the first, and in Greek during the second half-year. The second regent was to teach the principles of invention, disposition, and elocution ; or, in other words, of rhetoric, in the shortest, easiest, and most accurate manner, with the practice of them in the best authors, Roman and Greek. The students of this class were to spend an hour at least every day in composition, and during the last half-year they were to declaim or pronounce an oration once every month, in Latin and Greek alternately. It was the duty of the

be taught before physics. But Buchanan's plan reverts to the ancient arrangement—"the naturell philosophie, metaphisicks, and principis of mathematicks."

[1] Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 65.

[2] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 98. Melville was one of the commissioners nominated by parliament to visit the university of St Andrews. They were authorised to examine the foundations of the colleges, to reform what tended to superstition, to remove unqualified and plant qualified persons ; but not to make alterations on the mode of teaching.

[3] Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 93.

third regent to teach the most profitable and needful parts of the logics of Aristotle, with his ethics and politics, all in Greek, and the offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent was to teach so much of the physics as was needful, and the doctrine of the sphere. Each regent was to retain his own profession. On Sunday a lesson in the Greek New Testament was to be read in all the four classes. Professors of mathematics and law, who were to lecture on four days of every week, were also established in this college. The lectures on law were to be attended by all the advocates and writers in the commissary court; and none were to be admitted for the future to act as procurators before the lords or other judges, until they gave a specimen of their learning before the university, and produced a testimonial of their diligent attendance and the degree of their progress. The principal of St Salvator's was to act as professor of medicine. The same arrangements were made as to the College of St Leonard; with this difference, that there were no classes for mathematics and law established in it; and the principal, instead of teaching medicine, was to explain the philosophy of Plato. St Mary's, or the New College, was appropriated entirely to the study of theology and the languages connected with it. The course of study in it was to be completed in four years, under the tuition of five professors. The first professor was to teach the elements of Hebrew during six months, and of Chaldee and Syriac during the remainder of the first year. During the subsequent eighteen months, the students were to prosecute the study of these languages under the second professor, who was to explain the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament critically, by comparing the original text with the Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint, and other ancient versions. The third professor was to explain the prophetical books of the Old Testament after the same manner, during the last eighteen months of the course. During the whole four years, the fourth professor was to explain the New Testament by comparing the original with the Syriac version. And the fifth professor, who was Principal of the College, was to lecture, during the same period, on the common places or system of divinity. All the students were bound to attend the lectures of three professors every day during the continuance of their theological course; by which it was expected that they would, "with meane diligence, becume perfite theologians." Public disputations were to be held every week, declamations once a month, and, at three periods during the course, a solemn examination was to take place, at which "every learned man shall be free to dispute." Eight bursars of theology were to reside with the professors, and to be supported on the rents of the college. It was ordained, that after four years had elapsed from the date of this new erection, none should be admitted ministers of the church who had not completed their course of theology, or who should not be found worthy and qualified to receive all their degrees in it after a "rigorous examination" by the faculty.

The persons at present occupying the place of masters in the New College were ordered to remove from it without delay.[1] From the "great variety at this present of learned in the knowledge of the tongues and other things needful," the parliamentary commissioners had selected such as they thought most qualified for teaching in the New College; and it was ordained that, upon any future vacancy, the place should be filled by open comparative trial before the Archbishop of St Andrews, the conservator of the privileges of the university, the rector, deans of faculty, and theological professors. Vacancies in the two other colleges were to be supplied in a similar manner. As the youth had lost much time by long vacations, it was ordained, that for the future the classes should sit during the whole year, except the month of September.[2] Rules were laid down for preventing the revenues of the colleges from being wasted or diverted to improper uses. And at the end of every period of four years, a royal visitation of the university was to take place, to inquire into the effects of this reformation, and to see that its regulations were observed.[3]

It would be affronting the learned reader to enter into a statement of the superiority of this plan of education to that which it was intended to supersede. It was the most liberal and enlightened plan of study which had yet been established, as far as I know, in any European university. In comparing it with modern institutions, great allowance must be made for the imperfect state in which many of the sciences were at that period. But even as to these, we may observe an evident tendency to improvement in the new regulations. The "most profitable and needful parts" only of the Aristotelian logic and physics were to be taught; and the lectures on Platonic philosophy served as a counterpoise to the Peripatetic, which had hitherto possessed an exclusive and uncontrolled authority in the university. The method of study prescribed for the theological college was well calculated to realise the hopes expressed in the act. It appointed a greater number of teachers of the Old Testament than either was necessary or could easily be obtained; and one of them might have been employed with more advantage in reading lectures on Ecclesiastical History, according to an arrangement which was subsequently introduced. But the attention paid to the sacred languages, and especially to the oriental tongues, is entitled to the highest commendation, and shows that the authors of the plan had conceived correct ideas of the importance of this branch of literature for forming able and judicious interpreters of Scripture. Indeed, it proceeds upon the very principles which have since been laid down and recommended by the best writers on Biblical Interpretation. I would not, however, be understood as intimating that the benefits which actually resulted from this change on the university were proportioned to its merits. The wisest plans, and the most salutary enact-

[1] See Note SS.

[2] So early as the days of Augustine, it appears that the month of September, as the season of the vintage, was allowed as a vacation in schools. Valesiana, p. 65.

[3] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 178—182.

ments, will prove nugatory, if proper measures are not taken to carry them into execution, or even if they go much beyond the degree of illumination which the age has reached. There is reason to think that in the present instance this was the case to a certain extent. The new mode of study was very partially acted upon in the Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard; nor was the act of parliament carried into effect as to the number of Professors in the New College.

The reformation of the university of St Andrews has, by mistake, been ascribed to Buchanan. This has arisen partly from confounding it with another scheme of academical instruction which he drew up at an earlier period,[1] and partly from his being one of the commissioners who subscribed the plan that was actually adopted. That he assisted in correcting it, and in procuring for it a parliamentary sanction, is highly probable. But there is no reason for supposing that the plan was of his construction. The course of his studies and the nature of his acquirements did not qualify him for entering into the arrangements which are most minutely detailed in it. We have direct evidence that Melville had the principal hand in drawing it up;[2] and though this had been awanting, we should have been warranted in forming this opinion, from the striking resemblance that it bears to the mode of study previously introduced by him into the university of Glasgow.[3]

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of students who attended the university at one time. In ordinary cases it does not appear that it exceeded two hundred, and it did not fall much short of that number during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Fewer had attended it during the first half, and still fewer previously to that period.

An account of the university of Glasgow, and of the improvements made on it, has already been given in the narrative of what took place when Melville held the situation of Principal there.[4] The University and King's College of Aberdeen, founded by Bishop Elphinstone, at the close of the fifteenth century, provided for an extensive education.[5] But notwithstanding this, and although some of its early teachers excelled any that were to be found in the other academies, it seems never to have attracted many students.[6] This may be accounted for, partly at least, from its situation, and the comparatively rude state of the surrounding country. At the establishment of the Reformation, Anderson, the principal, and the greater part of the professors, adhered to the old religion, and being supported by the neighbouring noblemen, who were addicted to popery, kept their places for several years. When they were at last extruded, the college was found to be impoverished by

[1] See above, p. 356.
[2] Diary, 58, 64.
[3] See p. 31—32.
[4] See p. 30—33.
[5] Provision was made for four professors, consisting of a doctor of divinity, of canon law, of civil law, and of medicine; ten bachelors, who were to instruct fourteen bursars in philosophy, while they prosecuted their own studies under the doctors; and a teacher of humanity, whose office it was to initiate the young men into grammar before entering on their philosophical course. Boethii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxix. b.
[6] Hector Boece, the celebrated historian of Scotland, was the first Principal, and John Vaus, author of a Latin grammar, was the first Professor of Humanity, at Aberdeen.

the alienation of its revenues. In the year 1578, when great exertions were made in behalf of all the seminaries of education, means were used for restoring its dilapidated funds; and at the same time a new plan of instruction was drawn up for it, similar to those introduced at Glasgow and St Andrews.[1] The plan met with opposition from different quarters, and its formal ratification by the legislature was evaded; but it was introduced into the university, and acted upon for a considerable period.[2]

To ascertain the state of learning in the country, it is necessary to attend to the inferior schools, in which the youth were prepared for entering the university; and multitudes, who never proceeded that length, had access to the means of common education. Long before the Reformation, all the principal towns had grammar schools in which the Latin language was taught.[3] They had also "lecture schools," as they were called, in which children were instructed to read the vernacular language. Subsequently to the establishment of the Reformation, the means of education were extended to other parts of the country; and, where regular schools were not founded, the readers in churches generally supplied the deficiency, by teaching the youth to read the catechism and the Scriptures.

There was a grammar school in Glasgow at an early period of the fourteenth century. It depended immediately on the cathedral church, and the chancellor of the diocese had not only the appointment of the masters, but also the superintendence of whatever related to education in the city.[4] The grammar school continued to be a distinct establishment after the erection of the university, and considerable care appears to have been taken to supply it with good teachers. Thomas Jack, who resigned the charge of this institution when Melville came to Glasgow, was well qualified for the situation. This is evident from his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, containing an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets, composed in Latin verse, with the view of being committed to memory by the boys, and published by him at the recommendation of Buchanan and Melville. On leaving the school of Glasgow, Jack became minister of the neighbouring parish of Eastwood, but continued to maintain a close correspondence with the masters of the college, and particularly with Melville, of whose services to the literature of Scotland he entertained the highest idea.[5] He was succeeded in the school by a connection of his own, Patrick Sharp, whose literary obligations to Melville have already been noticed.

The grammar school of Edinburgh was originally connected with the Abbey of Holyrood House, and the appointment of the teachers was

[1] Melville's Diary, p. 43.

[2] See Note TT.

[3] Life of Knox, p. 2—3. John Kerde gives a tenement of land to the grammar school of Dumbarton, March 8, 1486. And the burgh of Dumbarton gives four marks from the common mill, "Dno Jhĉi Kerde pbro Magistro Scolæ Grammaticalis eiusd." Apr. 20, 1486. Charters of the Burgh.

[4] See Note UU.

[5] See under Note UU.

transferred from the abbots to the magistrates of the city. William Robertson, who was head master of the school at the establishment of the Reformation, remained attached to the popish religion, and appears to have been in other respects very unqualified for the situation. The town council were anxious to have him removed, that they might place the seminary on a footing more worthy of the metropolis; but they were unable to accomplish this, owing partly to the support which Robertson received from the queen, and partly to his having been presented to the place for life. In these circumstances they had recourse to a provisional arrangement; and, in the year 1568, they entered into terms with Thomas Buchanan, a nephew of the poet, who was then teaching as a regent at St Andrews, in the College of St Salvator, and engaged him to take the management of their school. Buchanan was well qualified for bringing the seminary into repute; but he remained only a short time in Edinburgh. Differences having arisen between him and the magistrates as to the terms of their agreement, he was induced to leave them in 1571, and to become master of the grammar school of Stirling, where his uncle was residing.[1] In consequence of his removal, the grammar school of Edinburgh fell back to its former state of insignificance. But the friends of learning in the city continued to urge its claims on the public; and a commodious house for teaching having been finished, in the year 1579, on the spot still occupied by the High School buildings,[2] Robertson was soon after prevailed upon to retire on a pension, and a new and improved plan of education, to which we shall afterwards advert, was organised.[3]

John Rutherfurd was at this time the most celebrated master of scholastic philosophy in Scotland. He was a native of Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, and having gone to France, entered the College of Guienne at Bordeaux. There he prosecuted his studies under Nicolaus Gruchius,[4] equally distinguished for his knowledge of Roman antiquities, and his skill in the Aristotelian philosophy.[5] He appears to have accompanied his teacher, and his countryman Buchanan, on their literary expedition to Portugal, from which he came to the university of Paris.[6] His reputation reached Archbishop Hamilton, who

[1] G. Robertson, Vita Roberti Rolloci, A 3. Edin. 1599. Rolloci Comment. in Epist. ad Thessalon. Dedic. Epist. Melville's Diary, pp. 38, 91. James Melville calls Thomas Buchanan the *cousing* of George Buchanan; David Buchanan calls him his *brother-german;* (De Scriptoribus Scotis Illust. num. 61, MS. in Advocates' Library); but Robert Rollock, who had the best means of information, informs us that he was his *nephew*. Mr Thomas Duncansone was "schoolmaster and reidar in Striveling," in 1563. Keith's Hist. p. 531.

[2] That is, in 1824, when this was written. The school was removed, in 1829, to its present site on the Calton Hill.—*Ed.*

[3] See Note VV.

[4] Rhetorfortis, De Arto Disserendi, p. 10.

[5] Teissier, Eloges, ii. 435—437.

[6] Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 565. Dr Irving is disposed to question this statement. Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 70, 2d edit. The silence of Buchanan, who, in his life, does not speak of any of his countrymen, except his own brother, accompanying him, certainly throws a degree of doubt over the subject; but still I am rather inclined to admit the testimony of Dempster. It is most probable that Rutherfurd studied under Gruchius before that professor went to Portugal; and in this case it is not unlikely that he should have been induced to accompany him. Dempster mentions, in a very particular manner, a work of Rutherfurd's, containing discourses which he had delivered at Coimbra: "Præfationes solennes Parisiis et Conimbriæ habitas, lib. i. *Extant typis*

invited him home to occupy a chair in the College of St Mary, which he had recently organised at St Andrews ;[1] and after teaching in it for some years as Professor of Humanity, Rutherfurd was translated to be Principal of St Salvator's College in the same university. In such estimation was he held, that, soon after his admission into the university, he was raised to the honourable situation of Dean of the Faculty of Arts, although not qualified for holding it according to the strict import of the statutes.[2] He had embraced the reformed doctrines before their establishment in Scotland, and was declared qualified "for ministering and teaching" by the first General Assembly.[3] By the authority of a subsequent Assembly he was admitted minister of Cults, a parish in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, of which the principals of St Salvator's were, by the foundation of that college, constituted rectors.[4] It was also part of his duty, as principal, to lecture on theology. But Rutherfurd was more celebrated as a philosopher than as a divine. Considered in the former character, his labours were unquestionably of benefit to the university and the nation. The publication of his treatise on the Art of Reasoning may be considered as marking a stage in the progress of philosophy in Scotland. It is formed, indeed, strictly upon Aristotelian principles, of which he was a great admirer ; but still it differs widely from the systems which had long maintained an exclusive place in the schools. Treading in the steps of his master, de Grouchi, Rutherfurd rejected the errors into which the ancient commentators upon Aristotle had fallen, and discarded many of the frivolous questions which the modern dialecticians took so much delight in discussing. His work contains a perspicuous view of that branch of the Peripatetic philosophy of which it professes to treat. He had caught a portion of the classical spirit of the age ; and the simplicity and comparative purity of his Latin style, exhibit

Wechelianis." And he seems to have been at pains to ascertain the circumstances of Rutherfurd's life, for we find him referring to the records of the university of Paris. "Venit Lutetiam anno 1552. *Acta nationis Germanicæ ad D. Cosm.*" In the matriculation list of the university of St Andrews for the year 1551 is found, "Ex Collegio Mariano, Joannes Ruderfurd, natio. Britã." If this was the person afterwards principal of St Salvator's, and if he *began* his studies in 1551, he could not have belonged to the Portuguese colony ; but there is reason to think that they were different individuals. There are two letters of Joannes Gelida to John Rutherfurd and Filibert Lodonet (dated Decimo Cal. Nov. 1555, & Non. Febr. 1555), inviting them to teach in the school of Bordeaux. Joan. Gelidæ Epist. et Carm. in Clar. Hispanorum Opuscula Select. et Rar. collecta a Fr. Cerdano et Rico Valentino, vol. i. pp. 151, 152. Madriti, 1781. In the same collection (i. 149), is a letter of Gelida to George Buchanan, congratulating him on his safe return to France from Portugal: "Burdigalæ, Idibus Novembris, 1552."

[1] Hovei Oratio; MS. in Archiv. Univ. S. Andr. "Comãdis me to agre wt Maisteris Edward Henrison and Johne Ruderfurde to be Regents in his l. College: 12 Decembris, 1553." Accompt of receipts and disbursements by the agent at Rome, for the Earl of Arran, John, Archbishop of St Andrews, &c. p. 320 : MS. in possession of Thomas Thomson, Esq.

[2] It was objected against his eligibility, that he was not in priest's orders, and that he was a regent, that is (as I suppose), that he was not a professor or permanent teacher —primum q nõ fuit Sacerdos, secundum quod fuit regens, ut loquuntur, actu." This was in November 1557. Act. Fac. Art. S. Andr. ff. 18, b; 181, a. The first time he is mentioned in the records is as one of the electors of the Rector, in 1556, when he is designed, "Ex Britannia, Mr Jo. Rutherfurde, philosophus doctissimus Collegii Mariani,"—and again, "philosophus eximius." He appears to have been translated to St Salvator's in 1560.

[3] Keith's History, p. 522.

[4] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 7.

a striking contrast to the barbarous and unintelligible jargon which had become hereditary in the tribe of schoolmen and sophists.[1] It appears from a curious document, that Rutherfurd, like some other philosophers, did not always display his philosophy in the government of his temper. In consequence of complaints against him by his colleagues, a visitation of the College of St Salvator took place in 1563, when it was found that the principal had shown himself "too hasty and impatient;" and he was admonished "not to let the sun go down upon his wrath, and to study to bridle his tongue and conduct himself with greater humanity and mildness."[2]

William Ramsay deserves to be mentioned among those who cultivated polite letters along with philosophy and divinity, and who, at the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, left the foreign academies of which they were members, that they might take the charge of public instruction in their native country.[3] He had been Rutherfurd's companion on the Continent, and became his colleague at St Andrews. Ramsay taught in St Salvator's when Melville attended the university, but was dead before the latter returned to Scotland.[4]

In the year 1556, a pension was granted to Alexander Syme, to enable him to wait on the Queen-Regent, and be her Reader in the Laws or other sciences, at Edinburgh or any other place that she might appoint.[5] But the teaching of Civil Law, properly speaking, commenced in Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. Previously to that era the canons were the great object of study, and those who occasionally delivered lectures on civil law were generally, if not always, in priest's orders. It was by an innovation on the original constitution of St Mary's College, similar to that which had been made on religious instruction, that William Skene was first authorised to teach as a civilian at St Andrews, and to substitute the Institutes and Pandects in the room of the Sacred Canons and Decretals.

Though less known than his brother the Clerk-Register, and though not eminent for talents, William Skene deserves to be remembered for

[1] "Commentariorvm de Arte Disserendi libri qvatvor Joanne Retorforti Jedburgæo Scoto authore. Et nunc demum ab eodem diligenter recogniti et emendati. Edinburgi apud Henricum Charteris 1577. Cum Priuilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 78. The author informs us that his work had been at first printed without his knowledge, and very incorrectly, from a manuscript furnished by one of his scholars. Pp. 3, 9. His "Comment. in Libr. Arist. de arte Metrica, Edinb. 1557," mentioned by Mackenzie, I have not seen.

[2] Charter of Regress by Mr John Douglas, Rector, &c. Sept. 15, 1563. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.

[3] I think it highly probable that he is the individual referred to in a letter of Obertus Gifanius. Buchanani Epist. p. 7. His name does not appear in the Records of the University of St Andrews from 1537, when he was made Master of Arts, till 1560, when he became a professor; from which it is highly probable that he was abroad during the interval.

[4] Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 564; where a book concerning the Portuguese is ascribed to Ramsay. On the 17th of January, 1558, a yearly pension of £100 was given to "Mr Will^me Ramsay." Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxix. fol. 67. In 1564, the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine Mr William Ramsay's Answer to Bullinger's book on the habits of Preachers. Keith, 568. Ramsay was minister of Kemback, a church held by the second master of St Salvator's College. In consequence of a dispute in which he was involved, which came before the General Assembly, he obtained a testimonial from the kirk-session of St Andrews, June 21, 1570, and died in the course of that year. Record of Kirk-Session. Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 49, 50. Bannatyne's Journal, p. 379.

[5] See Note WW.

his private worth, and his usefulness as a teacher and a judge. He appears to have studied, and to have taken the degree of licentiate *utriusque juris*, in a foreign university; and upon his return to his native country was made canonist in St Mary's College.[1] After the Reformation, he explained Cicero's treatise on Laws and the Institutes of Justinian; and, as this was the only class of the kind in the university, such of the students of the other colleges as chose were at liberty to attend his lectures. He gained the affection of his scholars by the condescending manner in which he explained to them in private what he had taught in the class, and showed them the practice of law in the Commissary Court, of which he was the chief judge.[2] John Skene taught for some years, as a regent, in the same college with his brother.[3]

Edward Henryson was a man of greater talents and learning than Skene. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the university of Bourges in France, where he studied under Eguinar Baro, one of the first civilians who had recourse to the pure sources of ancient jurisprudence, and who blended polite literature with the pursuits of their immediate profession. Having finished his studies, Henryson resided for some time with Ulrich Fugger, and enjoyed a pension from that munificent patron of learned men. Both at that time, and afterwards while he read lectures on law at Bourges, he published several works which made his name known in the learned world. By his translations from the Greek he co-operated with some of the most enlightened men of that age in diffusing polite letters; and his law tracts are allowed to be not unworthy of the distinguished school in which he received his education. Upon his return to Scotland, at the establishment of the Reformation, he was appointed one of the commissaries of Edinburgh, and justified the character he had gained abroad by the uniform encouragement which he gave to literature in his native country.[4]

[1] Among the "Noīa Incorp. 1556, in Novo Collegio," the first name is "Magr Gulielmus Skene in utroque jure licentiatus." Liber Rectoris Univ. S. Andr. This entry shows that he had not studied at St Andrews; nor do I think that any of the Scottish universities were at that period in the habit of conferring degrees in law. On the 31st of March 1558, the right to the church of Tarvet was conveyed to St Mary's College, by putting the archbishop's signet "digito discreti viri Magri Willielmi Skeyne, juris licentiati, et *ejusdem Collegii Canonistæ*," as procurator for his colleagues. Papers of St Mary's College. In the Rector's Book, he is repeatedly said to be "ex Angusia." He was Conservator of the Privileges of the University, and elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Nov. 3, 1565. Act. Fac. Art.

[2] Melville's Diary, p. 24. Sir John Skene frequently refers to a book of his brother William, most probably in manuscript. De Verborum Significatione, sig. I 4, K 2, O 3. In an inventory of the books and papers of Mr William Skene, Commissary of St Andrews, taken Dec. 11, 1583, after his decease, by an order of the Lords of Session, the following articles occur: "Certane wreittis upon the lawis wreittin and penit be ye Commissar:"—"Maister William Skeynis prottocol wt certane skrowles and wyeris vreittis lyand lowse wtin ye same." Papers of St Salvator's College. The titles of the books in this list have been very imperfectly and incorrectly taken. Sir John also refers to a book of his brother Alexander, an advocate. De Verb. Signif. I 4. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 105. Alexander Skene signs a deed, as Notary Public, at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74. In 1561, "Maister Alex. Skyne, advocate," was warded by the magistrates of Edinburgh for attending mass, but "at ye desyre and requeist of Maister William Skene," was set at liberty on certain conditions. Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 9, a; 10, b.

[3] His name appears as a regent in the years 1564 and 1565. Lib. Rect. et Fac. Art. This must have been previous to his travelling on the Continent, which he mentions repeatedly in his treatise De Verborum Significatione.

[4] See Note XX.

Of the state of theological learning we shall speak more particularly in the next chapter. But it is proper to give an account in this place of some individuals who joined the study of polite letters with that of theology. One of the most distinguished of these, in point of talents and station, was Alexander Arbuthnot. He was descended of an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine,[1] and after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the university of St Andrews, went to France, and prosecuted his studies under Cujas. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession, but was induced to devote himself to the service of the church. In 1568, he was made Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Writers of every party speak in high terms of the talents and virtues of Arbuthnot. He was skilled in mathematics and medicine as well as in law and theology. Though decided in his religious and political creed, the uprightness of his character and the amiableness of his manners disarmed the resentment of his opponents, and procured him their respect and esteem.[2] Few individuals could have maintained themselves in the situation in which he was placed. When he went to Aberdeen, the greater part of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were strongly addicted to the popish religion, and his predecessor, from hostility to the Protestant establishment, had reduced the university to absolute poverty. In these circumstances he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, especially during the civil war, when the government was destitute of authority in the north, and the interests of learning were forgotten. To this he feelingly alludes in one of his poems :—

I wald travel, and ydlenes I hait,
Gif I culd find sum gude vocatioun.
But all for nocht: in vain lang may I wait
Or I get honest occupatioun.
Letters are lichtliet in our natioun ;
For lernying now is nother lyf nor rent:
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament.[3]

In the latter part of the fifteenth, and first half of the sixteenth century, Scottish poetry had been much cultivated ; and Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas, and Lyndsay, had attained great excellence in it, considering the rude state in which they found their native language. But this species of composition had fallen into neglect. It has been alleged that the reformers discouraged it, or that the confusions in which the country was involved by the Reformation banished the study of poetry. The former allegation is evidently unfounded, and the latter accounts for the fact but partially. The chief reason is to be found in the new direction which had been given to literary pursuits, in consequence of the great numbers of our countrymen who studied abroad, and acquired that taste

[1] He was not the son, as Mackenzie erroneously states, (Lives, iii. p. 186), but the grandson of the baron of Arbuthnot. His father was Andrew Arbuthnot of Futhes, fourth son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk. Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. App. p. 84. 2d edit.

[2] Spotswood's History, p. 335 Wodrow's Life of Alexander Arbuthnot: MSS. vol. i.

[3] Pinkerton's Ancient Scot. Poems, i. 155.

for Latin poetry which had become so general in all parts of the Continent. From the time that Buchanan returned to Scotland, his learned countrymen were ambitious of paying their court to the muse in the language of ancient Rome, while they left their native tongue to be used by writers of inferior talents and education. Alexander Arbuthnot did not, however, follow their example in this respect. His poems were all composed in the Scottish language. Had he cultivated this species of composition, he possessed talents for it which would have attracted notice. But he indulged in poetry merely as an elegant amusement, by which he relieved his mind, when fatigued by the laborious duties of his office, or harassed with cares and disappointments; and he appears to have been cautious of detracting from the grave character of the professor, by associating it with one of a less dignified description:—

> In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
> When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me:
> Bot gif I mell with meeter or with ryme,
> With rascal rymours I shall rakint be.[1]

Though his genius could sport in the gayer and more sprightly scenes of fancy, Arbuthnot confined himself chiefly to productions of a thoughtful and serious cast; and in some of these we perceive a very pleasing air of moral melancholy diffused over great goodness of heart.[2]

The only work which Alexander Arbuthnot is known to have published, is a treatise on the origin and dignity of Law. It probably consisted of academical orations or theses; but the only authentic information we have concerning it is contained in the encomiastic verses of Thomas Maitland.[3]

Next to Arbuthnot, and resembling him in many points, was Thomas Smeton. When he had finished his academical education, and was teaching as a regent in the College of St Salvator, the controversy about religion was warmly agitated at St Andrews; and so zealous was he in favour of the old system, that, leaving the university and his native country, he retired to France, at the triumph of the Reformation. He continued for some time an eager though candid champion of the Roman Catholic faith; but at last, in consequence of conversations which he held with Melville, Thomas Maitland, Gilbert Moncrieff, and

[1] Pinkerton, *ut supra*.

[2] The following lines from one of his unpublished poems, though not distinguished in other respects, may be given as a specimen of this quality, in addition to his poem on the *Miseries of a poor scholar*, which is already printed. *The Fainyeit falset and unthankfulness of a friend* gave occasion to them:—

> The simple wit and scharpnes of Ingyn,
> Quhilk quhillome wes, now quyt is tain away:
> The steiring spirit quhilk poets call devyn
> Into my febill breist I find decay:
> I neither courage haive to sing nor say,
> Quhen I behald this warldis wickednes;
> And quhen I find I am so far thame fray
> Quha was my onlie comfort and gleidnes.
>
> My fais fall, and friendis gude succes,
> Sumtym my pen wes bissie to indyte:
> Of nobill men the valiant prowes
> Somtym my courage yairnit for to wreit:
> The laud, honour, and the praises great
> Of thame sumtym I wissed till advance
> Quhom now of neid my hairt has in despyt,
> And quhom I wyt of this wanhappie chance.
>
> Then, mistress, luik na mair for onie fruit,
> Or ony wark to com of my Ingyne;
> For now I nather cair for fame nor bruit;
> I have sa tint that I na mair can tyne.
>
> —Maitland MS.

[3] "Alexandri Arbuthnæi Orationibus de origine et dignitate juris præfixa:" Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 153. Mackenzie (Lives, iii. 194), says that the *Orationes* were printed at Edinburgh in 1572.

others of his countrymen whom he met with at Paris, disagreeable doubts arose in his mind as to the religion in which he had been educated. He did not, however, give way to these, but, attaching himself to the society of the Jesuits, the most zealous and able defenders of the Church of Rome, he resolved to examine the subjects in dispute deliberately, and, if he found his doubts remain at the end of his period of probation, to decline the vow, and act according to his convictions.[1] With the view of obtaining the fullest information, he undertook a journey to Italy, and, passing through Geneva, conferred with Melville, who wished him success in his great object, though he could not approve of his measures. During eighteen months that he spent in Rome, under the tuition of the Jesuits in that city, he had frequent opportunities of visiting the prisons of the Inquisition, and of conversing with the persons confined for heresy. His conversation on these occasions excited the suspicions of his vigilant guardians, and he was remitted to Paris through the different colleges that were on the road. On his return to the French capital, he candidly disclosed his mind to his countryman Edmund Hay,[2] from whom he had already experienced much kindness. The discovery of his attachment to the reformed tenets grieved Hay, who had formed great expectations from Smeton's talents, but it did not induce him to withdraw his friendship. After several unsuccessful attempts to recover him from his errors, the good father warned Smeton of the danger to which he would expose himself by avowing his sentiments in France, and gave him his best advice; which was, to return home, to marry, to read the fathers and doctors of the church, and not to give ear to the ministers. It is gratifying to meet with such an honourable exception to the bigotry and violence which then reigned in France, and by which many of our countrymen who had taken up their residence in it were deeply infected. It is also a pleasing circumstance, that this piece of information has come to us from the grateful pen of Smeton, who, not satisfied with relating the facts to his acquaintance, publicly acknowledged the kindness with which he had been treated by this mild and affectionate Jesuit.[3] The neglect of one part of Hay's advice had nearly cost Smeton his life, which was saved, during the Bartholomew massacre, by his taking refuge in the house of Walsingham, the English ambassador, whom he accompanied to London. After teaching a school for some time at Colchester in Essex, he returned, in the year 1577, to his native country, and accepted of the church of Paisley, chiefly for the sake of enjoying Melville's society.[4]

[1] Dempster says that Smeton taught Humanity at Paris (in the university), and afterward in the College of Clermont, with great applause. Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 586.

[2] See above, p. 12.

[3] "Vera hæc esse testabitur Edmundus Haius, Laiolanæ in Gallia sectæ præfectus. Quem cum non paucis ingenii dotibus ornarit qui omnia in omnibus pro arbitrio operatur, vtinam vera etiam dignetur Evangelii sui cognitione. Hoc illi et aliis omnibus ex animo precor: sed illi imprimis, ob plurima priuatim officia ab illius in me humanitate, cum dubius fluctuarem, profecta: Quæ, vt referendæ gratiæ facultas desit, gratissima certe memoria colam." Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 16.

[4] To avail themselves as far as possible of his services, the university of Glasgow, in 1578, chose Smeton Dean of Faculty. Acta Univ. Glasg.

At Melville's recommendation, Smeton undertook to answer the virulent dialogue lately published by Archibald Hamilton; a task which he executed with much ability.[1] He was well acquainted with the writings of the ancients, and with the mode of controversial warfare which the defenders of the Church of Rome, and especially the Jesuits, had lately adopted. Being privy to their designs against Scotland, he excited the ministers to vigilance, gave directions to the young men how to conduct their studies, and dissuaded the nobility and gentry from sending their sons to those foreign seminaries, in which their minds would be in the greatest hazard of being corrupted. That they might be under the less temptation to this, he zealously concurred with Melville in his plan for remodelling the colleges at St Andrews, of which we have already had occasion to speak.[2] Smeton was well acquainted with the learned languages, wrote Latin with great purity, and had not, like many of his countrymen who had been abroad, neglected his native tongue, in which he composed with great propriety.[3] In private life he was distinguished for his retired and temperate habits; encroaching upon the hours usually devoted to diet and sleep, that he might devote more time to his studies. Yet his temper was sweet, and his manners affable and remote from everything like rusticity or moroseness. His premature death, soon after he succeeded Melville as Principal of the University of Glasgow, was an unspeakable loss to that seminary.

Another individual who makes a prominent figure in the history of the period is Patrick Adamson, known at first by the name of Constyne or Constantine. He had received his elementary education under his brother-in-law, Andrew Simson, and, having finished his philosophical course at St Andrews, in the College of St Mary, taught for some years in it, most probably as grammarian. After the establishment of the Reformation, he became minister of Ceres, a parish in the vicinity of St Andrews. This charge he left to accompany the eldest son of Sir James Makgill, Clerk-Register, on his travels to France; and during his resi-

[1] Dr Edward Bulkely, in a letter to Buchanan, dated Chester, 28th Nov. 1580, says: "Legi Smythonii librum adversus Hamiltonum Apostatam. Vestræ Scotiæ, nunc vera Christi cognitione ac literis illustratæ, gratulor quod tales præstantes assertores habeat." Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 31, edit. Ruddim. Dempster describes this work as "opus verborum ornatu non inelegans, sed doctrina vacuum." Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 586. He ascribes to Smeton. "Epitaphium Metellani, lib. i." Ibid.

[2] Smetoni Respons. ad Dialog. Hamiltonii; Præfat. et pp 15, 16. Melville's Diary, pp. 55—58. Spotswood, p. 336. James Melville, whom I have chiefly followed, received the particulars which he records from Smeton's own mouth. His account varies from that of Spotswood in some minute particulars. He does not speak of Thomas Maitland's accompanying him to Italy.

[3] James Melville says, that Smeton was usually employed by his brethren in drawing up important papers, as he "excellit baith in language and form of letter." Diary, p. 58. Besides the answer to Hamilton, Smeton was concerned in another work, of which the only account I can give is contained in the following extracts: "Ane method of preaching to be printed and put in Scots be Mr Thos Smetoun." Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 112, a. April 1581: "Anent the printing the method of preaching and prophesieing set out be and showed and read in the Assembly, the Assemblie hath thoght meet that the samine may be committit to Irons, and printed as necessary for the forme of teaching, and to be put in Scottish be their brother Mr Thomas Smetone." Cald. iii. 43. The author's name does not appear. "Hyperius de formandis concionibus" was printed at Basle in 1563. "Hyperius Practice of Preaching," translated into English by Ludham, was printed in 1577.

dence in that country he applied himself to the study of law at the university of Bourges. Upon his return to Scotland, in the year 1570, he fluctuated as to the profession which he should choose. Declining the office of Principal of St Leonard's College, which Buchanan had demitted in his favour,[1] he began to practise at the bar; and, relinquishing this employment, he resumed his former vocation as a preacher. He officiated some years as minister of Paisley, from which he removed to become chaplain to the Regent, who promoted him to the archiepiscopal see of St Andrews.[2] Before his advancement to the primacy in 1576, Adamson had given proofs of his talents by the publication of several works. They consist chiefly of Latin poems. Though inferior to Melville in erudition and in vivacity of genius, he was nevertheless a polite scholar, an elegant poet, and a most persuasive and attracting preacher. But he was inordinately ambitious, and not over-scrupulous as to the measures which he employed for gratifying his ruling passion; by which means he tarnished his reputation, and defeated the influence of the great abilities which he unquestionably possessed.

Though Thomas Maitland had died before Melville returned to Scotland, yet he deserves to be mentioned here as one of his class-fellows at college, and as the intimate friend of Arbuthnot and Smeton. He belonged to a family, all the members of which, not excepting the females, were addicted to literary pursuits.[3] His father, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, one of the Lords of Session, is well known as a writer of Scottish poetry; and both his brothers, William and John,[4] were distinguished for their elegant taste as well as the political eminence to which they rose. Thomas Maitland had given various proofs of his poetical talents before his premature death. If they do not display a vigorous imagination, his poems at least evince great command of the Latin language, and are written with ease and spirit.[5] His political conduct partook in a considerable degree of that versatility by which his elder brother's was characterised. After eulogising the character and administration of the Regent Moray, he exulted over his fall.[6] Maitland is better known from Buchanan's having made him his interlocutor in his dialogue on the Law of the Scottish Monarchy, than from his own poems. When he joined the party who sought to restore Queen Mary, Maitland disclaimed the principles contained in that treatise, and insisted that the author had no other reason for coupling his name with them than his own fancy.[7] Buchanan did not wish to

[1] Ruddimanni Præfat. in Oper. Buchanani.

[2] See Note YY.

[3] Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, Introd.

[4] John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, was successively Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

[5] He appears to have written a treatise on undertaking war against the Turks. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 171.

[6] Comp. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 163, with Life of Knox, p. 249.

[7] Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. p. 359. Buchanan's Dialogue was not published for several years after the death of Maitland; but there is reason to think, as Innes says, that copies of it were handed about as early as 1570. There is in the College Library of Edinburgh a MS. (the gift of William Drummond of Hawthornden) entitled, "Thomæ Metelani ad Serenissimam principem Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam Epis-

insinuate that the conversation which he describes was actually held, but he certainly meant it to be understood that the sentiments which he puts into the mouth of his interlocutor were entertained by Maitland. And it was vain for the latter to deny this, seeing he had recommended in verse the most obnoxious of the tenets which the writer of the dialogue inculcates in prose. In his poem on the coronation of James VI. he holds up arbitrary government to reprobation, and celebrates the resistance made by the people to tyrants. Having given examples of this from ancient history, and shown

> How Rome, impatient, spurned proud Tarquin's yoke,
> How ages after Brutus' spirit woke,
> And hurled at Cæsar's breast the patriot stroke;

Maitland comes to Scotland, places before the eyes of the young king the fate of such of his ancestors as had arrogated a power superior to the laws, and describes the sudden and overwhelming resistance which his impetuous countrymen were wont to oppose to encroachments on their rights, in language which no courtly poet, however chivalrous his ideas, would dare to employ, and which proves that he was then no believer in the divine right and sacred inviolability of despots.[1]

John Davidson, who was Melville's predecessor at Glasgow, was a clergyman before the Reformation, and had studied at Paris along with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Having returned to Scotland, he was placed in 1557, at the head of the College of Glasgow. When the controversy concerning religion first arose, Davidson adhered to the established church, but he afterwards changed his views and joined the reformers. His answer to Kennedy shows him to have been a modest and candid man, although not possessed of great learning. He testifies much respect for his old college companion, notwithstanding the diversity of their sentiments, and acknowledges the kindness with which he had formerly been treated by Archbishop Beatoun.[2]

We have repeatedly had occasion to speak of John Davidson, who was minister at Liberton, and afterwards at Prestonpans. But it may be proper to take notice here of two curious poems composed by him, which throw considerable light on the manners and transactions of his time. The Regent Morton, with the view of securing for the use of the court a larger proportion of the thirds of benefices, had obtained, in 1573, an order of the privy council for uniting two, three, and even

tola." It consists of 41 pages 4to; and is properly a discourse or oration, composed in a very rhetorical style, urging the propriety of setting Queen Mary at liberty, and restoring her to her dominions. There is no date to it, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written in the year 1570 or 1571. It bears every mark of having been intended for publication.

[1] Gens inclyta Scotæ
Progenies, quæ sponte sua tibi jura ferenti
Obsequitur, consueta bonos defendere reges
Oppositu laterum, nullis cessura periclis,
Dum sancto regis depellat corpore ferrum:
Illa eadem, si quando ferox, sitiensque cruoris
Exurgat, fortem trepida cum plebe Senatum
Qui vincire velit, patriæque infringere leges:
Non tolerat, sed fama volat, subitoque tumultu
Accensi heroes virtusque armata popelli
Sceptra rapit, mox dejectum de sede tyrannum,
Nunc morte horrifica, sævo nunc carcere frænat. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 162.

[2] See Note AAA.

four parishes, and putting them under the care of one minister. As pluralities had always been condemned by the reformed ministers, and considered as one of the worst abuses in the Popish Church, this act excited great dissatisfaction. John Davidson, who was then a regent in St Leonard's College,[1] and a young man of great zeal, expressed the general sentiment in a metrical dialogue, in which he exposed the evil of the practice, and taxed, in terms more homely than pleasant, the motives in which it evidently originated. His poem was printed without his knowledge, upon which he was summoned to a justice ayre at Haddington, and sentence of imprisonment was pronounced against him. He was liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed upon to retract what he had written, or that the General Assembly might be induced to condemn it. A number of his colleagues in the university, who were desirous of pleasing the court, showed themselves unfavourable to him; Rutherfurd, the Principal of St Salvator's College, who imagined that he was disrespectfully alluded to in the dialogue, had written an answer to it;[2] and the greater part of the Assembly were so much afraid of the Regent's resentment, that, although they were of the same sentiments with Davidson, they declined approving of his book, and left him to the vengeance of his powerful prosecutor. Interest was made in his behalf by some of the principal gentlemen in the country, but Morton was inflexible; and finding that nothing short of recantation would save him from punishment, Davidson, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, from which he was not permitted to return during the lifetime of the Regent.[3] Lekprevik, the printer of the poem, was also prosecuted, and confined for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh.[4]

The prosecution of Davidson does little honour to the administration of Morton. There is nothing in the book which could give ground of offence or alarm to any good government. It is a temperate discussion of a measure which was at least controvertible. The reasons urged in its support are candidly and fairly stated, and they are examined and refuted in a fair and dispassionate manner. The evils which the act of council was calculated to produce are indeed exposed with faithfulness and spirit; but without anything disrespectful to

[1] He is the author of the poem in Commendatiovn of Vprichtnes, republished in the Life of John Knox, Supplement.

[2] "The Moderator injoyned them silence, and desired Mr John Rutherford yet again to produce his book; but he yet still refused, and said, 'that Mr John [Davidson] had called him *crused goose* in his book, that he had little Latin in his book, and that was false,' with many other brawling words. Mr Alexander Arbuthnot said, 'you take that to you which no man speaks against you.'" Calderwood, MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.

The following is the passage in the poem which gave offence to Rutherfurd,—

Thair is sum Collages we ken,
Weill foundit to uphald learnit men;
Amang the rest foundit we se
The teiching of theologie.
Lat anis the Counsell send and se,
Gif thir places weill gydit be;
And not abusit with waist rudis,
That dois nathing bot spendis yai gudis
That was maid for that haly use,
And not to feid ane *crusit guse*.

[3] During his exile Davidson visited the Continent. Cald. MS. vol iii p. 248.

[4] Proceedings against Davidson and Lekprevik, in Record of Privy Council. Lekprevik's summons is inserted in Cald. MS. ii. 442. The prosecution was founded on the act of parliament 1551, "against blasphemous rymes or tragedies."

authority, or tending in the slightest degree to excite "sedition and uproar."

In a literary point of view, the merits of the dialogue are far from contemptible. It is superior to most of the fugitive pieces of the time. Without pretensions to fine poetry, the versification is easy and smooth, and the conversation is carried on in a very natural and spirited manner. The introduction to the poem may amuse such readers as are wearied with the dryness of some of the preceding details :—

Unto Dundie as I maid way,
Nocht lang afoir Sanctandrois day,
At Kinghorne ferrie passand ouir
Into ye Boit was thre or four
Of gentill men, as did appeir.
I said, Schirs, is thair ony heir
Quhais Jornay lyis unto Dundie?
Twa of thame answerit courtaslie,
We purpose nocht for to ga thidder,
Bot yit our gait will ly togidder
Quhill[1] we be passit Kennewie.
Than I sall beir yow companie,
Said I; and with that we did land,
Syne lap upon our horse fra hand,
And on our Jornay rudelie raid.
Thir twa unto Sanctandrois maid:
The tane of thame appearit to be
Ane cunning Clerk of greit clergie,
Of visage graue and manneris sage,
His tongue weill taucht, but[2] all outrage,
Men micht haue kend that he had bene
Quhair gude Instructioun he had sene.
The uther did appeir to me
Ane cumlie Courteour to be,
Quha was perfyte and weill besene
In thingis that to this land pertene.
Be[3] we had ridden half ane myle,
With myrrie mowis passing the quhyle,
Thir twa of quhome befoir I spak
Of sindrie purposis did crak,
And enterit in amang the rest
To speik how that the kirk was drest.
And this began the Courteour:
Quhat think ye of this new ordour?
Ye that ar Clerkis and men of wit,
I wat weill ye will speik of it
Amangis your selfis quhen ye conuene:
I pray you tell me quhat ye mene,
And gif this ordour ye allow,
Or alwayis how it plesis yow.
The Clerk said; Sir, the treuth to tell,
With Princes maters for to mell
I think it lyis nocht in our gait:
Lat Courteouris of sic thingis trait.
The Courteour maid answering:
Yit men will speik, Sir, of the king;
Bot this new ordour that is tane
Wes nocht maid be the Court allane
The Kirkis Commissionars wes thare,
And did aggrie to les and mair.
Yit men may speik as they haue feill,
Quhidder it lykis thame euill or weill.
The Clerk said: haue thay condescendit,
I think our speiking can nocht mend it;
Bot ane thing I dar tak on me,
Gif as ye say the mater be

[1] Until. [2] Without. [3] Before.

That thay of Kirk thairto assentit,
They sal be first that sall repent it;
Thocht for thair tyme sum wylie wynkit,
The ages after will forthink it.

The poem concludes with the following lines, which show that the author was by no means pleased with the conduct of the greater part of the ministers of the church :—

Forsuith, Schir (said the Courteour)
I am assurit had ilk Preichour
Unto the mater bene als frak
As ye haue bene heir sen ye spak,
It had not cum to sic ane heid
As this day we se it proceid.
Bot I can se few men amang thame,
Thocht all the warld suld clene ouirgang thame,
That hes ane face to speik agane
Sic as the Kirk of Christ prophane.
Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
It had not cum unto this heid:
Had thay myntit till sic ane steir,
He had maid heuin and eirth to heir.[1]

Davidson also composed at this time a poem to the memory of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, a gentleman who had distinguished himself by his early attachment to the reformed religion, and his disinterested and invariable friendship for our national Reformer. Campbell died while actively employed in screening Davidson from the effects of persecution; and the latter has gratefully commemorated the virtues of his protector. This poem is inferior to the former in point of composition; but it preserves a number of curious and interesting facts relating to the history of those times.[2]

[1] There is a copy of this rare poem in the Advocates' Library. It is complete, with the exception of the title-page, which is much wasted. The following title is made up from that copy and other documents :—

"Ane Dialog or [Mu]tuall ta[lking]betwix a [clerk] and [ane cour]teour, Concerning [four kirks] till ane Minister, C[ollectit out of thair] mouthis, and put [in verse by a] young man qu[ha did] forgather w[ith thame] in his Jor[nay, as] efter foll[owis.]"

The book is printed in black letter, and consists of 16 leaves in 12mo. It has no imprint, but we learn from the summons to Robert Lekprevik, that it was printed by him in January, 1573; *i. e.* 1574, according to modern reckoning. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442.

[2] See Note BBB.

CHAPTER XII.

STATE OF LITERATURE IN SCOTLAND WHEN MELVILLE WAS REMOVED FROM HIS SITUATION AT ST ANDREWS, ANNO 1611.

In tracing the progress of literature in this country during Melville's residence at St Andrews, the first thing which claims our notice is the additions made to the number of our universities.

We have seen that the early institutions for promoting literature were generally attached to cathedral churches or monasteries. The universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen having been founded by bishops, it was natural for their founders to erect them in the chief cities of their respective sees. Edinburgh was not an episcopal seat, and, consequently, was unprovided with a university or great school; although it had long been considered as the capital of the kingdom. As soon as the Reformation was established, the magistrates, in concert with the ministers of the capital, attempted to have this defect supplied;[1] but their endeavours were thwarted by the bishops, who were jealous of the reputation and prosperity of the seminaries placed under their own immediate and official protection.[2] The university of Edinburgh, which has since risen to such eminence, owed its erection to the fall of Episcopacy. In the year 1579, when the General Assembly had attacked the episcopal office and drawn up the model of Presbytery, the design of founding a college in Edinburgh was revived.[3] Encouraged by the ministers and other public-spirited individuals in the city, the magistrates immediately commenced building apartments for the accommodation of professors and students; and in the end of the year 1583 the classes were opened, under the patronage of the town council, and the sanction of a royal charter.[4] By donations from individuals and public bodies, and by obtaining part of a legacy which Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, had bequeathed for a similar purpose,[5] the patrons were enabled to extend the benefits of the institution. From the

[1] Record of Town Council of Edinburgh, April 23, 1561, and April 8, 1562. See under Note GGG.

[2] Crawfurd's Hist. of University of Edinburgh, p. 19. Maitland's Hist. of Edin. p. 356.

[3] Record of Town Council, April 24, and Nov. 25, 1579.

[4] Though the name of a *University* is not applied to the institution either in the Royal Charter of 1582, or in the act of parliament of 1621, yet in the latter, it is declared to be "ane Colledge — of humane letteris and toungis, of philosophie, theologie, medicine, the lawis, and all uther liberall sciences," and is endowed with "all liberties, fredomes, immunities and priviledgis appertening to ane free Colledge, and that in als ample forme and lairge maner as anye Colledge hes or bruikis wtin this his Māties realme." Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 670, 671.

[5] See Note CCC.

number of students who resorted to the new college, it was apparent that it would soon rival the most frequented of the older establishments; and although it suffered a great loss by the premature death of Rollock, its excellent Principal, yet was it in a prosperous condition when Melville was removed from Scotland.[1]

Transferred from one sovereign to another, and lying at a distance from the seats of the governments to which they at different times became subject, the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands had been neglected, and allowed to remain in ignorance and barbarism. Bishop Reid, whose attention to the interests of learning deserves great praise, endeavoured to remedy this evil by providing means of education for his clergy and the youth of his diocese. Having given a new foundation to his cathedral church of Kirkwall in 1544, he appointed the person who held the office of chancellor to read publicly, once a week, a lecture on the canon law; and the chaplain of St Peter's to act as master of a grammar school.[2] After the Reformation the emoluments of the chaplainry continued to be applied to the support of the master of the grammar school of Kirkwall.[3] In the year 1581, a proposal to erect a college in Orkney was laid before parliament, by which it was referred, along with other plans for promoting education, to certain commissioners.[4] It is probable that the scheme was defeated by the interest of those who had got possession of the ecclesiastical revenues of that diocese, which formed the only fund from which the seminary could have been erected and endowed.

In 1592, the year in which Presbytery obtained a legal establishment, Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth laid the foundation of a university and college within the town of Fraserburgh in Aberdeenshire.[5] It was

[1] Crawfurd's Hist. of Univ. Edin. p. 67.

[2] "Hic Cancellarius, qui pro tempore fuerit, tertium locum post prepositum occupabit, qui semel in septimana, nisi aliunde legitime impedietur, tenebitur publice in Jure pontificio legere in Capitulo omnibus canonicis, prebendariis, capellanis, et aliis interesse volentibus."—Ordænamus preterea capellaniam beati Petri primum omnium tresdecim incompatibilem cum alio beneficio, alteragio seu servitio perpetuo, cujus sacellanus erit Magister artium et peritus grammaticus, Scole grammaticalis erit magister." Nova Erectio ad decorem et augmentationem divini cultus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Orchadensi. Oct. 28, 1544, in Arch. Civit. Edin. This deed was confirmed by Cardinal Beatoun "pridie kal. Julii, 1545," Bulla Nove Erectionis Ecclesiæ et Capituli Orchadensis: ibid. Mackenzie, in his Life of Bishop Reid, says: "He built St Olau's Church in Kirkwall, and a large court of buildings, to be a college for instructing of the youth in these and the adjacent isles, in grammar, philosophy, and mathematics." Lives, iii. 47.

[3] There is extant an original Gift and Presentation by Patrick, earl of Orkney (dated Feb. 26, 1595), of the "Prebendarie of St Peter lyand within the diocie of Orkney—conforme to the erection thereof." The presentee is "to make actual residence for serving of the gramär school at Kirkwall as Master principal thereunto—utherways this gift to expyre *ipso facto*." This was followed by a decreet of the Court of Session, May 22, 1601, confirming the gift. Communication from Alexander Peterkin, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of Orkney.

[4] Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 214.

[5] The grant confirming to him the lands and barony of Philorth (July 1, 1592) contains the following clause: "Dedimus et concessimus tenoreque presencium damus et concedimus plenariam potestatem et libertatem prefato Alexandro Fraser heredibus suis masculis et assignatis Collegium seu Collegia infra dictum burgum de Fraser edificandi, Universitatem erigendi, omnia genera officialium eisdem convenien et corresponden elegendi locandi et deprivandi, fundationes pro eorum sustentatione et omnia privilegia quecunque necessaria faciendi et dotandi, Rectores principales et subprincipales et alia membra necessaria ad voluntatem et optonem dicti Alexri ejusque heredum masculorum et assignatorum antedict. faciendi eligendi mutandi et deponendi, leges acta et statuta pro boni ordinis observatione faciendi et custodire causandi." Register of Privy Seal, vol. lxiv. f. 46.

intended for the ornament of a town on which he had conferred many privileges, and for the instruction of the youth in the northern part of the kingdom. The parliament ratified the institution in 1597, with high commendations of the liberality and patriotism of the founder.[1] Charles Ferme, who had taught for several years as a regent at Edinburgh, was chosen principal of the new college; and in the year 1600, the General Assembly authorised him to undertake this office, along with that of minister of the parish of Fraserburgh.[2] His labours were much interrupted by the Earl of Huntly; and an end was put to them by his confinement, first in the castle of Doune and afterwards in the island of Bute, for assisting at the General Assembly at Aberdeen.[3] It does not appear that he had any successor in the college, which was most probably allowed to fall into decay amidst the distractions produced by the alteration of church government.

The College of Fraserburgh might have succeeded better, had it not been for a similar establishment erected about the same time by George Earl Marischal in the town of New Aberdeen.[4] Marischal College was originally endowed only for a principal, three regents, and six bursars; but its situation in a flourishing town furnished it with students, its proximity to King's College excited emulation, and the gratitude or the pride of individuals who received their education at it soon increased the number of its professorships and bursaries, as well as the small stock of books with which it was originally provided.[5]

Whatever may be thought as to the expediency of some of these collegial institutions, there can be but one opinion as to the zeal which they evinced in behalf of the interests of literature. Whether the founders acted from the impulse of their own minds, or were guided by the deference which they paid to the opinions of others, the fact of so many academies rising up at the same time, shows that the public attention had been awakened to the importance of education, and that

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 147, 148.

[2] Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 194, b. Crawfurd's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. pp. 31, 33, 37, 39, 42. Fermæi Analysis in Epist. ad Romanos, Epist. Dedic. et Epist. ad Lect. Edinb. 1651.

[3] In 1608 Ferme wrote, from the place of his confinement to Robert Bruce: "I have to this hour been releaved be the comfort of no creature; neither have I heard to whom I may go. A thousand deaths hathe my soul tasted of; but still the truth and mercie of the Lord hath succoured me." Cald. vii. 98, 99. He was restored to his parish before his death, which happened on the 24th of September 1617. Verses to his memory were composed by Archibald Simson (Annal. p. 138) and by Principal Adamson of Edinburgh, who, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, published a work of Ferme, who had been his regent at college. Prefix. ad Fermæi Analys. *ut supra*). "Mr Charles Fairme" was called to be "secund minister of Haddington." Record of Presbytery of Haddington, July 28, and Aug. 25, 1596, and Sept. 28, 1597. At the "desyre of Patrik Cohren and Georg Heriot, commissionares direct from the session of the kirk of the north-west quarter of Edr," the presbytery "tollerat Mr Charles Ferum to preach in the Kirk of that quarter, at sic tymes and necessary occasiones as he salbe imployit be said session." Rec. of Presb. of Edinburgh, Sept. 12, 1598. He "was gane to the north parts," in Dec. 12, 1598. Ibid.

[4] The Charter of the College was signed by "George Erle Marshall," on the 2d of April 1593. It was approved of by the General Assembly at Dundee on the 24th of the same month, "after being examined by a Committee of their number." Memorial by Principal Blackwell. And it was ratified by Parliament on the 21st of July following. Act Parl. Scot. iv. 35.

[5] Memorial for Marischal College by Principal Blackwell.

a general and strong passion for literary pursuits was felt through the nation. It may also be observed that the improvements in the mode of teaching which had been introduced into the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow were adopted in one degree or another in the newly-erected colleges. At Edinburgh, indeed, each regent conducted his students through the whole course of their studies, either because Rollock had been accustomed to this method at St Andrews, or because he could not find a sufficient number of teachers. But at Aberdeen, in Marischal College, from the beginning the regents had particular professions assigned to them ;[1] and the same arrangement was prescribed by the new foundation of King's College.[2] When Melville returned from Geneva, although more than thirty years had elapsed from the first introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, the students at St Andrews did not acquire any knowledge of it beyond the regular declensions. But now the most difficult Greek authors were read and explained in all our universities. The knowledge of Hebrew was brought to the country by a deserving individual at the establishment of the Reformation ; and yet, fourteen years after that period, not one of the professors in the first university of the kingdom could teach its alphabet.[3] But now the Hebrew language was accurately taught in each of the universities, along with the cognate tongues which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland. The scientific lectures first read by Melville at Glasgow, and afterwards adopted in the other universities, included several useful branches of knowledge, not formerly taught in the established course of study, or treated in the most superficial manner; as geography, chronology, civil and natural history, geometry and the system of the sphere, according to the discoveries of recent astronomers.

The resort of foreign students to Scotland at this period is another interesting fact in the history of our national literature. Formerly no instance of this kind had occurred. On the contrary, it was a common practice for the youth of this country, upon finishing their course of education at one of our colleges, to go abroad, and prosecute their studies at one or more of the universities on the Continent. Nor did any one think himself entitled to the honourable appellation of a learned man who had not added the advantages of a foreign to those of a domestic education. But after the Reformation of the universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, and the erection of the College of Edinburgh, this practice became gradually less frequent, until it ceased entirely, except with those who wished to attain proficiency in law or in medi-

[1] "Nolumus autem Academiæ nostræ præceptores ad novas Professiones transilire, sed ut in eadem professione se exerceant, ut adolescentes qui gradatim ascendant, dignum suis studiis et ingeniis nanciscantur Præceptorem." Novæ Academiæ Abredonensis per Comitem Marischallum Regia Autoritate, Erectio et Instructio. The Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac languages, Physiology (Natural History), Geometry, Geography, Chronology, and Astronomy, were to be taught by the Principal and Masters of Marischal College.

[2] See under Note TT.

[3] Life of John Knox, pp. 3, 170. Melville's Diary, p. 26.

cine. If students in languages, the arts, or divinity, now left Scotland, it was generally to teach, and not to be taught, in foreign seminaries. The same cause which produced this change attracted students from abroad to this country. A few years after Melville went to the university of St Andrews, the names of foreigners appear for the first time on its records. The number of these rapidly increased; and Scotland continued to be frequented by students from the Continent for a considerable time after the original cause of attraction had been removed. Though St Andrews was the chief place to which they resorted, yet they studied also in the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Some of them were persons of noble birth, but the greater part were young men engaged in the cultivation of theology and the branches of learning connected with it. No adequate cause of the fact under consideration can be assigned but the report which had gone abroad of the flourishing state of education in Scotland. It is a mistake to suppose that the foreign students were for the most part Danes, who were induced to visit this country in consequence of the connection established between it and Denmark by the marriage of James. Some of them were Danes; but a still greater number were French, besides Belgians, Germans, and Poles.[1]

The number of Scotchmen who at this time distinguished themselves as teachers in foreign universities and schools was great. I have had occasion to speak of some of those who taught in the Protestant academies of France; but to give anything like a proper account of them would lead me into a digression disproportionately large. I cannot however omit mentioning here a literary undertaking in Ireland by two of our countrymen. The state of education in that country had fallen so low that it was with difficulty that an individual capable of teaching the learned languages could be found even in the capital. In the year 1587, James Fullerton and James Hamilton established a school in Dublin. The talents of the two Scotchmen, joined with the most engaging manners, soon procured them scholars. After they had taught privately for five years, they were admitted to professorships in Trinity College, the fabric of which had been recently completed; and they contributed to bring the university of Dublin into that reputation which it quickly acquired. Their labours would have deserved commemoration if they had done no more than educated the celebrated James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, the great ornament of the Church of Ireland, and one of the most learned men of his age. He was one of their first pupils in the grammar school, was conducted through the course of philosophy at the university by Hamilton, and was accustomed to mention it as an instance of the kindness of Providence that he received his education under the two Scotchmen, "who came hither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others." Whether the primate was initiated by them into the prin-

[1] See Note DDD.

ciples of the Hebrew language, in which he afterwards attained great proficiency, we are not informed; but they introduced him to the beauties of the classic poets and orators, with which he was captivated in his youth to a degree which we could scarcely have supposed from the tenor of his subsequent studies.[1] It has been said that Hamilton and Fullerton concealed a political design under their literary undertaking; and that they were sent to Dublin by the Scottish court as secret agents to obtain the consent of the Irish nobility and gentry to James's right of succession to Elizabeth. This is not at all likely. It is much more probable that the enterprise was entirely literary, and undertaken from the same motives which induced so many of their learned countrymen at that time to seek a foreign field for the exertion of their talents. At a subsequent period James availed himself of the credit which they had gained, and they were employed by him in secret negotiations, which they conducted with much ability and success.[2] The services of both were rewarded. Fullerton was knighted, admitted a gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and resided at court after the accession. Hamilton was created Viscount Claneboy, and afterwards Earl of Clanbrissel;[3] was intrusted with great authority in Ireland; and in concert with his pupil, the primate, and his countryman, the Bishop of Raphoe, showed favour to such ministers as took shelter in that country from the persecution of the Scottish prelates.[4] Fullerton and Hamilton were early acquaintances of Melville,[5] and the former was one of his most intimate and steady friends.[6] He retained his love of letters, and a partiality for his early studies, after he had exchanged the life of the scholar for that of the courtier.[7]

[1] Parr's Life of Usher, p. 3. Smith, Vita Usserii, p. 16. Dillingham, Vita Laur. Chadertoni, p. 55. There is a letter from Hamilton to Sir James Sempill (Dublin, May 4, 1612) in recommendation of Usher, when he went to London to publish his first work. "Clear them (Dr Chaloner and Mr Usher) to his Ma^tie that they ar not puritants; for they have dignitarieships and prebends in the Cathedral churches here." MS. in Archiv. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 18.

[2] This is confirmed by the account which Dr Birch gives; although he speaks immediately of negotiations with the English nobility. Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232. The letter from King James inserted in the Appendix to Strype's Annals, vol. iv. and which Strype supposes to have been written to Lord Hamilton, was addressed, I have no doubt, to James Hamilton, afterwards Viscount Claneboy.

[3] Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 257. According to Lodge, he was the eldest son of Hans Hamilton of Dunlop. Crawford says that Hans Hamilton, *vicar* of Dunlop, was son of Archibald Hamilton of Raploch. MS. Baronage, p. 265—267: in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 5, 30.

[4] Life of Mr Robert Blair, pp. 47—52, 64, 80. Life of Mr John Livingston.

[5] In the year 1585 James Hamilton was made Master of Arts at St Andrews, and in 1586 one of the same name was laureated at Glasgow. I have stated (p. 33) that Sir James Fullerton was educated under Melville at Glasgow. But it may be added, that in the list of Melville's class-fellows are the names "Jacobus Hamyltoun," and "Jacobus Fullartoun." See above, p. 406.

[6] Letter from Melville to Sir James Sempill of Beltrees, in Appendix.

[7] "Hoc saxum (a grammatical difficulty) cum diu volvissem, tandem incidi in Jacobum Fullertonum, virum doctum, et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum. Cum eo rem disceptavi," &c. Humii Grammatica Nova, Part ii. p. 15. See also Leochæi Epigram. pp. 23, 48. In 1611 Sir James Fullerton was, by the favour of Prince Henry, appointed Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Master of the Privy Purse to the Duke of York. Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 232—235. His Testament is dated Dec. 28, 1630, and was proved Feb. 5, 1630, O. S. He left no issue, and bequeathed "the estate and interest of the manor of Bifleete," with his leases of the Lead Mines, &c. after paying his debts, to his "deare and well-beloved wife, the Lady Bruce." "The Right Honourable Thomas Lord Bruce, Baron of Kin-

In the preceding chapter some account has been given of the state of the inferior order of seminaries in Scotland when Melville came to St Andrews.[1] Since that time the number of parochial schools had increased, although in many places they were still wanting, and in others the teachers enjoyed a very inadequate and precarious support. There was as yet no law which compelled the landholders or parishioners to provide them with accommodations or salaries. The persuasions of the ministers and the authority of the church courts were, however, exerted in supplying this defect. As every minister was bound regularly to examine his people, it became his interest to have a schoolmaster for the instruction of the youth. At the annual visitation of parishes by presbyteries and provincial synods, the state of the schools formed one subject of uniform inquiry; the qualifications of the teachers were tried; and where there was no school, means were used for having one established. A "common order" as to the rate of contribution to be raised for the salary of the teacher, and as to the fees to be paid by the scholars, was laid down and put in practice, long before the act of council in 1616, which was ratified by parliament in 1633. It is a mistake to suppose that the parochial schools of Scotland owed their origin to these enactments. The parliamentary statute has, indeed, been eventually of great benefit. But it would have remained a deed letter but for the exertions of the church courts; and, owing to the vague nature of its provisions, it continued long to be evaded by those who were insensible to the benefits of education, or who grudged the smallest expense for the sake of promoting it. The reader will find in the Notes some facts which throw light on the state of parochial instruction at this period.[2]

The classical schools had also increased in number, and improvements were introduced into those which had existed from ancient times. Two individuals, who were successively at the head of the High School of Edinburgh, are entitled to our notice here, from the services which they rendered to the literature of their country, as well as the connection which they had with Melville. Hercules Rollock had received a complete education, and was an excellent classical scholar. After finishing his studies at St Andrews, and teaching for some time in King's College, Aberdeen,[3] he went abroad, and studied at Poictiers in France.[4] On his return to Scotland, he was warmly recommended to the young king by Buchanan;[5] and it seems to have been in consequence of this recommendation that he was appointed Commissary of Angus and the Carse of Gowrie, which were disjoined from the Commissariot of St Andrews

losse," was his sole executor. Will, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

[1] See above, p. 361. Comp. p. 403—404.

[2] See Note EEE.

[3] Orem's Description of Old Aberdeen, 159.

[4] Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 350, 351. Comp. Buchanani Epist. pp. 13, 21. In a MS. Catalogue of Scottish writers (to be found in the Advocates' Library, in the same volume with Charters's Account of Scottish divines), Hercules Rollock is said to have published "Panegyrim de Pace in Gallia constituenda. Pictavi 1576." He had also been some time in England. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 361.

[5] Buchanani Epist. p. 29.

in the year 1580, and erected into a separate jurisdiction. But the new court was soon suppressed, in consequence of the opposition made to it by the commissary and magistrates of St Andrews.[1] In 1584, Rollock was brought from Dundee,[2] and continued head master of the High School of Edinburgh for eleven years, at the end of which he was displaced in consequence of some offence which was taken at his conduct.[3] On his removal from the High School he obtained an office in the Court of Session, and was patronised by the king.[4] He was suspected of being the author of a lampoon against Bruce and the other ministers who were banished at the time of the tumult which happened in the capital; on which account Melville attacked him, in several stinging epigrams, as a mercenary poet, and a starved schoolmaster turned lawyer. Poets are not disposed to brook an affront. Rollock replied; and in a poem, more distinguished for its length than its vigour, denied the charge, and vindicated his character.[5] Whatever might be his imprudences or personal foibles, he certainly contributed to raise the character of the useful seminary over which he had presided.[6]

Alexander Hume, who succeeded to the rectorship of the High School, if not so good a poet as Rollock, was a superior grammarian, and a more acceptable teacher.[7] He has himself informed us that he was descended of the ancient family of the Humes, acquired the knowledge of the Latin language under the well-known Andrew Simson at Dunbar, went through the course of philosophy at St Andrews, and afterwards spent sixteen years in England, partly in studying at the university of Oxford, and partly in teaching. His theological works shall be mentioned afterwards. While he taught at Edinburgh, his attention was turned to the elementary books which were at that time used in grammar schools, and he was ambitious of improving on the labours of foreigners, as well as of his countrymen, Simson, Carmichael, and Duncan.[8] His Latin Grammar, on which he had spent many years, and which he published, after submitting it to the correction of Melville and other learned friends, did not give the satisfaction which he expected. This was partly owing

[1] Record of Privy Council, January 12, 1580.

[2] May 29, 1584. Record of Town Council of Edin. vol. vii. f. 90. On the 17th of April, 1588, his salary was augmented "from 50 to 100 pundis." In his petition for an augmentation, he tells the council, that "upoun informatioun of Mr James Lawsoun and other favoreris of lerning he was employet to undertak y^e^ chairge of thair Hie Schole." Ib. vol. viii. f. 149, b. 150.

[3] Record of Town Council, vol. x. f. 71. Rollock imputes his dismissal to the ignorance of the citizens, who were incapable of appreciating the excellence of his instructions, so superior to those of ordinary pedagogues; and he represents the school as sinking, at his removal, into the barbarism from which he had recovered it. Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 389.

[4] Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 389.

[5] Ibid. p. 117. Comp. p. 337. In the catalogue of books presented to the university of Edinburgh, by Drummond of Hawthornden (p. 24), is the following article: "Ad Herculem Rollocum responsio Andreæ Melvini. MS. autogr." But the MS. is not now to be found.

[6] The magistrates appear to have been sensible of this; for on the 20th of February, 1600, they gave an allowance to "the relict and bairns of Mr Hercules Rollock." Council Register, vol. x. f. 270.

[7] Crawfurd's Hist. of the Univ. of Edin. p. 64. His appointment was on the 23d of April, 1596. Council Register, vol. x. ff. 75, 76.

[8] "Grammaticæ Latinæ, de Etymologia, liber secundus. Cantab. 1587." James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, was the author of this work. Andrew Duncan, the author of various grammatical pieces (Ames, by Herbert, iii. 1515, 1516, 1518), was minister of Crail, and one of those who were banished to France for holding the Assembly at Aberdeen.

to prejudice against innovation, and partly to the author's having sacrificed ease and perspicuity to logical precision in his arrangement and definitions. But, although less adapted for youth, the work displays considerable knowledge of the principles of grammar, and might be useful to teachers and advanced scholars. The privy council, in pursuance of an act of parliament, enjoined it to be used in all the schools of the kingdom; an injunction which was defeated by the interest of the bishops, whose displeasure the author had incurred, and by the persevering opposition of Ray, who succeeded to his place in the High School.[1]

It was during the incumbency of Hume, that the High School of Edinburgh received that form which it has preserved, with little alteration, to the present day. In the year 1598, a code of laws, drawn up by a committee of learned men, and intended to regulate the mode of teaching and the government of the youth, received the sanction of the town council. The school was divided into four classes, to be taught separately by four masters, including the principal. The boys passed from one master to another at the end of each year; a plan which has not the same recommendations when applied to the teaching of a single language that it has when applied to different languages or branches of science. By the same laws, the Humanity class in the College was also regulated, and Greek was appointed to be taught in it as well as Latin. In the year 1614, a fifth class was established in the High School, and during their attendance on it the boys were initiated into Greek grammar.[2]

In the year 1606, Hume relinquished his situation in Edinburgh, and became principal master of the grammar school at Prestonpans, which had been recently founded by John Davidson. The exertions which Davidson made to provide for the religious and literary instruction of his parish entitle him to the most grateful remembrance. At his own expense he built a church and a manse, a school-house and a dwelling-house for the master. The school was erected for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and the founder destined all his heritable and movable property, including his books, to the support and ornament of this trilingual academy.[3] Similar endowments were made by others;[4] and there is reason to think that, in not a few instances, the funds which benevolent individuals bequeathed for the promotion of learning were clandestinely retained, or illegally alienated from their original destination, by the infidelity and avarice of executors and trustees. Several acts of the legislature were made to prevent such abuses.[5]

In investigating the progress which science made in Scotland during

[1] See Note FFF.
[2] See Note GGG.
[3] See Note HHH.
[4] John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, endowed a school, and made provision for the poor, within his parish. Letter from him to the General Assembly, Nov. 16, 1602: MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 2, 17, f. 156. "The King's Scole of Dunkeld," founded Feb. 22, 1567 (Reg. of Presentations, vol. i. p. 5), was ratified by parliament in 1606. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 313.
[5] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 94; vol. v. 22.

this period, the first thing which strikes us is the introduction of the Ramean philosophy, and its general substitution in the room of the Aristotelian. The influence which Ramus had in the advancement of philosophy has not, in my opinion, had that importance attached to it by modern writers which it deserves. In forming an estimate of the degree in which any individual has contributed to the illumination of the age in which he lived, it is necessary to take into account something more than the character of his opinions viewed in themselves: we must inquire if they were brought fairly and fully into contact with the public mind, and attend to the circumstances which combined to aid or to neutralise their effect. By a careful examination of the writings of such men as Bruno and Cardan, we may discover here and there a sentiment akin to a truer philosophy; but these sentiments appear to have struck their minds during certain lucid intervals, and are buried in a farrago of fantastic, extravagant, and unintelligible notions, which at that period must have had the tendency to discredit them completely with persons of sober thinking. They are to be viewed rather as curious phenomena in the history of individuals than as indications of the progress made by the human mind. There are three grand events in the modern history of philosophy. The first is the revival of literature, which, by promoting the study of the original writings of the ancients, rescued the Aristotelian philosophy from the barbarism and corruption which it had contracted during the middle ages. The second is the emancipation of the human mind from that slavish subjection to authority under which it had been long held by a superstitious veneration for the name of Aristotle. The third is the introduction of what is commonly called the inductive philosophy. The two former preceded and made way for the latter. In bringing about the first, a multitude of persons in all parts of Europe had co-operated with nearly equal zeal. The merit of effecting the second is in a great measure due to one individual. The Platonic school which was founded in the fifteenth century did not produce any extensive or permanent effects on the mode of study and philosophising. It originated in literary enthusiasm; its disciples were chiefly confined to Italy, and they contented themselves with pronouncing extravagant and rapturous panegyrics on the divine Plato. Valla, Agricola,[1] Vives, and Nizolius had pointed out various defects in the reigning philosophy, and recommended a mode of investigating truth more rational than that which was pursued in the schools. But they had not succeeded in fixing the attention of the public on the subject. The attack which Ramus made on the Peripatetic philosophy was direct, avowed, persevering, and irresistible. He possessed an acute mind, a competent acquaintance with ancient learning, an ardent love of truth, and invincible courage in maintaining it. He had applied

[1] Ramus acknowledges that he was indebted for more accurate views of Logic to Rudolphus Agricola, and that he learned them from Sturmius, one of Agricola's scholars. Præfat. in Schol. Grammat.

with avidity to the study of the logic of Aristotle; and the result was a conviction, that it was an instrument utterly unfit for discovering truth in any of the sciences, and answering no other purpose than that of scholastic wrangling and digladiation. This conviction he communicated to the public; and, in spite of all the resistance which he encountered from ignorance and prejudice, he succeeded in bringing over a great part of the learned world to his views. What Luther was in the church, Ramus was in the schools. He overthrew the infallibility of the Stagirite, and proclaimed the right of mankind to think for themselves in matters of philosophy; a right which he maintained with the most undaunted fortitude, and to which he may be said to have died a martyr.[1] If Ramus had not shaken the authority of the long-venerated *Organon* of Aristotle, the world might not have seen the *Novum Organum* of Bacon. The faults of the Ramean system of Dialectics have long been acknowledged. It proceeded upon the radical principles of the logic of Aristotle; its distinctions often turned more upon words than things; and the artificial method and uniform partitions which it prescribed in treating every subject, were unnatural, and calculated to fetter, instead of forwarding, the mind in the discovery of truth. But it discarded many of the useless speculations, and much of the unmeaning jargon respecting topics, predicables, and predicaments, which made so great a figure in the ancient logic. It inculcated upon its disciples the necessity of accuracy and order in arranging their own ideas and in analysing those of others.[2] And, as it advanced no claims to infallibility, submitted all its rules to the test of practical utility, and set this constantly before the eye of the student as the only legitimate end of the whole logical apparatus, its faults were soon discovered, and yielded readily to a more natural method of reasoning and investigation.

The eloquence of Ramus, added to the novelty of his opinions, and

[1] "Easdem in religionis restitutione judiciorum remoras ætas nostra experta est. Quapropter per Deum optimum maximum, Logicæ artis professores exhortor, ut philosophiæ veritatem pluris quam philosophi ullius authoritatem faciant.—Tales denique sint in Aristotele cognoscendo et interpretando, qualis Aristoteles in Platone fuit. Unum enim id illis exopto, ut Aristoteles ipsi sibi sint, vel Aristotele etiam præstantiores magistri: sicut Aristoteles nimirum Plato alter esse, aut etiam Platone præstantior esse voluit." Rami Animad. in Organ. Aristotelis, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 66, edit. Francof. 1594. Those who wish to understand the spirit of Ramus, and the motives which induced him to embark in the cause of philosophical reform, should read the whole of the thirteenth chapter of the fourth book of his "Animadversiones." Brucker has given extracts from it. Hist. Philos. tom. v. p. 566—568.

[2] Bacon was anxious to disclaim connection with Ramus, whom he calls the "neoteric rebel against Aristotle." *Catalina Cethegum?* But he acknowledges the merits of Ramus on the head of method. "Methodus veluti scientiarum architectura est: atque hac in parte melius meruit Ramus," &c. De Augm. Scient. lib. vi. cap. ii. Hooker refers to the system of Ramus in the following passage. Having spoken of the utility of art in advancing knowledge, and of the little progress which had been made in all parts of natural knowledge since the days of Aristotle, he adds: "In the poverty of that other new-devised aid, two things are, notwithstanding, singular. Of marvellous quick despatch it is, and doth show them that have it as much almost in three days, as if had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of man's wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things than were convenient, the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities, as, everywhere offering themselves, are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be." Eccles. Polity, book i. § 6.

the ardour and boldness with which he maintained them, had a fascinating influence on his students. Foreigners, who attended his lectures in the university of Paris, carried his peculiar sentiments along with them to their respective countries. Within a few years after his death his writings were known through Europe; and, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, Ramism, as the new mode of philosophising was called, was publicly taught in some of the principal universities of Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, and Britain.[1] I formerly stated that Melville studied under him, and that on his return to his native country, he introduced his master's system of logic into the university of Glasgow.[2] It continued to be taught there under his successor, Patrick Sharp.[3] At St Andrews, however, it met with the most determined resistance. It is a striking proof of the ascendancy which the name of Aristotle had gained over the human mind, that his philosophy continued long to maintain its ground in the greater part of the Protestant schools. When Luther had attacked it with his usual vehemence, his colleague Melancthon interposed for its protection. From attachment to it, the members of the Academy of Geneva refused to admit Ramus into their number during the time that Melville resided in that city.[4] It was not until the year 1583 that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave public warning against sentiments subversive of religion contained in books which were put into the hands of all the youth.[5] And twenty years after every vestige of papal authority had been abolished in the university of St Andrews, Melville had almost excited a tumult in it by calling in question the infallibility of a heathen philosopher. But he ultimately succeeded in effecting a reform on the philosophical creed at St Andrews.[6] Rollock, who became a convert to the new philosophy, introduced it into the College of Edinburgh, in which it continued long to be taught.[7] The writings of Aristotle were not, however, banished from our universities, and his authority appears to have revived at St Andrews after Melville's removal.[8]

Theological learning made great advancement during this period. Formerly no commentary on Scripture, and no collection of sermons, had appeared in Scotland. This defect was now supplied by the writ-

[1] Brucker, Hist. Philos. tom. v. p. 576—581. Bayle, Dict., art. De la Ramée, Note O. Melch. Adami Vitæ Germ. Philos. p. 509. Casp. Brantius, Vita Jac. Arminii, p. 16. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. 352, 527. Ramus's Logic was prelected on at Cambridge in 1590. Dillingham, Vita Chadertoni et Usserii, p. 15. And various editions of his works were published in England before the year 1600. Ames, by Herbert, *passim*.

[2] See above, pp. 11, 31.

[3] Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 897.

[4] Bezæ Epist. epp. 34, 36. Brantius, Vita Arminii, 21, 22.

[5] Petri, P. ii. p. 439.

[6] See above, p. 78—79.

[7] Adamsoni Præfat. in Fermæi Anal. Epist. ad Romanos. Crawfurd's Hist. of Univ. of Edin. p. 58—60. Bower's Hist. vol. i. Append. No. iii. Sir Robert Sibbald mentions an early edition of Ramus's Logic by one of our countrymen: "Rolandus Mackilmenæus Scotus, P. Rami Dialecticæ libri duo. Lond. 1576, 8vo." De Script. Scot. p. 152. "Rollandus Makilmane Novi Collegii" was laureated at St Andrews, Feb. 10, 1569. Editions of the Dialectica were printed at Edinburgh as late as 1637 and 1640.

[8] William Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh) who taught as a regent in King's College at the beginning of the 17th century, was a strenuous advocate for the Aristotelian philosophy. Bayle, Dict., art. Forbes, Guil.

ings of Rollock and Bruce. The former published commentaries on most of the books of the New Testament, and on some parts of the Old, which were speedily reprinted on the Continent, with warm recommendations by foreign divines.[1] Though they contain occasional remarks on the original, Rollock's commentaries are not distinguished for critical learning, nor do they discover deep research; but they are perspicuous, succinct, and judicious. His treatise on Effectual Calling is a compendious system of divinity, and affords a favourable specimen of the manner in which he executed this part of his academical lectures. It shows, among other things, that his understanding was not led astray by admiration of the Ramean logic, and that he did not suffer a superstitious or pedantic regard to methodistic rules to usurp the place of good sense in the arrangement and communication of his ideas. His sermons, which were published from notes taken by some of his hearers, exhibit him in a very amiable light, as "condescending to men of low estate," and keeping sacredly in view the proper end of preaching, the instruction and salvation of the people, and not the display of the learning, ingenuity, or eloquence of the preacher.[2] Bruce was a man of a stronger mind than Rollock. His sermons, particularly those on the sacraments, are more elaborately composed, more doctrinal and argumentative, more calculated to lead "on to perfection" those who are already grounded in the principles of religion, and whose spiritual senses are "exercised to discern between good and evil." He possessed at the same time the faculty of making himself understood on the most intricate subjects, and his sermons discover the same unction which recommended those of his pious colleague.[3] Rollock's manner in the pulpit was mild, affectionate, and winning: Bruce's was solemn, impressive, and commanding; and, to apply to his sermons the reverse of the figure by which one of his hearers described his prayers, "every sentence was like a bolt shot from heaven." It is commonly supposed that the public discourses of the Presbyterians at this time were protracted to a tedious

[1] Beza's recommendation was conveyed in a letter to John Johnston, and is prefixed to "Tractatus de Vocatione—Authore Roberto Rolloco Scoto. Edinburgi 1597."

[2] "Certaine Sermons vpon severall places of the Epistles of Paul. Preached by M. Robert Rollock—Edinb. 1599." The epistle "To the Christiane Reader," prefixed to these Sermons, was probably written by James Melville, who subscribes the Scottish Sonnets which follow it:—

> Thy diuine Doctor deirest now is deid,
> Thy peirles Preicher now hes plaide his part.
> Thy painfull Pastor, quha in love did leid
> Thy little lambes with sweit and tender hart,
> Hes dreed his dayes with sair and bitter smart,
> To purchase pleasand profit unto thee.
> His words, his warks, his wayes, his vertues gart
> Thee get this gaine of great felicitie.

By his testament, Rollock appointed such of his manuscripts as should be thought worthy of publication to be dedicated to his friend Sir William Scot of Elie, Director of the Chancery. Scot wrote to Boyd of Trochrig at Saumur: Edin. Mar. 3, 1609. "Please to receive Rollocus prayers as he utterit them in pulpit before and after sermons. I am presently in hand with Rollocus sermons on John's Evangel. I will earnestly request you to cause print in one great volume all Rollocus Latine works." Speaking of Boyd's works, he adds: "If they were in this country, as I did to Rollocus, their printing should be no charge to you." Letter, in Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 42; MSS. vol. v.

[3] Bruce's Five Sermons on the Sacrament were printed at Edinburgh by Robert Waldegrave in 1590; and his miscellaneous sermons came from the same press in 1591. Both volumes, as well as a number of Rollock's treatises, were afterwards translated into English. In their original form they are curious as specimens of composition in the Scottish language, within a few years of the time at which it was generally laid aside by our writers.

length. The facts which have come to my knowledge lead to an opposite conclusion; and I have no doubt that the practice referred to was introduced at a later period.[1]

The Hebrew language being now regularly taught in all our universities, several individuals attained to proficiency in it.[2] Patrick Simson acquired it in his old age;[3] and his brother William Simson undertook to explain one of the obstrusest parts of its philology, in the first work on Hebrew literature which appeared in Scotland.[4]

The attention paid to the learned languages laid the foundation for the critical study of the Scriptures. It is to be lamented that the disputes in which the ministers were involved, and the hardships which many of them suffered, should have diverted them from this study at a time when individuals had begun to cultivate it with enthusiasm. Among these Robert Wallace, minister of St Andrews, and afterwards of Tranent, deserves to be particularised.[5] The only work which Patrick Sharp, Principal of the College of Glasgow, left behind him, does not afford a proof of those literary acquirements which it is known he possessed.[6] He was the teacher of John Cameron, whose proficiency in Greek literature excited astonishment on the Continent, and whom Bishop Hall pronounced "the most learned man ever Scotland produced."[7] Cameron was a subtle theologian, and displayed much critical acumen in the interpretation of the Scriptures. He was not

[1] Burnet says that Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh had "a strange faculty of preaching five or six hours at a time." Hist. of his own Times, i. 27. But the following extract will show that Forbes's tediousness, even when not carried to this extreme, gave offence to his brethren at an early period. "Nov. 1, 1605. The said daye Mr Willeame Forbes regent exerecsit, quha was cõmended, but censurit becaus he techit two hours. Na additione, becaus of the hour was past." Record of the Presbytery of Aberdeen. Speaking of Bruce, Livingston says: "He was both in public and private very short in prayer with others.—I have heard him say, he hath wearried when others have been longsome in prayer." Charact., art. Mr Robert Bruce.

[2] Wodrow's Life of John Scrimger, p. 12; and Livingston's Charact., art. William Aird. In the Nova Fundatio of King's College, and in the Charter of Marischal College, Aberdeen, great anxiety is expressed by the founders that the Hebrew and Syriac tongues should be carefully taught by skilful professors.

[3] Archibald Simson's Life of Patrick Simson, MS. in the Advocates' Library.

[4] "Gul. Simpsonus edidit breves et perspicuas Regulas de Accentibus Hebraicis. 12mo. Londinj, 1617." Sibbald, De Script. Scot. p. 7. This work (which I have not seen) is also mentioned in the Epistle Dedicatory to "The Destruction of inbred corruption, or the Christian's warfare against his bosome enemy—by Mr Alexander Symson, late minister of God's word at Merton in Scotland, Lond. 1644." 12mo. The reader may be pleased to see the following extract from that dedication. "The Author (Alexander Symson) was the last branch of that goodly vine that overspread the whole land: his father, Master Andrew Symson, minister of Dunbar, being one of the first that opposed Popery (under whom some of the ancient Nobilitie, and many of the Gentry and Clergy of Scotland were educated, of whom not a few proved worthy Instruments for the advancement of God's glory in Church and Commonwealth): As his Brothers, Master Matthew who died young; Master Patrick, Minister of Striveling, who wrote 'The History of the Church,' thrice printed; Master William, Minister of Dumbarton, who wrote 'De Hebraicis Accentibus;' Master Archibald, Minister of Dalkeith, who wrote of the 'Creation,' 'Christ's Seven Words on the Crosse,' Samson's Seven Locks of Haire,' 'The Seven Penitentiall Psalmes,' 'Hieroglyphia animalium terrestrium,' &c. with a 'Chronicle of Scotland in Latine,' not yet printed; Master Abraham, Minister of Norham."

[5] Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almel. p. 669.

[6] "Doctrinæ Christianæ brevis explicatio. Authore Patricio Scharpio, Theologiæ professore in Academia Glasevense. Edinbvrgi Excudebat Robertvs Walde-graue, 1599." 8vo. Pp. 287. This is an explication of the first three chapters of Genesis, the Apostles' Creed, Institution of the Lord's Supper, Decalogue, and Lord's Prayer.

[7] Capelli Icon Joan. Cameronis, præf. Oper. Cameronis. Genev. 1642. In 1598, Joannes Cameroun was laureated at Glasgow, and in 1599, he was admitted one of the regents.

more distinguished by his writings, than by the circumstance of his having formed the opinions of Amyrauld, who divided the French Protestants on the point of universal grace, and of Capellus, who attained to great celebrity as the founder of a new school in Hebrew philology and criticism.[1] Robert Boyd of Trochrig was a contemporary of Cameron, and like him taught in the academies of France as well as of his native country.[2] His Prelections on the Epistle to the Ephesians contain some good critical remarks, as well as many eloquent passages; and it is to be regretted that he should have rendered the work heavy and repulsive by indulging, according to a practice then common among the continental commentators, in long digressions, for the sake of illustrating general doctrines and deciding the controversies of the time.

The *Hieroglyphica*[3] of Archibald Simson, which treat of the different branches of zoology referred to in Scripture, show the learning of the author; but his fancy led him, in this as well as in his other works, to expatiate in the field of allegory.[4] The works of Patrick Simson contain a succinct History of the Christian Church, written in a style which, though not uniformly correct, is spirited, and breathes a classical air. Robert Pont, whose learning was various, had paid particular attention to Sacred Chronology, which he illustrated in several treatises.[5] Alexander Hume, of whom we have spoken as a grammarian, entered

[1] Lewis Capel to Boyd of Trochrig, Sept. 15, 1618: Wodrow's Life of Robert Boyd, p. 80. Riveti Opera, tom. iii. p. 896.

[2] "Robertus Boyd" was laureated at Edinburgh in 1595. To his signature in the Album is added, in another hand, "Minr verb. in Gallia postea prof. theol. et primarius Acad. Glasg. dein Edinb."

[3] "Hieroglyphica Animalivm Terrestrivm, Volatilium, &c. quæ in Scripturis Sacris inveniuntur. Per Archibaldum Simsonum Dalkethensis Ecclesiæ Pastorem. Edin. 1622." 4to. The first part is confined to terrestrial Animals. The second and third parts, which treat of Fowls and Fishes, appeared in 1623. And in 1624, that which relates to Reptiles and Insects followed, under the name of "Tomvs Secvndvs."

[4] Drummond, the poet, appears to have been pleased with the allegorical writings of Simson, as he has encomiastic verses at the beginning of several of them. The following are prefixed to "Heptameron. The Sevin Dayes —by M. A. Symson, Minister at Dalkeith. Sanct-Andrews Printed by Edward Raban, Printer to the Universitie. 1621." Sm. 8vo.

God binding with bid Tendons this great ALL,
Did make a LVTE, which had all parts it giuen:
This LVTES round Bellie was the azur'd Heauen;
The Rose those Lights which He did there install:

The Basses were the Earth and Ocean;
The Treble shrill the Aire: the other Strings,
The vnlike Bodies, were of mixed things:
And then His Hand to breake sweete Notes began.

Those loftie Concords did so farre rebound,
That Floods, Rocks, Meadows, Forrests did them heare:
Birds, Fishes, Beasts danc'd to their siluer sound.
Onlie to them Man had a deafned Eare.
Now him to rouse from sleepe so deepe and long,
God wak'ned hath the Eccho of this Song.

W. D.

[5] "A Newe Treatise of the right Reckoning of yeares and ages of the World—By M. Robert Pont, an aged Pastour of the Kirk of Scotland. Edin. 1599." This is different from his work "De Sabbaticorum annorum periodis. Lond. 1619." Charters also ascribes to him "Chronologiam de Sabbatis. Lond. 1626." His son, Timothy Pont, gave great assistance in drawing up the description and maps of Scotland which appeared in Blean's Atlas. Memor. Balfouriana, pp. 6, 36. "Mr Timothie Pont, minr of Dwnet," and "Mr Zacharie Pont, minr of Bowar Wattin, in Caithness," occur in the Books of Assignation and Modification of Stipends for the years 1601—1608.

I find that it was not Robert Pont who married a daughter of John Knox, as I have elsewhere stated by mistake (Life of Knox), but his son, Zachary. This appears from the following documents. "Junij 4, 1607. The session of Sanct Cuthbertis kirk contra Margaret Smith anent the thronche of Mr Robert Pont hir husband." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 4, 22. "Marg. Knox, spous to Mr Zach. Pont, minr at Boar in Cathnes, wt consent of Mr Jon Ker, minr at Preston, and Mr Jas Knox, ane of the regents of the College of Edr, receives from Andro Lord Stewart of Vchiltrie 1300 merks." Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. cvii., 28 May, 1605. There is a previous deed relating to the same subject, which is signed by "Mr Jon Ker, sone to vmqll Andro Ker of Fawdounside, witnes." Ibid. vol. civ., 13 Dec. 1604.—[This mistake has been rectified in the later editions of the Life of Knox—see pages 294 and 407 of the present series.—*Ed.*]

the lists as a polemical writer against members both of the Romish and English Churches.[1] And John Howieson composed an elaborate answer to Bellarmine, the redoubted and far-famed champion of Rome.[2]

The most learned of the divines who embraced Episcopacy received their education during this period. Patrick Forbes of Corse, the relation and scholar of Melville,[3] and who afterwards became Bishop of Aberdeen, wrote an able defence of the calling of the ministers of the Reformed Churches, and a commentary on the Revelation. The discourses of William Cowper, minister of Perth, and afterwards Bishop of Galloway, are perhaps superior to any sermons of that age. A vein of practical piety runs through all his evangelical instructions; the style is remarkable for ease and fluency; and the illustrations are often striking and happy. His residence in England, during some years of the early part of his life, may have given him that command of the English language by which his writings are distinguished.[4] Archbishop Spotswood's *History of the Church of Scotland* was composed at a period considerably later; but as I have been under the necessity of repeatedly calling in question its accuracy, I may take this opportunity of saying, that, as a composition, it is highly creditable to the talents of the author, and is as much superior to the historical collections of Calderwood in point of style and arrangement, as it is inferior to them in accuracy and variety of materials.

The progress of our literature during this period is very discernible in the department of jurisprudence. Besides his edition of the acts of parliament from the reign of James I., Sir John Skene, the Clerk-Register, published for the first time, in Latin and in English, a collection of the laws and constitutions of our elder princes. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the title which some of these have to be considered as originally belonging to the Scottish code, or as to the period at which others of them were enacted, it must be acknowledged that the labours of the publisher were meritorious and valuable. He had travelled in Norway, Denmark, and adjacent countries;[5] and the knowledge which he acquired of the northern languages and customs

[1] An account of his controversy with Dr Adam Hill, on the article of the Creed concerning Christ's descent into Hell, may be seen in Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, i. p. 622—624. The following extracts relate to his "Rejoinder," or second book against Hill. "5 Feby. 1593. The Pbrie appointis thair brether, M. Rot Rollock and M. Jon Dauidsoun to syt the book writtin be M. Alexr Home concerning that part of the creit, He discendit to hell, and to report yr judgement ye xiith of this Instant." "12th Feby. 1593. The said brether reporting yr judgements of the sufficiencie of ye wark hes approuit ye same, and finds it may be prentit." Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh. His book against the Roman Catholics is entitled, "A Didvction of the Trve and Catholik meaning of our Saviour his words this is my bodie—by Alexander Hvme, Maister of the High Schoole of Edinburgh. Edin. 1602." A collection of practical treatises by him on Conscience, &c. was printed by R. Waldegrave, Edin. 1594. 12mo. See also Wood, *ut supra*. Ames by Herbert, p. 1515.

[2] Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 201. He is the author of a treatise on Conscience, Edin. 1600. Wood, and Charters.

[3] Melville's Diary, p. 122. Garden, Vita Joannis Forbesii: præfix. Oper. Forbesii. Wodrow's Life of Patrick Forbes of Corse, p. 2: MSS. vol. ii.

[4] Life of Bishop Cowper, prefixed to his works, Lond. 1623, fol. He was born in the year 1568, and entered the university of St Andrews in 1580. Dikaiologie, p. 108. He was admitted minister of Perth, Oct. 5, 1595. Extracts from Rec. of Kirk-Session of Perth, by Rev. Mr Scott.

[5] Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 134.

enabled him to throw light on the ancient laws and legal usages of Scotland, both in his treatise *De Verborum Significatione*, and in his notes on the *Regiam Majestatem*.[1] In vigour of mind and in acquaintance with the general principles of law, Sir Thomas Craig excelled Skene, as much as he fell behind him in the knowledge of the ancient statutory and consuetudinary laws of his country.[2] His book *De Feudis* was the first regular treatise on law composed in Scotland. It is written with elegance and in a philosophical spirit; and the author of such a masterly performance could not fail, during his long practice at the bar, to raise the character of the profession, and to diffuse enlightened and liberal views among his brethren. William Welwood, who was prohibited from continuing his lectures on law at St Andrews, published several useful and compendious treatises, which entitle him to a place among the juridical writers of the age. His *Parallel* exhibits a clear but meagre statement of the points of resemblance between the Jewish and Roman codes of jurisprudence.[3] His tract on *Ecclesiastical Processes* may be viewed as the first specimen of a Form of Process, which the Church of Scotland did not then possess.[4] His *Abridgment of Sea Laws* has the merit of being the first regular treatise on maritime jurisprudence which appeared in Britain, and led him to take part in a controversy which called forth the talents and erudition of a Grotius and a Selden.[5]

The name of Welwood is also connected with the progress of physics and the arts. He possessed an inquisitive mind; and in all his disquisitions we can trace a commendable desire to convert his knowledge to the good of mankind.[6] While he taught mathematics at St Andrews,

[1] When the Regiam Majestatem was put to press, "finding non so meit as Mr James Carmichael, minister at Haddingtoune—to examine and espy and correct such errors and faults yrin as vsuallie occurs in every printing that first cumis from the presse," the lords of privy council applied to his presbytery to excuse his absence from his charge, "the space of tua monethis or thereby." Letter to the Presbyterie of Hadingtoune; Oct. 13, 1608: in Lord Haddington's Col. There is a poem by Carmichael at the end of the Scotch translation of that work.

[2] Craig has certainly failed in illustrating the peculiar form which the feudal law had assumed in Scotland: and in referring to ancient laws, and to decisions anterior to his own practice, he proceeds usually on the information of his older brethren. But perhaps the censures which a late writer has pronounced on him are too summary and indiscriminate. The charge of ignorance brought against him, for asserting that the civil law had not been taught in this country, will, I apprehend, turn out on examination to be unfounded. Ross's Lectures on the Law of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.

[3] "Ivris Divini Ivdæorum, ac Ivris Civilis Romanorvm Parallela.—Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Lvgd. Bat. 1594." 4to.

[4] Its title has been given above, p. 206. It was intended to distinguish between the forms of procedure used in civil courts and those which ought to be used in church courts —as to citations—the mode of trial—and appeals.

[5] "An Abridgment of all Sea-laws:—By William Welwood, professor of the Ciuill Lawe. London 1613." 4to. It was reprinted, but without the author's name, by Malynes, in his "Lex Mercatoria," Lond. 1686. The Latin edition of this Abridgment, which appears to have been published before 1613, I have not seen. That part of it which relates to the controverted question was republished under the following title: "De Dominio Maris,—Cosmopoli, Excudebat G. Fontisiluius, 16 Calend. Januar. 1615." 4to. An edition of it was printed at the Hague in 1663; and in the course of that year there appeared an answer to it by Theod. J. F. Graswinckel, a Dutch lawyer, who wrote also against the "Mare Clausum" of Selden.

[6] He was the author of a treatise of practical theology: "Ars Domandarvm Pertvrbationvm ex solo Dei verbo quasi transcripto constructa. Avthore Gvilielmo Velvod. Middelbvrgi, 1594." 8vo. Pp. 62. The dedication to John, earl of Cassillis, "Collegii ad Andreapolin, quod Saluatorianum cognominant Patrono," is dated "Ex Academia Andreana, Calen. Maijs. 1594."

he obtained from government a patent for a new mode of raising water with facility from wells and low grounds. He afterwards published an account of his plan, and of the principles upon which he calculated that it would produce the intended effect. This publication is a curious specimen of the state in which the science of hydraulics was at that time, and of those experiments by which its true principles came to be gradually discovered and applied.[1] The chronological works of Robert Pont confirm the testimonies borne to his skill in mathematics and astronomy.[2] But the individual who left all his contemporaries far behind him in such pursuits, and who reflected the highest honour on his country, was John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of the logarithmic calculation; an invention which has contributed, perhaps more than any other, to extend the boundaries of knowledge, and to multiply discoveries in all branches of natural philosophy; and which, at the same time that it establishes the author's claim to genius, proves that he had devoted himself with the most persevering ardour to the study of mathematical science. Previously, indeed, to his making his great discovery, Napier was well known to his countrymen for his profound acquaintance with mathematics, his application of them to the improvement of the arts, and the curious and bold experiments which his active and inventive mind was continually prompting him to make.[3]

When the elder Scaliger visited Scotland about the middle of the sixteenth century, it did not contain, according to his statement, more than one regular practitioner in Medicine. If we are to judge by this rule, the science must have made great advancement before the close of that century. At this time, however, and down to a much later period, the medical men of Scotland derived their professional knowledge almost entirely from foreign schools. Dr Peter Lowe, who, after practising in various parts of the Continent, and being honoured with the appointment of Ordinary Surgeon to Henry IV. of France, returned to his native country before the year 1598, was the author of a system of Surgery, which exhibits a popular view of the art of healing in his time, interspersed with descriptions of cases which had occurred in his own practice.[4] Dr Duncan Liddel, whose treatises on various subjects con-

[1] See Note III.

[2] Sibbaldi Bibl. Scot. p. 224. Pont was the intimate friend of the Laird (does he need the false title of *Lord*, or the equivocal one of *Baron?*) of Merchiston:—"honoratum et apprime eruditum amicum nostrum fidelem Christi seruum *Joannem Naperum*." De Sabbaticorum Annorum Periodis, per Robertum Pontanum, Caledonium Britannum, p. 198. Aº 1619.

[3] Skene, De Verborum Significatione, voc. Particata. Birrel's Diary, p. 47. Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine, vol. xviii. p. 53; where Napier's "Secret Inventions" are published, accompanied with observations, which go to prove that none of these inventions is incredible. Dempster says that Napier dissipated his fortune by his experiments.

[4] "The Whole Course of Chyrvrgie—Compiled by Peter Lowe, Scotchman. Arellian Doctor in the Facultie of Chirurgie in Paris—Aº 1597." In the Dedication of the 2d edition to "Gilbert Primrose, Sergeant Chirurgian to the Kings Majestie," &c. (dated "from my house in Glasgow the 20 day of December 1612,") he says: "It pleased his Sacred Majestie to heare my complaint, about some fourteene years agoe, vpon certaine abusers of our Art—I got a priuiledge under his Highnesse privie seale, to try and examine all men upon the Art of Chirurgie, to discharge & allow in the West parts of Scotland which were worthy or unworthy to professe the same."

nected with medicine were well received on the Continent, was prematurely cut off in the midst of his exertions for promoting science in his native country.[1]

Among the miscellaneous writers of this period, David Hume of Godscroft, one of Melville's early and most intimate friends, deserves to be particularly mentioned.[2] This accomplished and patriotic gentleman was extensively acquainted with ancient and modern languages, theology, politics, and history. His *Apologia Basilica* is a refutation of the celebrated *Princeps* of Machiavel, and shows that he was a true friend to monarchy, although he had repeatedly exerted himself to check its excesses by his sword and by his pen. Besides its genealogical information, his *History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus* contains many useful illustrations of public events, and striking pictures of the manners of the times.[3] Though often incorrect and loose in its style, it is written with much spirit and *naïveté*, and abounds with reflections, serious and amusing, political, moral, and religious, which place the happy temper and virtuous dispositions of the author in a very favourable and pleasing light. The feudal ideas, which were general in his age, and the aristocratic feeling which he inherited as the descendant of an ancient family, are frequently blended with the principles of the reformer and advocate of political liberty, in a way which is both curious and amusing.

Poetry, in all its varieties, was zealously cultivated by our countrymen at this period. In richness of imagery and elegance of diction, Montgomery unquestionably carried away the palm from all his contemporaries who wrote in the Scottish dialect. Among those who devoted themselves to sacred poetry, Alexander Hume possesses the greatest merit. Like most of the poets of that time he is very unequal; but his versification is often fluent, and his descriptions lively and even vigorous.[4] The *Godly Dream* of Lady Culross younger is not destitute of fancy.[5] James Cockburn is the author of two scarce pieces, which discover a

[1] Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 577. Principal Blackwell's Memorial. Liddelii Apotheosis: Delit. Poet. Scot. ii. 550. His "Disput. de Elementis" was printed at Helmstadt in 1596; and an edition of his works was published by L. Serranus, Lugd. Bat. 1624.

[2] He was the son of Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, and proprietor of Godscroft in Lammermuir. In one of his Eclogues, he says:

——Haud frustra tot, docte Menalca,
Carmina fusa tibi; Late nemus omne resultat
Lætitia; nunc upilio, nunc ipse bibulcus
Per juga *Lamyrii*, vel per juga montis *Ocelli*.

In the notes he subjoins the following explanation: "Lamyrii montes sunt in provincia Marchiæ, ubi villula scribentis *Theager* vulgo *Godscroft*. Ocelli montes [Ochil hills] in Jernia forthæ imminentes ad quorum radices est *Val-acquila* vulgo *Gleneagles*, ipsius nunc habitaculum." Daphn-Amaryllis, Authore Davide Humio Theagrio Wedderburnensi, p. 17. Lond. 1605. John Haldane of Gleneagles was married to his sister. Hist of Douglas and Angus, ii. 284. In another of his works are poems by him inscribed "David Humius *Pater*"—"Maria Jhonstona *Mater*"—"Jacobus Jhonstonus, Elphistonius, *Socer*." Lvsvs Poetici, pp. 50, 53.

[3] Speaking of Hume, Mr Pinkerton says: "This writer, who composed his work about the year 1630, has often original and authentic information." Hist. of Scotland, i. 216. It is true that Hume lived nearly to the year 1630, and might finish his History in his old age, but he was born between 1550 and 1560. Being the confidential adviser and agent, as well as the kinsman of Archibald (the third of that name), earl of Angus, he had access to the family papers of that nobleman, and to other valuable sources of intelligence.

[4] Hymnes or Sacred Songs.—Edinburgh, 1599.

[5] Of the same pious cast as the Dream, but inferior to it in versification, is "The Complaint of a Christian Sovle.—Printed at Edinbvrgh by Robert Charters, 1610." 4to. C. 2. It is subscribed at the close: "M. George Muschet, Minister of the Evangell at Dunning."

bold but unchastened imagination.[1] As they have not been noticed, so far as I know, by any of our writers, the reader may not be displeased to have the following specimen laid before him ;—it is part of a description of the scene in the garden of Gethsemane :

Now had darke silent night, high treasons freend,
Ouermantled all the earth in sable hew :
Wrapt was the Moone in mist that latelie shynde,
The fyrie lampes of heauen themselues withdrew :
Horror and darknesse vylde possest the skye,
The fittest tyme for foullest tragedye.

Within their wings sweete birds their billes they hide,
Rockt with the windes on toppes of troubled trees :
Feeld-feeding flocks to cliftes and caues they slide,
Such was the raging of the roaring seyes :
No sound of comfort sweete possest the eares,
Saue Serpents hisse, and Crocodilishe teares.

In this sad season Jesus did attend
His Fathers will, and those did him persew,
Brooke Cedron eorst, which way well Judas kend,
As was his vse his prayers to renew :
And to the Mount of Oliues he is gone,
With aged Peter, James, and louing Johne.

O gardene gay, greene may thou euer grow,
Let weeping dew refreshe thy withred flowres:
To testifie the teares did ouerflow
The cheekes of him refresht the hearts of ours.
And for his sake thy name be euer neist
In name to that sweet garden of the East.

The poets of Scotland anticipated their sovereign's accession to the throne of England by adopting the language of that kingdom ; and their early efforts of this kind were very flattering. When Melville was removed from Scotland, Drummond of Hawthornden had but recently finished his academical studies,[2] and had not as yet discovered those talents which ranked him among the first of English lyric poets. But Sir Robert Ayton, and Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, had already given favourable specimens of their poetical talents. Another Scottish knight and courtier, Sir David Murray of Gorthy, deserves also to be mentioned for the success with which he wrote in English verse.[3]

[1] The first is entitled, "Gabriel's Salvtation to Marie. Made by James Cockbvrne:" the second, "Jvdas Kisse to the Sonne of Marie." The imprint of each is "Edinbvrgh, printed by Robert Charteris—An. Dom. MDCV." 4to. The Dedication to "Jean Hammiltone, Ladie Skirling," is dated "from Cambusnethane." Prefixed are recommendatory verses by "W. A. of Menstrie," *i. e.* William Alexander, afterwards created Earl of Stirling.

[2] "Gvilielmvs Drummond" was laureated at Edinburgh in the year 1605. The regent of his class was Mr James Knox. Record of the Univ. of Edin.

[3] "The Tragicall Death of Sophonisba. Written by David Mvrray. Scoto-Brittaine. Lond. 1611." 8vo. Along with this was published, "Cælia, containing certain sonnets." —"A Paraphrase of the CIV. Psalme, by David Murray. Edinburgh, printed by Andro Hart. Anno Dom. 1615." 4to. Sir David was Governor to Prince Henry. He was a son of Robert Murray of Abercairny, and brother of John Murray, minister of Leith, an intimate friend of Melville's. Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Melvini Epist. p. 151. His Paraphrase begins thus :—

My Soule praise thou Iehoua's holie Name,
For he is great, and of exceeding Might,
Who cloth'd with Glorie, maiestie, and Fame,
And couered with the garments of the light,
The azure Heauen doth like a Curtaine spred,
And in the depths his chalmer beames hath layd.
The clouds he makes his chariot to be,
On them he wheeles the christall Skies about,
And on the wings of Æolus, doth flee
At pleasour walke ; and sends his Angels out,
Swift Heraulds that doe execute his will ;
His words the heauens with firie lightnings fill.
The Earths foundation he did firmelie place,
And layd it so that it should neuer slyde,
He made the Depths her round about embrace,
And like a Robe her naked shores to hide,
Whose waters would o'erflow the Mountains high,
But that they baeke at his rebuke doe flie.

But perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance in the history of our literature at this period is the enthusiasm with which Latin poetry was cultivated by our countrymen. Divines, lawyers, physicians, country gentlemen, courtiers, and statesmen, devoted themselves to this difficult species of composition, and contended with each other in the various strains which the ancient masters of Roman song had employed. The principal poems in the collection entitled *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, were originally published, or at least written, at this time. They are of course possessed of very different degrees of merit, but of the collection in general we may say that it is equal to any of the collections of the same kind which appeared in other countries, except that which contains the Latin poems composed by natives of Italy. If this was not the classic age of Scotland, it was at least the age of classical literature in it; and at no subsequent period of our history have the languages of Greece and Rome been so successfully cultivated, or the beauties of their poetry so deeply felt and so justly imitated. Besides Melville, the individuals who attained the greatest excellence in this branch of literature, were Sir Thomas Craig, Sir Robert Ayton, Hume of Godscroft, John Jonston, and Hercules Rollock. The poems of Craig do honour to the cultivated taste and learning of their author. Through the foreign garb in which Ayton chose most frequently to appear before the public as a poet, we can easily trace that elegant fancy which he has displayed in his English compositions. If I were not afraid of appearing to detract from the merit of one whose early productions secured the approbation of Buchanan, I would say that Rollock was better acquainted with the language than the spirit of the Roman poets. His description of the miseries of Scotland during the civil war is his most poetical performance.[1] John Jonston confined himself chiefly to the writing of epitaphs and short pieces, which he has executed with much neatness and elegant simplicity, although he falls short, even in this species of composition, of his kinsman, Arthur Jonston, in terseness and in classic point.[2] Few of his contemporaries show a mind more deeply imbued with the genuine spirit of classical poetry than Hume of Godscroft. The easy structure of his verse reminds us continually of the ancient models on which it has been formed; and, if deficient in vigour, his fancy has a liveliness and buoyancy which prevents the reader from wearying of his longest descriptions.[3]

[1] "I send you the papers of the late M. Hercules Rollock which you desired. And because I am not acquaint with Mr Andersou, send me a receipt of them, either from you or him. Saumure, March 5, 1619." Mark Duncan to Boyd of Trochrig: Wodrow's Life of Boyd, p. 80.

[2] A very beautiful poem by John Jonston, entitled Mors Piorum, is added, among others, to his work in prose, entitled, Consolatio Christiana, p. 103—106. Lugd. Bat. 1609.

[3] Hume has given a specimen of a poem which he composed at fourteen years of age. Daphn-Amaryllis, p. 22—24. And he refers to the presages which Buchanan formed from his early effusions. Delit. i. 381. His poem, entitled, "Aselcanus," is dedicated "Ad Andræam Melvinvm."—"Patriæ alterū decus Melvine—delictorum veniam te peto literarium Dictatorem et nominatim ὑπερβατῶ illi.—Si condonas, condonata putem Musis et Apollini.—Vides quid tibi tribuam; certè, quantum nec Romano pontifici in peccata, jus." Lvsvs Poetici, p. 85. Aselcane was the name of one of Hume's sons. Record of

I am aware that many entertain a very contemptuous opinion of all productions of the kind now mentioned. According to them it is utterly impracticable to write well, or at least to compose tolerable poetry, in a foreign or dead language. They are therefore disposed to discard the whole collection of modern Latin poetry, as unworthy of the name, and consisting merely of shreds from the classics patched into centos. That a great part of it is of this description cannot be denied. But those who are inclined to pronounce this censure indiscriminately upon the whole, would need to be sure that there is no risk of their being placed in the same awkward situation with certain scholars of no mean acquirements in former times, who had a modern poem passed on them for a genuine production of an ancient classic.[1] After the writings of Sannazarius, Flaminius, Muretus, Buchanan, de l'Hôpital, Douza, and Balde, not to mention many others scarcely inferior to them, it seems too late to come forward with the assertion, that it is impossible to produce tolerable Latin poetry in modern times. Indeed, considering the applause which these productions have received from the best judges, the assertion amounts to this, that we cannot now perceive the beauties of the classical poets of Rome. I have no doubt that if even the best of modern Latin poems had been submitted to the judgment of Horace, he would have found them chargeable with many blemishes which our eye cannot detect; but I have as little doubt that, instead of rejecting them with the fastidious disdain of some recent critics, that master of the art of Poetry would have pronounced them wonderful efforts, and enlarged in their favour, the indulgence which he was disposed to show to the compositions of his contemporaries :—

> Verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
> Offendar maculis.

There is one thing that is overlooked in the reasonings of many on this subject. They are not aware of the degree of attention which was paid to the Latin language, and the advantages which the learned had for attaining a perfect acquaintance with it in the sixteenth century. The use of the vernacular tongues was strictly prohibited in all schools and colleges; and from the age of six to sixteen the youth spoke and heard nothing but Latin. In their epistolary correspondence, and even in their ordinary conversation, the learned made use of the same medium of communication. They chose to write in it in preference to their native language; and, judging from their compositions in both, it is evident they had a greater command of the former than of the latter.

the Kirk-Session of Prestonpans. Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. cclx. July 3, 1617; and vol. cclxxxvii. Aug. 11, 1619. See under Note PP.

[1] D'Alembert furnishes an instance somewhat different. In the course of his argument against the cultivation of ancient learning, he had jeeringly repeated the exclamation of an enthusiast for the classics, *Ah! had you but understood Greek!* But not contented with wielding the weapon of ridicule, he rashly ventured upon classical ground, and mentioned one Marinus, a modern writer in Latin, who, in his opinion, had "approached as near as possible to Cicero." One of d'Alembert's opponents, after producing examples of wretched Latinity from Marinus, concludes by turning the philosopher's sarcasm against himself: "*Ah! sir, had you but understood Latin!*" Klotzii Acta Literaria, vol. v. part iv. p. 446.

The circumstance last mentioned furnishes one of the strongest objections against the practice in question. And it must be confessed, that it is much easier to prove that the writers of the sixteenth century attained to excellence in Latin composition, than it is to vindicate that engrossing attention to the language by which they were able to reach that excellence. It led them to neglect the cultivation and improvement of the vernacular languages. It tended to produce servile imitation, and to give a spiritless uniformity to literary productions. And, by forming men of letters into a separate cast, it prevented them from exerting an influence over the minds of the people at large, and deprived literature of those advantages which flow from the free circulation of ideas and feelings among all classes of the community. But whatever disadvantages might result from this practice, we must not overlook the important advantages with which it was attended. We never ought to forget that the refinement and the science, secular and sacred, with which modern Europe is enriched, must be traced to the revival of ancient literature; and that the hid treasures could not have been laid open and rendered available, but for that enthusiasm with which the languages of Greece and Rome were cultivated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The passion for writing in these languages, in verse as well as in prose, is to be viewed both in the light of an effect and a cause of the revival of letters. When we consider the rude state in which the different languages of Europe then were, and that the number of readers in any country was extremely small, we will cease to wonder that men of letters should have chosen so generally and so long to make use of a highly cultivated tongue, recommended to them by so many powerful associations, and in which their writings could be read and understood by all the learned in every nation. Besides, the great attention paid to those studies, although it retarded the improvement of modern languages, contributed ultimately to carry them to a higher pitch of cultivation than they would otherwise have attained. The accurate knowledge of the general principles of language which was thus acquired (and which cannot be so well acquired in any other way as by the study of dead or foreign languages) came to be applied to the vernacular tongues, which, at the same time that they were polished after the example, were enriched from the resources of the most refined and copious languages of antiquity. The writers of that age display an elegance of taste and an elevation of sentiment, which give them an unspeakable superiority over their predecessors, and which are to be ascribed in a great measure to their familiarity with the works of the ancients. Before passing a severe censure on the avidity with which ancient letters were then prosecuted, it would be but justice also to consider the important discoveries which were made at the same time, and the stimulus which was given to the human mind in the general search after truth. Nor should it be forgotten, that the study of the languages of Greece and Rome was combined with the study of the Eastern tongues, which, in addition to its throw-

ing much light on the sacred Scriptures, laid open an entirely new field of taste and inquiry, has proved subservient to political purposes of the greatest magnitude, and promises to be still more extensively useful in promoting the improvement and regeneration of the largest and most populous regions of the globe.

The general question respecting the advantages of classical learning is not now before us. Suffice it to say here, that the fears which have been expressed of its tendency to injure genius by checking originality of thought, and religion, by begetting a spirit and ideas of an unchristian complexion, are in a great degree fanciful and exaggerated. Its principal opponents have not been found in the first ranks of genius, nor have they been distinguished for their attachment to Christianity. On the other hand, the greatest and best authors whom Britain has produced have been familiar with it; and although novelty and accidental causes may give a temporary fame to attempts which proceed on an avowed disregard of the works of the ancients, our fine writers will find it necessary at last to invigorate their genius, and purify their taste, by dipping in those fountains which helped to confer immortality on their predecessors.

The facts which have been pointed out in the course of this brief review, will, it is hoped, assist the reader in forming an idea of the state of our national literature at this period. They may perhaps convince him, that Scotland was not so late in entering on the career of literary improvement as is commonly imagined; that she had advanced, at the time of which we write, nearly to the same stage as the other nations of Europe; and that, if she did not afterwards make the progress which was to be expected, or if she retrograded, this is to be imputed to other causes than to want of spirit in her inhabitants, or to the genius of her ecclesiastical constitution.

In asserting that Melville had the chief influence in bringing the literature of Scotland to that pitch of improvement which it reached at this time, I am supported by the testimony of contemporary writers of opposite parties, as well as by facts which have been brought forward in the course of this work. The study of letters introduced by the Reformation, suffered a severe check from the confusions in which the country was involved for a number of years. Many of those who had the charge of education left the kingdom, and such as remained, being discouraged by want of support and patronage, desisted from their labours, or contented themselves with a perfunctory discharge of their duty, without making the exertions necessary for their own improvement and the advancement of knowledge. Attempts to effect a reform on the old literary establishments had repeatedly failed from want of zeal in the patrons, and prejudice or aversion to labour on the part of the teachers. The arrival of Melville imparted a new impulse to the public mind, and his high reputation for learning, joined to the enthusiasm with which he pleaded its cause, enabled him to introduce an improved plan of study into all the universities. By his instruc-

tions and his example, he continued and increased the impulse which he had at first given to the minds of his countrymen. In languages, in theology, and in that species of poetical composition which was then most practised among the learned, his influence was direct and acknowledged. And though he did not himself cultivate several of the branches of study which are included in the preceding sketch, yet he stimulated others to cultivate them, by the ardour with which he inspired their minds, and by the praises which he was always ready to bestow on their exertions and performances.

I conclude with a single remark, containing the chief reason which induced me to undertake this work, and to devote so much time and labour to its execution. If the love of pure religion, rational liberty, and polite letters, forms the basis of national virtue and happiness, I know no individual, after her Reformer, from whom Scotland has received greater benefits, and to whom she owes a deeper debt of gratitude and respect, than ANDREW MELVILLE.

NOTES.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I.

Note A, Page 1.

Of the Family of the Melvilles.

The name and family of *Melville* are mentioned in Scottish charters as early as the middle of the twelfth century. It is agreed on all hands that they were of foreign extraction; and the opinion of Mr Chalmers, that they were of "Anglo-Norman lineage," is the most probable; although he does not appear to have any good authority for asserting that the first of the family who came to Scotland was called *Male*. Sibbald's Fife, 390, edit. 1803. Crawfurd's Peerage, 324. Nisbet's Heraldry, edit. 2; App. p. 28. Chalmers' Caledonia, i. 524, ii. 806.

Next to the principal family in Mid-Lothian, the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary Sheriffs of Kincardine, figure the earliest on record of any of that name. They were mentioned in royal charters, now missing, by David II. and Robert III. Robertson's Index of Charters, pp. 34, 141. The family of Dysart were either among the earliest cadets or the eventual male representatives of the Glenbervies. "Johannes Malveyn de Disart" is mentioned Feb. 6, 1457. Chart. of Arbroath. David II., on the 6th April of the thirtieth year of his reign, confirmed a charter, by which "Christiana de Mallavilla domina de Glenbervy" granted "Johanni de Mallavilla consanguineo meo et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis has terras *in baronia de Glenbervy* videlicet *Liegevin*," &c. Regist. Davidis Secundi, Lib. i. No. 116. On the 20th of Jan. 1572, a Charter of Confirmation was ordained to be made (which passed the Great Seal in the same year), "Ratefieand ye Charter donation and gift in it contenit maid be his lovit Thomas Melville of Dysart to James Melvill of *Liegavin* his sone and apperande air his airis and assignais of all and haill ye landis and baronie of Dysart, &c.—lyand wyᵗin ye Scherifdome of Forfare," &c. Register of Signatures, vol. iii. fol. 66. These two charters and the lands of *Liegavin* connect the family of Dysart with the Melvilles of Glenbervie, as their ancestors. It also appears from these, and from other documents, that the lands of *Dysart*, belonging to the Melvilles of that title, lay in Angus, and not in Fife, as I was at first inclined to think. That the Melvilles of Baldovy were of the family of Dysart appears from a Charter of Confirmation granted Feb. 9, 1505: "Joanni Melvill de Disart hæredibus suis et assignatis super cartam sibi factam per Joannem Scrymgeor de Bawdovy de data 20 die Januarii 1505 de totis et integris terris suis de *Bawdovy* cum tenentibus jacentibus infra Vicecomitatum de Forfar," &c. Great Seal, Lib. xiv. No. 197; comp. Lib. xv. No. 170.—For these ancient notices of the families of Glenbervie and Dysart I am indebted to John Riddell, Esq., Advocate.

I have said in the text that the Melvilles claimed affinity to the royal family. The subject of this memoir has alluded to this claim in such a manner as to leave little doubt that he believed its justice, and that he was not altogether devoid of the feelings of family pride. Dr John Forbes of Corse has preserved a curious extract of a letter which Melville wrote him from Sedan, containing a copy of verses which he had sent to King James from the Tower, and stating that both he and Forbes derived their extraction from *John of Gaunt*. The reader must excuse me from tracing his genealogy to that redoubted prince; but I shall give the passage, as it stands in a note to the dedication of Bishop Forbes's "Tractatus Apologeticus de legitima vocatione Ministrorum in Ecclesiis Reformatis: Comment. in Apocalyp. p. 175. Amstel. 1646." The words in italic are those of Dr Forbes.

"*Cognationis istius via est per M. THOMÆ MICHAELIS consanguinitatem cum clarissimo illo beatæ memoriæ D. ANDREA MELVINO, S. Theologiæ quondam Andreapoli in Scotia, & postea Sedani ad Mosam, publico professore, qui mihi, Heidelbergæ sacris studiis operam danti, anno Domini* 1614. *suam mecum & cum nostra familia, & cum Regia etiam domo consanguinitatem, his epistolæ suæ verbis explicabat;* 'Sic enim magno Britanniæ Regi à nobis è Londinensi & Cæsarea arce transmissa habet historica veritas;

An fraudi, an laudi, quod avito sanguine tangam
Immortale tuum, Rex Iacobe, genus:
Quod tecum mihi, Quinte, atavus communis utrinque,
Idem abavi proavus, Sexte, utriusque tui,
Deliciæ humani generis, gentisque Britannæ:
Stirps Regum, & radix regni utriusque tui.

Is est Johannes Beaufort, Johannis Gandavensis, qui natus Gandavi, filius, Edvvardi tertii nepos, Henrici septimi & Jacobi tertii proavus; Jacobi quinti tam paternus quàm maternus, atque adeò meus itidem atavus; Regibus Gallis, Anglis, Scotis oriundus, Scotorum & Anglorum deinceps Regum progenitor; unde & tu etiam per proavum tuum, avunculum meum, Patricium Forbesium, genus paternum ducis. Vides igitur, mi Forbesi, ut genus amborum findat se sanguine ab uno, eoque regio. Sed absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce D. N. J. C. δὶ οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ.' *Hæc Andreas Melvinus,* 17 *Aug.* 1614."

Note B, p. 1.

The Melvilles of Baldovy.

In a letter to his nephew, Melville mentions the laird of Dysart (Diserti comarchus) as the chief of their branch of the family. Melvini Epist. p. 294. "Thomas Lichtoun of Ullischeon, with consent of Jhone Lichtoun my son, settis and for ferme maill lettis to an hon^{ll} man, Tho^{s} Melvill fear of Disart, and to Jonet Scrimgeo^{r} his spouse, the schadrw [schadow?] third of Disert unwadsett.—Subscribed at Montrois 5 March i^{m}v^{c} fourty and twa yeirs before thir witnes, hono^{ll} men, Richard Melvill of Baldovy, Jhone Ogilvy provest of Montrois, Jhone Panter burges of the same, Maister Walter Melvill, and Schir Jhone Gilbert notar public." Reg. of Contracts of Commissariat of Sanct. And. The teinds of Baldovy belonged to St Mary's College: "Baldivy set 12 or 14 years since to David Melvill for 8 lb. 5 s. without grassum." Royal Visitation of Univ. of S. Andrews, A. 1599. David Melville having fallen under mental derangement, his brother, James Melville, minister of Kilrenny, was in 1592 appointed tutor to him. Inquis. de Tutela, num. 1239. "Feb. 7, 1595. Caus persewit be David Melville burges of Dundie ag^{t} David Melville of Baldovie and Mr Ja^{s} Melville his tutor—makand mention that upon 24 April 1586 the said David Melvill of Baldovie became obleist to have payit to Thomas Melvill, now callit Mr Tho^{s} Melvill, lauchfull sone to umq^{le} Tho^{s} Melvill of Dysart, 100 merks, or an annual rent of 10 merks furth of the lands of Baldovie," &c. Act Buik of the Commissariat of S. Andrews.

About the beginning of the seventeenth century, Melville of Baldovy married Helen, daughter of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, and of Lady Helen Lindsay Crawford. Douglas's Peerage, i. 165. Richard Melville was succeeded by Mr Andrew Melville, proprietor of Baldovy, and minister of Marytoun, who died in 1641. His brother, Mr Patrick, was served heir to him Dec. 6, 1642. Inquis. Retorn. *Forfar,* num. 275. In 1717 the estate became the property of Colonel Scott of Comiston. Charters *penes* Mr Carnegie, the present proprietor.

Melville always wrote his name *Melvinus* in Latin, and he is often called *Melvin* in English. Hence some have concluded that *Melvin,* and not *Melville,* was his proper name. But they are merely different modes of pronouncing the same family appellation. Rudd. Index Nom. Propr. adj. Buch. Hist. voc. *Malavillius.* Inquis. de Tutela, num. 714. Accordingly, we find Lord Melville repeatedly called "the Lord Melven." Lamont's Diary, 201-202. The name was corrupted still farther into *Melin* (Ib. 284-285); just as *Colville* was pronounced *Colven* or *Colvine* (Ib. 188, 197. Inquis. Gen. num. 7392), which in some parts of the country is corrupted still farther into *Colin.* This variety in the appellation occurs

in the earliest charters granted by the family, or in which they are mentioned. "Galafridus de *Mailvyn*" grants to the church of Dunfermline "ecclesiam de *Mailvyn*," with common pasture "in villa de *Mailvyn*." In another, "Galfridus de *Malvein*" grants "ecclesiam de *Malevill*;" and in this charter occur the names of "Willi. de *Malevill*" and "Gregorius de *Malvill*." Registrum Cœnobii de Dunfermline, pp. 516, 519. MS. Bibl. Fac. Jur. Edin. See also Sibbald's Fife, 392, edit. 1803.

Note C. p. 3.

Grammar Schools and Elementary Books.

"About the fyft yeir of my age the grace buik was put in my hand, and when I was seivine lytle yrof haid I lernit at hame. Therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother Dauid about a yeir and a haff in age abone me and me togidder to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his to scholl, a guid lerned kynd man, whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr Wilyā Gray minister at Logie Montrose.—There wes a guid nomber of gentle and honest mens berns in the cowntrey about weill treaned vp, bathe in letters, godlines, and exercise of honest geams. Ther we learned to read the catechisme and prayers par ceur, also nottes of Scripture efter the reiding yrof.—We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, with the Vocables in Latin and Frenche, also dyvers speitches in Frenche, wt the reiding and right pronunciation of yt toung. We proceidit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer, therewt was ioyned Hunters Nomenclatura, the Minora Colloquia of Erasmus and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epist. of Horace; also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam. He haid a verie guid and profitable form of resoluing the authors he teatched grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax; bot as for me the trewthe was my ingyne and memorie was guid aneuche, bot my iudgmēt and vnderstanding was as yit smored and dark, sa that the thing qlk I gat was mair by rat ryme nor knawlage. Ther also we haid the air guid and fields reasonable fear, and be our maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to leepe, to swoum, to warsell, to proue pratteiks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme indeed giff our negligence and vnthankfulness haid not moued God to schortene it, partlie be deceying of the number qlk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest qlk the Lord for sine and contempt of his Gospell send vpon Montrose, distant from or Logie bot twa myles, so yt scholl skalled, and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs." Melville's Diary, pp. 15, 16.

"Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose, finding of God's guid providence my auld mother Mariorie Gray, wha parting from hir brother at his marriage had takin vpe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose: to hir I was welcome again as hir awin sone. The maister of the scholl a learned honest kynd man, whom also for thankfulness I name, Mr Andro Miln minister at Sedness. He was verie skilfull and diligent. The first yeir he causit ws go throw the Rudiments againe, yrefter enter and pass throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian, yrwt we hard Phormionē Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition. Efter yt entered to the secund part and hard yrat the Georgics of Wirgill and dyvers uther things.—The Lard of Done mentioned befor dwelt oft in the town and of his charitie interteined a blind man wha haid a singular guid voice: him he causit the doctor of our scholl teache the wholl Psalmes in miter wt the tones yrof and sing them in the Kirk, be heiring of whome I was sa delyted yt I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones yrof in miter, qlk I haiff thought euer sensyne a grait blessing and comfort." Ib. pp. 19, 20.

The following paper contains information as to the early elementary books prepared for the Scottish youth.

"Ane letter maid to maister Wm Nwdrye his factouris and assignaris, mackand mentioun, That quhair ye said maister Willm hes set furth, for ye better instructioun of young chyldrene in ye art of grammer, to be taucht in scholis, diuerse volumes following, That is to say, Ane schort Introductioun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for ye commodius expeditioun of yame yat ar

desirous to read and write the Scottis toung, Orthoepia trilinguis, compendiariæ latinæ linguæ notæ, Calographiæ index, Tables manuall brevelie introducing ye vnioun of ye partis of orisoun in Greik and Latene speichis with thair accidencis, Meditationes in grāmaticam dispauterianam, Meditationes in publium memographum et sapientum dicta, Trilinguis literaturæ Syntaxis, Trilinguis grammaticæ quæstiones, Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and Latene, Ane regement for educatioun of zoung gentillmen in literature et virtuous exercitioun, Ane A B C for Scottis men to reid the Frenche toung with ane exhortatioun to ye noblis of Scotland to fauour yair ald friendis, The geneologie of Inglische Britonis, Quotidiani Sermonis formulæ, E Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta."—Special license granted to him for the sole printing of the above for the space of ten years, &c. At Edinburgh, August 26, 1559. Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxx. fol. 5.

Note D, p. 4.

Ante-Reformation in Scotland.

Notwithstanding the learned and useful labours of several foreign writers, justice has not yet been done to the history of what may be called the Ante-Reformation. Considering the honour which it does to England, it is surprising that no individual of that nation has attempted accurately to trace the progress of that light which was struck out by Wickliffe, and the influence which his opinions had in exposing established errors, and in exciting and maintaining a spirit of opposition to the abuses of the Church of Rome, both in Britain and on the Continent. What a meagre and uninteresting life have we of the English Proto-Reformer, the most wonderful man of his age, or who had appeared in the world for many centuries! And, since the meritorious labours of the martyrologist Foxe, what has been done to connect the exertions of Wickliffe with those of Tindal and Cranmer? although there is scarcely a city in England, I am persuaded, whose records would not furnish an accession to the materials for such a work already deposited in her public libraries.

It is known, from our common histories, that the sentiments taught by Wickliffe were embraced by many respectable families in the south-west parts of Scotland. Knox, Hist. 2; Spots. 60. Before the year 1500, Murdoch Nisbet, being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the New Testament in manuscript (of Wickliffe's translation, no doubt), which, on his return, he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and acquaintance during the night. This was preserved as a legacy in his family till the end of the seventeenth century. Life of John Nisbet in Hardhill, p. 3. Gordon of Earlstoun was an early favourer of the disciples of Wickliffe, and had in his possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language, which was read at meetings held in a wood near to Earlstoun House. Wodrow, ii. 67. Some additional particulars respecting these witnesses for truth are contained in a rare poem, by John Davidson: A Memorial of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh and his wife, Elizabeth Campbell. Edin. 1595.

But to be plainer is no skath,
Of surname they were Campbells baith:
Of ancient blood of the Cuntrie
They were baith of Genealogie:
He of the Shirefs house of Air
Long noble famous and preclair:
Scho of a gude and godly stock
Came of the old house of Cesnok:
Quhais Lard of many yeares bygane,
Professed Christs religion plaine:
Yea eighty years sensyne and mare,
As I heard aged men declare:
And als a cunning Scottish Clark,
Called Alisius in a wark
Written to James the fifth our king,
Dois this man for his purpose bring:
Quha being to the scaffold led
In Edinburgh to have thold dead,
For Christs Evangell quhilk he red,

By James the fourth from death was fred :
Some sayes death was alswel prepard
For Priest and Lady as the Lard :
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory :
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie :
Who our religion so oft cald
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald :
When euen in Scotland we may see
It hes beue mair than thrise fiftie:
As by the storie ye may knaw
Of RESHBY burnt before PAUL CRAW
The thousand yeare four hundrethe five,
In PERTH, while Husse was yet aliue.
A Memorial, &c. sig. A 6.

Spotswood says that John Resby, an Englishman, was "de schola Wicliffi." Petrie, by mistake, says he was "burnt at *Glascow*." Hist. 557. Paul Craw, burnt at St Andrews in the year 1432, was a native of Bohemia. Spots. 56. At a congregation of the university of St Andrews, held on the tenth day of June 1416, it was enacted that all who commenced masters of arts should swear, among other things, that they would resist all adherents of the sect of *Lollards :* "Item Jurabitis quod ecclesiam defendetis contra insultum lollardorum, et quibuscunque eorum secte adherentibus pro posse vestro resistetis." Rec. of University.

Some interesting particulars respecting the early state of the reformation in Fifeshire, are given in the second edition of the Biographia Britannica from a MS. in the possession of the family to whose ancestor they relate. John Andrew Duncan, a son of the Laird of Airdrie, in Fife, was induced by youthful ardour to leave the university of St Andrews in 1513, along with some of his fellow-students, and to join the standard of James IV. at the head of a few of his father's tenants. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Flodden. Being a young man of gallant appearance, he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey, and when carried into Yorkshire, was suffered to reside at large in the town of Beverley, with Mr Alexander Burnet, a near relation of his mother. Burnet, who was a zealous Wickliffite, found his young kinsman disposed to listen to his religious principles. A spirit of inquiry, with a passion for exposing to contempt the abuse of reason and religion, had already distinguished young Duncan at St Andrews. His conversation with Mr Burnet raised to a degree of enthusiasm the aversion he had before conceived against some of the absurdities of the Church of Rome. Upon the termination of the short contest with England, he returned to his native country; but, having joined the party that opposed the regency of the Duke of Albany, he was soon obliged to return to Beverley. His friend reproved him for abetting factions in which neither the religion nor liberties of his country had any concern; and having exacted from him a promise that he would reserve his activity for a better cause, gave him his daughter in marriage. When Albany took his final departure into France, Duncan returned to Scotland, and passed about ten years in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity at Airdrie, and in literary intercourse with the members of the neighbouring university of St Andrews. The opinions and spirit of the reformers were now more openly avowed, and the house of Airdrie became occasionally the resort of the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Reformation in Scotland, who was insidiously drawn into a dispute at St Andrews by the artifices of Beatoun, and in 1527 fell a sacrifice to the malice and bigotry of his persecutors. The young Laird of Airdrie, who suspected the event, and had been himself threatened, armed and mounted about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to enter St Andrews by night, most probably with the view of rescuing his friend, and carrying him off to some place of safety. But his small party was surrounded, and himself apprehended by a troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Angus, who had married his sister. It is doubtful whether Duncanson engaged in this enterprise from a desire to preserve the life of his brother-in-law, or to obtain his property, which Duncan, being forced to leave the country, made over to his sister's children. Biog. Brit. v. 492.

Such is the account given in the Biographia, on the authority of the MS. history of the family. I have reason to think that some of the particulars are not correctly stated. It is said that Mark Duncan, doctor of medicine and professor of philosophy at Saumur in the beginning of the seventeenth century, was the grandson of John Andrew Duncan, and was born in England. But the truth is, that this learned man was a native of Scotland. This appears from the verses of his son, Mark (known in France as a wit and a soldier by the name of *de Cerisantes*), prefixed to a work of his father's. Marci Duncani Institut. Logicæ, edit. 3tia Salm. 1643.

Ecce Caledoniis Dvncanvs natus in oris.

And again, addressing the book :—

Scotia cumprimis pernice adeunda volatu,
Namque patrem tellus edidit illa tuum.

If any other proof of this fact be wanting, it is supplied by the following document: "Carolus, &c. Certum facimus et testamur prenominatum Marcum Duncanum legitimum ex legitimo matrimonio et generosis parentibus, oriundum esse, splendidisque familiis tam a paterno quam a materno genere descendisse, patre scilicet generoso viro Thomæ Duncano de Maxpofle infra Vicecomitatum nr̃um de Roxburgh, avo etiam generoso viro Joanne Duncano de Logie infra Vicecomitatum nr̃um de Perth," &c. &c. Litera Prosapiæ Marci Duncani Medicinæ Doctoris in inclyta civitate Salmuriensis in Gallia, Oct. 5, 1639. MSS. Diplom. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6, 26, p. 23. A letter from Mark Duncan ("A Saumure le 14 d'Aoust 1639") requesting this attestation of his pedigree, and another from his son, Fr. Duncan Sainte Helene, are preserved among the Scotstarvet papers. Ibid, A. 3, 19, Nos. 82, 87.

Note E, p. 6.

Melville's Academical Education.

The following is the matriculation list for the year in which he entered the university :—

Decimus Rectoratus Mgr̃i Joannis Douglasii, præpositi Novi Collegii Mariani 1559.

Noīa Incorporatorum sub eodem Anno suprascripto, scilicet 1559.

In Novo Collegio Mariano	In Collegio Leonardino
Thomas Maytlande	Joannes Gordoun
Jacobus Lundie	David Leirmonth
Robertus Lundie	Robertus Leirmonth
Michael Wemis	Valterus Heclyng
Joannes Ramsay	Gulielmus Collace
Andreas Mailuile	Andreas Symsone
Joannes Moncur	Archibaldus Hoige
Jacobus Lowsone	Gulielmus Braidfute
Jacobus Hāmyltoun	Thomas Beggart
Duncanus Skeyne	Archibaldus Bankheid
Jacobus Fullartoun	David Houesone
	Johannes Roull.

"None," says Dr Lee, "are mentioned as having entered St Salvator's College this year, but in 1560 there are more in that seminary than in both the others; or, to speak more correctly, in 1560 there are *seven* in St Mary's, *four* in St Leonard's, and *seventeen* in St Salvator's. There is a red line under *Jacobus Lowsone*. I have reason to believe that this was drawn by the pen of Andrew Melville, as there are some marginal notes throughout the volume, which appear to me to be in his handwriting, all in red ink. Similar lines are drawn under such names as *Robertus Kilpont*, *Johannes Rove*, and *Johannes Robertsoun*, in 1545."

That Melville took his degrees at St Andrews is attested by his nephew. Diary, p. 33. This is not authenticated by the records of the university, which are defective at this period. In 1562 there are only *five* bachelors, and in 1563 *eight* masters of arts. In 1564 there is no list of either bachelors or masters.

Note F, p. 13.

Civil Law Prohibited to be Taught in the University of Paris.

The author of "Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque," (tom. ix. p. 245—246, à Paris, 1780), says, that Roman Law was taught in the university of Paris from the first discovery of the Pandects, and that Budæus was appointed professor of it in the Royal College by Francis I. I suspect that Budæus never held that situation. It is true, that occasional lectures on this science were delivered at Paris. See above, p. 13. But these were of an extraordinary kind, similar to "shagling lectures" in England (Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, vol. i. col. 43), which were read by individuals who obtained a dispensation to this purpose, in consequence of the celebrity which they had obtained in their profession. The writer above referred to endeavours to explain away the prohibition of Honorius III. by alleging that it refers only to ecclesiastics ; but it is sufficient to read the papal decree to be satisfied that it does not admit of such an interpretation. It proceeded not only on the ground of the university of Paris being properly a seminary of theology, but also upon the assumed fact, that causes were not decided in that part of France upon the principles of Roman Law. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. iii. 96. In 1562 a request was presented, in behalf of certain students, driven by the civil war from the other French universities, that the doctors of canon law should be permitted to read lectures on civil law. But it was not granted. In 1568 a permission of this kind was granted, on the powerful consideration, that young men were in danger of imbibing heretical opinions at the other seminaries ; but in 1572, the universities of Orleans, Poitiers, &c. obtained a decree, prohibiting the canonists of Paris from granting licenses to advocates. This decree, though superseded for some time, was finally confirmed in 1579. Ib. tom. vi. pp. 552, 658, 662, 727. The author of *Mélanges* (ut supra, p. 248) insists, but without good reason, that the *ordonnance* of Blois in 1579 merely prohibited the taking of a degree in civil law, unless the person, at the same time, graduated in canon law.

The following facts and illustrations, for which I am indebted to Dr David Irving, will set the matter in a clearer light. In the year 1220, Pope Honorius the Third strictly prohibited the civil law from being taught in Paris, or any place adjacent. "Sane licet sancta ecclesia legum secularium non respuat famulatum, quæ æquitatis et justitiæ vestigia imitantur : quia tamen in Francia et nonnullis provinciis laici Romanorum imperatorum legibus non utuntur, et occurrunt raro ecclesiasticæ causæ tales, quæ non possint statutis canonicis expediri ; ut plenius sacræ paginæ insistatur : firmiter interdicimus, et districtius inhibemus, ne *Parisiis*, vel civitatibus, seu aliis locis vicinis quisquam docere vel audire jus civile præsumat." Decret. Gregor. IX. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. § 28. The spirit of this law is sufficiently explained in an *ordonnance* of Philippe le Bel, issued in the year 1312 : "Ut autem liberius ibidem studium proficeret theologiæ, primogenitores nostri non permiserunt legum sæcularium, seu juris civilis, studium ibidem institui, quinimo id etiam interdici, sub excommunicationis pœna per sedem apostolicam procurarunt." Terrasson, *Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 442.

That the same prohibition continued in force during the sixteenth century, is clearly evinced by an anecdote of the great civilian Cujacius. The civil wars having obliged him to relinquish his station in the university of Bourges, he retired to Paris ; where he could not be permitted to read lectures on the civil law without a special dispensation. By an *arrest* of the parliament of Paris, dated on the second of April 1576, he was authorised to teach in the university, and, in conjunction with the professors of the canon law, to confer degrees in his own faculty. "La dite Cour, attendu la qualité du tems, et sans tirer à conséquence, a permis et permet au dit Cujas faire lectures et profession en droit civil en l'université de Paris, à tels jours et heures qu'il sera par lui avisé, avec les docteurs-régens en droit canon en cette ville : permettant au dit Cujas et docteurs donner les degrés à ceux qu'ils trouveront avoir fait cours le tems requis, et selon que par l'examen ils les auront trouvés capables : validant ce qui aura été fait en cette part, comme si fait avoit été en l'une des autres universités fameuses de ce royaume." This *arrest* may be found at the end of Terrasson's History of Roman Jurisprudence.

The prohibition of teaching the civil law at Paris was soon afterwards renewed

by the *ordonnance* of Blois, issued in the year 1579; and it was only removed by an edict which the parliament registered on the eighth of May 1679.

Note G, p. 18.

Henry Scrimger.

It has been stated by different writers that this learned man was allied to the ancient and honourable house of Dudhope. His genealogy may be more exactly traced from the Diary of James Melville. That writer, in speaking of Scrimger, calls him "my eam." Diary, p. 35. The word *eam* or *eme* (from the French *amie*, a friend or relation) had then the appropriate meaning of *uncle*. Thus, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar, is called *eme* to the Earl of Mar, and in the same document he is called his *uncle*. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 158, 159, comp. 101, 102. Again, James Melville calls Alexander Young "my cousing" (Ib. p. 26); and we know that Young's mother was a sister of Henry Scrimger's. See above, p. 24. Now James Melville's mother was "Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the Laird of Glaswell for the time." Diary, p. 14. It is proper, however, to state, that the only ground which I have for saying that *Walter* was the name of the father of Henry Scrimger, is the following: "Oct. 1, 1549. Jacobus Scrymgeor hæres Walteri Scrymgeor de Glaswell patris." Inquis. Spec. Retorn. *Perth*, num. 8, comp. num. 40.

Scrimger distinguished himself at the university of St Andrews. In the register of graduations for the year 1534, after "Rotulus graciosus," containing the names of three who obtained the degree of master "propter importunas supplicationes," there follows: "Rotulus istorum sequẽciũ rigorosus secundum rigorem examinis et meritorum. Hen. Scrimgeor pũs;" intimating that he was placed at the head of the list, not in virtue of his rank, but in consequence of his having submitted to a strict examination. In 1533, when he passed bachelor, he is marked *d.* or *dives*, and of St Salvator's College.

It appears from his preface to the Greek text of Justinian's Novells, that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin version of that work, as well as annotations on it. His edition is mentioned with commendation by several civilians. Cujas says: "In postrema editione Novellarum, quam Henricus Scrimgerus vir doctissimus hoc anno procuravit, qua re equidem pro mea parte ei multum me debere confiteor." Cujacii Observ. p. 167. Col. Agrip. 1591, 8vo.

The only other work which he appears to have published, was a history of the case of Spira. It was printed along with the narratives of the same case, written by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Matthæus Gribaldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title: "Francisci Spieræ, qui quod susceptam semel Euãgelice ueritatis professionẽ abnegasset, damnassetq; in horrendã incidit desperationem, Historia, A quatuor summis uiris summa fide conscripta, cum clariss: uirorum Prefationibus, Cælii S. C. & Jo. Caluini, & Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia: in quibus multa hoc tempore scitu digna grauissimè tractantur. Accessit quoq; Martini Borrhai, de usu quem Spieræ tum exemplum, tum doctrina efferat, iudicium. 2 Petri 2. Satius fuisset eis non cognouisse uiam iustitiæ," &c. 12° pp. 200, including Index, besides seven leaves at beginning: A to M in eights. It has neither name of printer, place, nor date, but was probably printed at Basle in 1550 or 1551. At p. 62, Scrimger's narrative commences: "Exemplum memorabile desperationis in Francisco Spira propter abiuratam fidei confessionem Henrico Scoto autore;" and extends to the end of p. 95. It begins, "Citadella est agri Patauini municipium non ignobile. in eo Franciscus Spira fuit, homo, cum inter suos imprimis honestus ac locuples," &c. Speaking of Scrimger's narrative, Cœlius Secundus Curio says, in his Preface: "Alterius explicator & scriptor Henricus est natione Scotus, homo doctus, disertus, grauis, & quod ad historiã scribendam requiritur maximè fidelis & bonus."

Scrimger left his library to his nephew, Peter Young, whose brother, Alexander, brought it to Scotland. Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4. Buchanan, at Young's desire, offered his MSS. to Christopher Plantin to print. Epist. xii. xiii. Casaubon obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those on Polybius, when he published his editions of these authors. Casaub. Epist. pp. 182,

306, edit. Almel. He speaks very highly of them in his letters to Young, but has been accused of not duly acknowledging his obligations in his printed works. It appears from Casaubon's letters, that Scrimger was allied to Henry Stephens by marriage. Comp. Maittaire, Stephan. Hist. pp. 238, 249. A letter of Scrimger's is inserted in that work, (p. 239). The following is the most particular account that I have met with of the ancient authors on whom he left notes, and of the number of manuscripts of each from which he collected his various readings.

Demosthenem cum quinque Manuscriptis diversis
Thucydidem cum duobus
Herodotum cum 2bus
Strabonem cum 3bus
Gorgiam Platonis cum 1o
Arrianum de gestis Alexandri cum 2bus
Xenophontem cum 3bus
Plutarchi Opuscula cum 3bus
Ejusdem Vitas cum 2bus
Phornitum et Palefutum (Phornuthum et Palæphatum), cum antiquo plane diverso ac prope alio ab impresso
Harpocrationem cum 1o
Eusebii historiam Ecclesiasticam, Theodoreti, Socratis et aliorum cum 2bus multis locis non solum emendatam, sed integris fere paginis auctam
Animadversiones in Diogenem: in Platonem: in Laertium: in Euclidem: in Athenæum: in Herodianum: in Theonis sophistæ progymnasmata: in Diodorum Siculum: in Lysiæ λογον επιταφιον: in Appollonium grāmaticum: in Heliodori Ethiopica.

(Dav. Buchananus De Scriptoribus Scotis Illustribus, num. 54. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6, 34.)

To this list may be added (from Dempster, 587), "Basilicō libros," and (from Tanner) "Ciceronis Philosophica."

The following verses to his memory are by an unknown poet,—

Scrimgerus vitam exegit ter lustra quaterna
Tresque annos, testæ fictilis hospes ovans,
Scotia cui natale solum, fatale Geneva,
Gallia Atheneum, Roma magisterium,
Amphitheatrum orbis totus, Germania census,
Doctrinarum orbis laus, patria alma polus.

D. Buch. *ut supra*, num. 54.

Note H, p. 23.

Of a Suppressed Political Tract of Beza.

The following extract from the records of the city of Geneva relates to this tract: "30 dit (Juillet, 1573). Livre de Monsieur de Beze défendu. Monsieur de Beze aiant composé et fait imprimer un livre, intitulé *De Jure Magistratuum*, lequel aiant été examiné par les Seignrs Varro, Bernard et Roset, il fut trouvé que le dit livre n'étoit pas de saison, quoi qu'il ne contient rien que de vrai; mais parce qu'il auroit pu causer des troubles, on en suprima l'impression de même que les exemplaires qui en avoient été deja faicts." Recueil de diverses particularitéz concernant Genève, p. 123, MS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin.

Though suppressed by order of the senate, copies of this work got abroad; and it was frequently reprinted, both in Latin and French. The first edition is sometimes mentioned as printed in 1573, and sometimes in 1574. General Dictionary, Hist. and Crit. vol. x. pp. 311, 327. In 1576, it was printed in French and in Latin. In 1578, a French edition appeared with the following title: "Du droit des Magistrats sur leur subjets. Traicté très necessaire en ce temps, pour avertir de leur devoir tant les Magistrats que les subjets: *publié par ceux de Magdebourgh l'an M.D.L.*: & maintenant reveu & augmenté des plusieurs raisons & examples." De Thou and Bayle were both deceived by the words here printed in italics, and concluded that this was a new edition, with additions, of a book published in 1550. But these words were inserted by the publisher for the purpose of

concealment; no such book was published in 1550; and this is merely another edition of the treatise *De Jure Magistratuum in subditos, et officio subditorum erga Magistratus,* originally printed at Geneva in 1573. See the Critique on Bayle's Dissertation on the Book of Stephanus Junius Brutus, by the Parisian Editor of his Dictionary, § XI. XXXIII. It is inserted in a collection of political tracts by Joan. Nicol. Stupanus, Professor of Medicine at Basle, printed at Montbelliard in 1599; and in a valuable historical work, entitled, "Mémoires de l'Estat de France, sous Charles IX." tom. ii. p. 483—522. Anno 1578.

The learned are now agreed in ascribing the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* to Hubert Languet. But Beza was long suspected of being the author of that work. The first writer, so far as I know, who named him as the author of the treatise *De Jure Magistratuum,* was Sutcliffe, in one of his controversial pieces against the Presbyterians. This was denied by some of the defenders of Beza. John Beccaria, who wrote a refutation of it in 1590, supposes it to be the production of a lawyer,—"versatum in literis humanis, præsertim historiis, atque si divinare licet leguleium, in divinis haud adeo multum." Refut. cujusdam Libelli, p. 9. The extract which I have given at the beginning of this note shows that Sutcliffe was right in his conjecture.

The treatise is well written and well reasoned. The principles which it maintains are the same with those of the *Vindiciæ:* indeed, Languet's work is properly an enlargement of Beza's. But the latter is more guarded than the former, both in the questions which it agitates, and in the language which it holds upon them. It is, however, far from being undecided or evasive. The following propositions, among others, are advanced and confirmed by reason, Scripture, and history: That the authority of God only is absolute and unlimited; that, when irreligious or unjust commands are laid on us, we are not merely to decline obeying them, but also to act in such a manner as to discharge our duty to God and our neighbour; that every kind of resistance by subjects to their superiors is not unlawful and seditious; that rulers are created for the people, and not the people for rulers; that a just resistance by arms is not inconsistent with Christian patience and prayer; ("I extol Christian patience as a distinguished virtue; I detest sedition and every kind of confusion; I acknowledge that prayer and repentance are proper remedies against tyranny, when it is sent by God as a judgment and a scourge; but I deny that, on this account, it is unlawful for a people oppressed by manifest tyranny to use other just remedies along with prayer and repentance);" that it is the duty of all to oppose those who endeavour to usurp dominion over their fellow-citizens; that a usurper may become a lawful magistrate, by obtaining the consent of the people; that magistrates may be resisted though they should not be deposed; that inferior magistrates, though installed by the sovereign, do not depend upon him but upon the sovereignty of the state, and that they, and the estates or parliament of a nation, who are appointed as a check on the supreme magistrate, may and ought to restrain him when he violates the laws and becomes tyrannical; that all kings are bound, either by express or tacit agreement, to rule justly and for the good of the people; that the public good and the rights of the people are paramount to those of any individual, however exalted; that though private persons are not warranted in ordinary cases to resist rulers by force, yet they may apply to inferior magistrates for redress, and concur with the estates of a kingdom in imposing restraints upon tyrants, or in emancipating themselves from the yoke of tyranny; and that, although religion is not to be planted or propagated by arms or force, yet when the true religion has been established in any nation by public authority, or when the liberty of professing it has been obtained, it is lawful to maintain and defend it by force against manifest tyranny, and so much the more because what relates to conscience and the souls of men is of greater importance than mere secular concerns. Mémoires de l'Estat de France, *ut supra.*

This appears to be the book to which Hottoman refers in a letter to Jaques Capel de Tilloy (7th Jan. 1575). "Nudius Octavus a Chamberi tres buccinatores in foro Ducis Sabandiæ et Senatus interdixerunt, ne qui secum libellum (Franco-Galliam) et *novum alterum de magistratibus et veritate* vendere aut domi habere, legere, contrectare auderet." Hotomanorum Epistolæ, pp. 46, 47. Amstel. 1700. In another letter he mentions, that the magistrates of Geneva would not permit the last-named work, nor even the Life of the Admiral, to be published within the bounds of their jurisdiction. Ibid. p. 49.

Note I, p. 25.

Melville's Panegyric on Geneva.

This is contained in a poem entitled, "Epitaphium Jacobi Lindesii, qui obiit Genevæ, 17. Cal. Jul. 1580." Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 123.

Celtarum crudele solum, crudelia tandem
Regna dolis Italorum atris, & cæde recenti
Carnificum dirorum infamia (Sequana qua se
Obliquat flexu vario, qua Matrona Belgas
Irrigat: immitesque Liger, tristesque Garumna
Permutat populos: & gurgite sanguinis alti
Qua Rhodano se jungit Arar, sua flumina miscens
Purpurea: exanimesque artus laniataque membra
Matrumque, infantumque ævi discrimine nullo,
Aut sexus teneri; vastum protrudit in æquor
Piscibus impastis pastum monstrisque marinis)
Exuperas gressu impavidus, certusque salutis:
Jam Genevam, Genevam veræ pietatis alumnam,
Florentem studiis cælestibus omine magno
Victor ovans subis: ac voti jam parte potitus
Jam Bezæ dulci alloquio Suadæque medulla,
Et succo ambrosiæ cœlesti, & nectaris imbre
Perfusus; jam Danæi[1] immortalia dicta,
Cornelique[2] Palæstinas, Portique[3] Sorores
Grajugenas: jam Serrana[4] cum lampade, Faii[5]
Phœbæas artes geminas, clarumque Perotti[6]
Sidus, Gulardique jubar,[7] lumenque Pinaldi,[8]
Et Stephani[9] Musas varias operumque labores,
Necnon ingentis Calvini ingentia fata,
Et magnum atque memor Keithi[10] magni, atq; sagacis
Glaspæi[11] desiderium, sanctique Collessi[12]
Edoctus.

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[1] Lambert Danée, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, and afterwards at Orthes in Béarn, and at Leyden.

[2] Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus, Professor of Hebrew at Geneva.

[3] Franciscus Portus, Professor of Greek there.

[4] Jean de Serres (Serranus), one of the pastors of the territory of Geneva in 1572, and Rector of the Protestant College of Nismes in 1578. He was distinguished as a historian, and suspected, but apparently with injustice, of engaging in measures hostile to the Protestant interest by embarking with those who were called Reconcilers.

[5] Antoine de la Faye (Faius) Pastor and Professor of Theology at Geneva He was Doctor of Medicine.

[6] Charles Perrot, Pastor and Rector of the Academy at Geneva.

[7] Simon Goulart, Pastor of Geneva, and well known as a writer, and the correspondent of Scaliger, Du Plessis, &c.

[8] Monsieur Pinauld, Pastor of Geneva. Epistres Franc. à M. de la Scala, pp. 122, 267, 447.

[9] Henry Stephens, the learned printer of Geneva.

[10] William Keith, son of Lord William Keith, and brother of George Earl Marischal, who was unfortunately killed during an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gaulter, and other foreign literati, honoured his memory with elegies.

[11] George Gillespie was a Regent in St Mary's College, St Andrews, and died at Geneva. The Records of the University (Jan. 6. 1575) mention that the Rector presented the accompts,—"vice M. Georgii Gillaspie, quæstoris facultatis artium, causata ejus decessu in Galliam."

[12] William Collace, a Regent in St Leonard's College. See above, pp. 6, 28. "Not long efter (the summer of 1575) Mr Andro receavit Letters from Monsieur du Bez, and therin amangis the rest, '*Collaccus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*' This was my guid regent, quha efter the ending of our course had gean to France, and coming to Geneva ther died, a great loss to the kirk of God in his countrey, for he was solidlie learnit, hartelie addicted to divinitie, with a sincear zeilous hart." Melville's Diary, p. 42.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

Note K, p. 29.

Specimen of Melville's Method of Private Tuition.

"That quarter of yeir I thought I gat greitter light in letters nor all my time befor: whowbeit at our meitting in my convent I thought I could haiff taked to him in things I haid hard as he did to me as a master of arts; bot I perceivit at annes y^{t} I was bot an ignorant babble, and wist no^{t} what I said nether could schaw anie vse y^{r}of bot in clattering and crying. He fand me bauche in the latin toung, a pratler vpon precepts in logick w^{t}out anie profit for the right vse, and haiffing soum termes of art in Philosophie w^{t}out light of solid knawledge, yit of ingyne and capacite guid aneuche wherby I haid cunned my dictata and haid them ready aneuche. He enterit y^{r}for and conferrit w^{t} me sum of Bowchanans Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace, qlk twa, namlie Virgill, was his cheiff refreshment efter his graue studies, wherin he lut me sie no^{t} onlie the proper latin langage and ornaments of poesie, bot also mair guid logik and philosophie than ever I haid hard befor. I had tean delyt at the grammar schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill taken w^{t} the numbers y^{r}of (whowbeit I knew no^{t} what numbers was till he tauld me) and haid mikle of him par ceur, bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a comedie of Tyrence w^{t} me, schawing me that ther was bathe fyne latin langage and wit to be lernit: y^{t} of langage I thought weill, bot for wit I merveld and haid no^{t} knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentares of Cæsar, comending him for the simple puritie of the latin toung; also Salust, and read w^{t} me the coniuration of Cateline. He had gottin in Paris at his by-coming Bodin his method of historie, qlk he read ower him selff thryse or four tymes y^{t} quarter, annes w^{t} me and the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik Grammar, qlk he put in hand of Clenard, causing me vnderstand the precepts onlie and lear the παραδειγματα exactlie; the practise wherof he schew me in my buik, going throw w^{t} me that Epistle of Basilius and causing me lern it be hart bothe for the langage and the mater; y^{r}efter to the New Testament and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean comfortable places of the epistles, namlie the Romans. And last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding declynations and pronons and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinius grammar qlk he haid w^{t} him, and schew me the vse of the Dictionair also qlk he haid of Reuclins[1] w^{t} him. And all this as it war bot pleying and craking, sa y^{t} I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation bathe that quarter and y^{r}efter, nor ever I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors." Melville's Diary, pp. 37, 38.

Note L, p. 30.

Early State of the University of Glasgow.

At the solicitation of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, Pope Nicholas V. granted a bull, dated the 7th of January 1450, constituting "a General Study for theology, canon and civil law, the arts, and every other useful faculty," at Glasgow; and granting to it all the rights and privileges belonging to the university of Bologna. In the following year a body of statutes for its government was prepared by the bishop and his chapter, which, together with the papal bull, were confirmed, in 1453, by a Royal Charter from King James II. During the first two years of its erection more than a hundred individuals were incorporated into it; but the most of these were not young men com-

[1] John Reuchlin, or Capnio, published his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary (the first ever composed by a Christian or in Latin) in the year 1506. But perhaps Melville used the Dictionary translated from Hebrew by Anthony Reuchlin in 1554, and of which an abridgment by Lucas Osiander appeared in 1569.

mencing their studies, but secular or regular ecclesiastics, who became members chiefly for the sake of the honour attached to a learned corporation, or of the immunities to which it entitled them. The annals of the university are sufficiently copious in information respecting its government, but they are almost entirely silent as to what is more important, the means of instruction which it provided, and the mode in which that instruction was conveyed. So far as we can collect from scattered hints, it would seem that there was no stated or regular teaching in the higher faculties. The zeal of individuals prompted them to read occasional lectures, the continuance of which depended on the caprice of the hearers, whose attendance on them was optional. "On the 29th of July, 1460, a venerable man, Master David Cadyow, precentor of the church of Glasgow, and Rector of the University, read, in the Chapter-House of the Predicant Friars of Glasgow, at nine o'clock *ante meridiem*, the title or rubric in the third book (of the Canon Law) *De vita et honestate clericorum*, in the presence of all the clergy and masters ; and he continued at the pleasure of the hearers." On the same day, and in the same house, Master William de Levenax read a title in the Civil Law. The first notice of any lecture on theology is at a much later period. "On the 23d of March, 1521, a religious man, Father Robert Lile, of the order of Predicant Friars, Bachelor of Theology, and Prior of the Convent of Glasgow, began, *pro forma*, to read a lecture on the fourth book of the Sentences, in the foresaid Monastery, in presence of the Rector, Dean of Faculty, and the rest of the masters ; John Ade, Professor of Theology, and Provincial of the whole order of Scotland, presiding at the time." The want of salaries to the professors was doubtless one great reason of the rarity of these lectures. Bishop Turnbull died before he had an opportunity of carrying his munificent purposes into execution ;[1] and the defect was not supplied by his successors, or by the government. With the exception of certain small perquisites paid at promotions to degrees, the university, as such, was destitute of funds, and the professors of divinity, and of canon and civil law, depended for their support on the benefices which they held as ecclesiastics in various parts of the kingdom.

Happily, more attention had been paid to the inferior branches of learning. These were taught at an early period ; for the records mention the admission of a regent of philosophy within two years after the erection of the university. "Congregatione facultatis artium tenta, &c. 1452, 28vo. Julij, supplicavit venerabilis et religiosus vir Dominus Alexander Geddes, licentiatus in theologia, monachus de Melross, pro licentia exponendi textum Aristotelis pro ——— cujus supplicationi facultas favorabiliter inclinata illam quam petiit salvis suis privilegiis duntaxat sibi contulit potestatem." Act. Fac. Art. Glasg. This was the usual way of admitting a regent to teach a course of philosophy. It is probable that Bishop Turnbull had founded the Pædagogium, or College, in which the students of the liberal arts lived together with the masters who superintended their education. They resided in a house situated on the south side of the Rotten Row, until a benefaction from Lord Hamilton enabled them to remove to the situation which the College occupies at present. By means of donations and bequests from different individuals, a moderate provision was made for the continuance of regular instruction in the college. Chaplainries, for the benefit of the regents, were founded at different times. Thomas Arthurlie bequeathed a tenement to the college. And in 1557, Archbishop Beatoun gave to it the vicarage of Colmonell, which, with the glebe acres, is valued, in the old Rental Book, at £44, 13s. 4d. Records of University ; and Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. xxi. Appendix. Some idea may be formed of the nature of the instruction given from the lists, at the end of this note, which contain the titles of books presented for the use of the regents.

The university of Glasgow, from its peculiar constitution, necessarily suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation than the other learned establishments of Scotland. The professors in the higher branches being all supported by their livings in the church, and adhering to the old religion, successors could not be appointed to them owing to the total want of salaries. It was so far a favourable circumstance that John Davidson, the principal of the college, embraced the reformed doctrines, and continued his academical labours. By this

[1] D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scot., art. De D. Turnbullo : MS. in Bibl. Col. Edin. Bishop Turnbull died in 1454.

means the most valuable, though not the most dignified, part of the academy was preserved from extinction. But it is also suffered materially from the fraudulent alienation, or the unjust seizure of its slender revenues. To remedy this evil, the friends of the college obtained from Queen Mary, in 1563, a grant under the Privy Seal, founding bursaries for five poor scholars, and bestowing certain houses and lands for their support during the time of their education. Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow; Appendix. In 1572, the town council of Glasgow, perceiving "that the college had fallen into decay for want of funds, and the study of the arts was nearly extinguished in it through poverty," bestowed on it rents which were deemed adequate for the support of fifteen persons. It might be supposed that these gifts would have been sufficient to place the college on a respectable footing, but all that could be made good, from the whole of the funds, did not amount to more than three hundred pounds Scots annually.

The following extracts, from the records containing lists of books taught at the university, were obligingly sent me by Dr Macturk, Professor of Church History at Glasgow :—

Congregatione facultatis artium tenta, &c. anno Domini 1475 tertio die mensis Novembris presentati fuerunt, &c.

Eodem Anno Reverendus in Christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Johannes, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia, Episcopus Glasguensis, infrascriptos donavit libros Pedagogio Glasguensi ad usum et utilitatem Regentium inibi pro tempore existentium.

In primis unum volumen in pergameno in quo continentur textus Phisicæ Aristotelis completus, quatuor libri de cœlo et mundo, duo de Generatione, quatuor Metheororum, liber de causis proprietatum elementorum, Liber de Mundo, liber de lineis indivisibilibus, Liber de inundatione fluvii, Item liber de Bona fortuna, Epistola quædam Aristotelis ad Alexandrum, tres libri de anima, Liber de sensu et sensato, Liber de Memoria et Reminiscentia, Liber de Sompno et Vigilia, Liber de longitudine et brevitate vitæ, Liber de spiritu et respiratione, Liber de morte et vita, Liber de motu animalium, Liber de progressu animalium, Liber de Phisonomia, Liber de Pomo, Liber de

Spiritus et animæ, Item liber de vita Aristotelis.

Item in alio Volumine Papirio donavit idem Reverendus Pater. In primis quoddam Scriptum continens questiones super octo libros Phisicorum. Item questiones super tribus libris de cœlo et mundo. Item questiones quasdam super tribus libris Metheororum. Item quasdam questiones super duobus libris de Generatione. Item quasdam questiones super tribus libris de anima. Item quasdam questiones super libro de sensu et sensato. Item quasdam questiones super libris de memoria et reminiscentia sompno et vigilia. Item quasdam questiones de longitudine et brevitate vitæ.

Sequuntur libri quos donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in facultate artium in Pædagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ venerabilis vir Magister Duncanus Bunch quondam Canonicus Glasguen et in dicto loco principalis Regens.

In primis unum volumen bene ligatum in Pergameno in quo continentur textus predicabilium Purphurii (*sic*) textus Aristotelis super veteri arte, Liber sex principiorum Gilberti Porritani, Liber Divisionum Boetii et liber Thopicorum ejusdem et textus Aristotelis super nova Logica complete.

Item in alio papirio volumine Textus super tribus Libris Aristotelis. Item in eodem duo libri Elencorum rupti in fine. Item duo libri Posteriorum. Item commentum Alberti super Phisica Aristotelis in Pergameno. Item questiones Phisicales in parte magistri Joannis Elmir. Item duo libri de generatione.

Item in uno volumine questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ.

Item in uno volumine questiones super libro de anima cum tribus libris Metheororum cum quibusdam aliis excerptis.

Item in uno volumine Textus Metaphisicæ complete in Pergameno.

Item Glossa Petri Hispani secundum usum Magri Johannis Elmir super quinque tractatibus.

Item in alio volumine duo libri de Anima.

Item questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ.

Item questiones super octo libris Phisicorum.

Item una Biblia in Pergameno in parvo volumine litera optima complete Scripta.

The books mentioned in the following list were presented in the year 1483 :—

Sequuntur libri quos donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in Facultate artium in Pedagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ Johannes Browne canonicus Glasguen et in dicto Pedagogio olim Regens.

In primis unum volumen in quo continentur tres libri de cœlo et mundo, Duo libri de Generatione et corruptione, Libri methorum, tres libri de anima de sompno et vigilia. Item aliud volumen continens questiones logicales complete. Item unum volumen in quo continentur auctores Philosophiæ Naturalis et Moralis cum sex principijs, tractatus de Spera et Algorismo cum quibusdam moralibus questionibus. Item unum volumen continens questiones metaphisicales. Item unum volumen continens glossam Magistri Petri Hispani. Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex tractatus Petri Hispani cum textu Porphyrii. Item unum volumen antiquum in quo continentur questiones de anima. Item Glosa Petri Hispani super certis tractatibus. Item volumen in quo continentur octo libri Metaphisicæ. Item tractatus super textum Purphyrii cum aliquibus questionibus. Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex libri Ethicorum. Item unum volumen in quo continentur questiones sancti Thomæ super certis libris Phisicæ. Item scriptum super quibusdam libris Phisicorum. Item Scotus secundum librum Purphyrii et scriptum Johannis Burlaw in uno volumine. Item primus tractatus super suppositionibus. Item super diversis dubiis. Item unum volumen quod incipit Utrum Logica sit Scientia, &c.

Note M, p. 30.

Distinguished Persons educated at the University of Glasgow.

Bishop Elphinstone's name is in the list of those who were incorporated in 1551, at the first opening of the university. It is written simply "Will^{us} Elphinstoun," from which it is probable that he entered as a student, and had then no title or office in the church.

Willielmus Manderstoun proceeded Bachelor of Arts, at Glasgow, 4th November, 1506. Annales Fac. Art.—Dec. 1525. Guill. Manderston, Scotigena, Licent. in Medic. Rector universitatis Parisiensis. (Bulæus).—Wilelmus Manderston, Doctor in Medicina, Rector de Gogar, Rector of the University of St Andrews, anno 1530. He is the author of the following work: "Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia opusculū ex variis autoribus per magistrum Guillelmū Māderston Scotū nuperrime collectū : Et pro secunda impressione cum nouis additionibus ab eodem appositis recusum.—Vænundantur in ædibus Gormontianis." It is dedicated by the author "Reuerēdo in christo patri & domino: domino Jacobo Beton ; sancti Andree archipresuli: ac totius Scotie primati & cancellario suoq mecenati." Prefixed to it are a copy of Latin verses by William Grayme of Fintree, and an epistle in prose with the inscription, "Robertus Gra. medicinæ amator præceptori suo Vilelmo Manderstō apollonie artis professori peritissimo." The colophon, on fol. cclx. is in these words: Explicit opusculum in morali philosophia bipartitū a magistro Guillelmo Manderston Scoto diocesis sācti Andree nuperrime impressum Parthisiis Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo quingentessimo vicessimo tertio, Die vero decima quarta Januarij." In small 8vo.

The first edition of this book was printed "Parrhisijs 1518," in 4to, at the same press. The colophon states that it was "nuperrime collectū dum regeret Parisiis in famatissimo diuæ Barbaræ gymnasio," a. d. 1518, 14 kal. April. The work itself is very jejune. There is an earlier book by Manderston, which I have not seen : "Tripartitum epithoma doctrinale & compendiosum in totius dialecticæ artis principia. Lutetiæ Paris. 1514." 4to.

Extracts respecting Major and Knox have been given from the records, in Life of John Knox, p. 305—307.—In 1514, we find "Dauid Melwyn principalem regentem Glas." David Melville went to St Andrews, and from 1517 to 1520 he is frequently mentioned in the records of that university, under the designation "Dauid Maillwill Regentem Principalem Pedagogii Sanctiandreæ."

"*John Ade* sacre theologie professor" is mentioned in the registers of Glasgow, March 29, 1521; and on the March 23, 1521 (*i. e.* 1522), John Ade, or Adamson, provincial of the order of Predicant Friars, or Dominicans, presided at a theological lecture and disputation in the university. Hector Boece informs us, that he was

the first person who received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the newly-erected university of Aberdeen ; and that, as provincial of the Dominicans, he introduced a salutary reform into that religious order. Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. & Murth. See also Mill's Hist. of Bishops of Dunkeld. In 1506, Robert Park, prior of the Predicant Friars at Perth, gives a charter "cum consensu & assensu rev. patris David Andreæ prioris provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ."—August 20, 1517, "Ro. Lilo prior fr. pred. burgi de Perth" grants a charter with consent "ven. pris nri fratris Johannis Adamsone prioris provin. ord. nri." Adamson was dead in 1526, for in that year we find "Johannes Gresoun prior provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ." Transcripts from Charters of the Convent of Blackfriars at Perth, by the Rev Mr Scott, in Advocates' Library.

The following entries appear to relate to the Superintendent of Lothian.—"Die Sabbati XXVII June 1534 Incorporati—Dñus Johannes Spottiswood *servus*, &c."—8 Feb. 1535 "Dominus Joannes Spottiswood" proceeded bachelor.—1536. "Electi fuerunt quatuor intrantes, viz. Magr Joannes Spottiswood," &c. In the same year and in 1543, he was chosen one of the deputes of the Rector. Annales Fac. Art. et Annales Univ.

David Beatoun (afterwards Cardinal) was matriculated of this university on the the 26th of October, 1511.

The names of the following young men of rank occur in the lists of incorporati, or matriculated students :—

Oct. 24th, 1457, Andreas Stewart Subdecanus Glasguen frater illustrissimi Regis Scotorum Jacobi secundi.

A. 1473. Joannes Stewart filius Comitis de Levenax et dñi de Dernly.

1482. Mattheus Stewart filius primogenitus et heres nobilis et potentis dñi comitis de Levenax et dñi de Dernly.

1488. Alex. Stewart filius Comitis de Levenax.

Rob. Stewart filius ejusdem comitis.

Patricius Grahame filius german. Comit. de Montrose.

1489. Gavinus Douglas filius dñi de Drumlanrig.

1492. Alexander Erskyne filius dñi de Erskyne studens. Under the year 1495 is the following minute, in the *Annales Collegii Facultatis artium:* "Eodem Anno processerunt ad gradum Bachallariatus sub Magistro Patricio Covyntre, Alexander Erskyne, filius dñi de eodem, qui et gloriosum actum celebravit et solus ingentes expensas fecit ;"—that is, he gave a splendid feast to the university at his laureation.

1510. Joannes Stewart, Magister de Levenax, filius et apparens heres Matthei com. de Levenax et dñi de Dernle.

1534. Joannes Campbell filius Comit. de Argile.

1553. Joannes Cunynghame filius Comit. de Glencarne.

It was the custom at Glasgow for every bursar to give *a silver spoon* upon his being admitted to the college table.

Note N, p. 30.

Queen Mary's Grant to the College of Glasgow.

This is antedated in the common accounts of the university. It was "given under our privie seale at Glasgow the threttene of Julij the zeir of God 1^{mv^c} thre score and thre zeiris."—"Fforsamickle as within the citie of Glasgow, ane college and universitie was devisit to be hade, quharein the zouth micht be brocht up in lettres and knawlledge, the comoun welth servit and vertue incressit, off the quhilk college ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit, the rest thairof alsweill dwellingis as provision for the puir bursouris and Maisteris to teche, ceissit, Sua that the samin apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor any wyse to be reknit ane establissit fundation : And we, for the zele we beir to hrēs, and for the gude will we have that vertew be incressit within our realme, have foundit and erectit and be thir our hrēs foundis and erectis five puir children bursouris within the said college, to be callit in all tymes cuming bursouris of oure foundation ; and for furnessing and provesion to be maid to the saidis five bursouris," gives and grants certain lands, mails, &c. belonging to "the freiris predicatouris within the said citie." The deed further states that the queen intends "als to mak

the said college to be provydit of sic ressonable living that thairin the liberale sciences may be planlie teched siclike as the samyn ar in utheris collegis of yis realme, Sua that the college foirsaid salbe reputet oure fundation in all tyme cuming: And to that effect we ordane that quhenever the maister thairof or any of the bursouris of the samyn happenis to deceiss, That utheris in thair roumes be placit be us and o^r^ successouris, That the memorie of the said gude will we beir to vertew may remane to the posterities to cum." Records of University of Glasgow.

Note O, p. 35.

A Dream.

"The collage haid monie pleyis in law depending y^t^ yeir, and M^r^ Piter Blakburn was œconomus and speciall acter. Yit because the æstimation of M^r^ Andro was graitter, he desyrit him at certean perempter dyettes to be present in Edr. Ffor sic a dyet being to go to Ed^r^ M^r^ Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning heavie and grim lyk. Being inquyrit by the principall what ealed him, he answerit, I haiff dreamed an vnsell[1] dream, and I am some thing solist after it. What is it? sayes he. Me thought we war sitting at our collag burde, and a cup full of barmie drink befor ws. I luiked to the cup, and I thought I saw a read heidit tead lepe out of it and craled vpe vpon the wall, the qlk I percewed and dang down and tramped vnder my feit. And as I turned I saw an other lepe out also, quhilk, whowbeit I followed, it gat away in a holl out of my sight. Be not solist, says he, M^r^ Piter, I will interpret your dream and warrand the interpretation trew for a pynt of wyne. For suthe, says the vther, and it be guid a quart. The collage burd and cup is our collage leiving; into the quhilk twa read nebbit teades hes intrusit them selff. They ar the twa read neased compeditours of our collage against the quhilk yie haiff presentlie the actiones, viz. Jhone Grame the first, whom yie persewing at this dyet, clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law, yie sall ding down and overcome. The vther is the read faced commissar, M^r^ Archbald Beaton, wha by some wyll sall eschew presentlie and win away. Assure thy selff, man, thow sall find it sa. M^r^ Piter lauches and sayes, he was worthe the wyne whow euer it was; for the twa men war verie read and tead lyk faced for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass; for they brought hame a notable decreit of reduction of a few of the freires yeard aganist Jhone Grame, and the vther by moyen and ernist solistation gat the action delayit and brought to arbitriment." Melville's Diary, pp. 49, 50.

Note P, p. 38.

Act of the Privy Council respecting Alexander Cunninghame's submission.

Apud Sanctandrois xxix$_o$ Julij anno lxxx$_o$

Anent o^r^ souerane Lordis lrēs raisit at the instance of Maister James Meluile, ane of the Regentis of the Vniuersitie of Glas^w^, Makand mentioun, That quhair Alex^r^ Cūninghame zounger of Clonbey^t^, burges and induellar of Glasgow, vpoun the xx day of Junii instant, being at his tabill at dennar w^t^ certane utheris threatnit and showit be mony despitefull wordis to be revendgit of the said Mr James for correcting of Alex^r^ Boyd his scollar, And continewing the rest of that day in his malicious mynd and boisting langage quhill efter nyne ho^rs^ at ny^t^, And findand then occasioun to put his foirtho^t^ ewil mynd to executioun, he houndit out the said Alex^r^ Boyd to stryke the said Mr James.w^t^ ane battoun, q^lk^ battoun wes gevin to him be the said Alex^r^ Cūninghame, And the said Mr James beand cūand throw the hie kirkzard of Glasgow to the college w^t^out ony kynd of armo^r^, belevand na ewill to haue bene done to him by ony persoun, the said Alex^r^ Boyd, be the persuasioun and hounding out as said is of the said Alex^r^ Cūninghame, perseuit and strak at the said Mr James behind his bak w^t^ the said battoun, q^lk^ straik he eschewit be his suddane turnīg about, At q^lk^ time the said Alex^r^ Boyd, being effrayit and astonisheit be the saidis Mr James wordis and countenance, drew him self asyde luiking for the assist-

[1] Unhappy or ominous.

ence of the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame, quha to performe his weikit interpryis come rȳnand vpon the said Mr James w^{t} ane drawin swird in his hand, sweiring and boisting w^{t} many vglie aithis that he sould hoch and slay him, calling him oftymes knaif, and saying that he wes ouir pert to ding that boy. Lyke as in deid the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame had not there faillit to haue bereft the said Mr James of his life gif be Godis providence he had not beno stayit, ffor the q^{lk} caus he being persewit thaireftir befoir the recto^{r} and assesso^{rs} of the said vniuersitie and baillies and counsale of the citie of Glasgw, At last he wes fund be thame to haue done wrang in trubling persewing of the said Mr James in maner foirsaid, and thairfoir ordanit to cum to the place quhair he offendit, to haue acknawledgit his falt and to haue askit the said Mr James and the haill vniuersitie pardoun and forgifnes, q^{lk} the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame not onlie refusit and refuissis to obey and fulfill being requirit thairto, Bot still boistis and bragis to attempt forther iniurie and inuasioun of the said Mr James, Sua that be this forme of doing discipline is ordinarie exercises interruptit and the myndis of the zouth drawin away fra thair studyis quhairvpoun alsua further inconvenient is abill to follow w^{t} out his hienes and the lordis of secreit counsale provyde tymous remeid, And anent the charge gevin to the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame To haue compeirit personallie before o$_{r}$ souerane lord and lordis of secreit counsale at a certane day bipast to haue ansrit to this complaint and to haue hard and sene ordo^{r} taikin anent the same as appertenit vnder the pane of Rebellioun and putting of him to the horne w^{t} certificatioun to him, and he failzeit, vtheris lrēs sould be direct simpl^{r} to put him to the horne like as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lrēs, Quhilkis being callit and baith the saidis partiis compeirand personalie, Thair ressonis and allegationis togidder w^{t} the said decreit gevin and pronūcit be the foirsaidis judges and thair assesso^{rs} being hard, sene, and considerit be the saidis lordis and they rypelie auisit thairwith, The Lordis of secreit counsale, in respect of the said decreit, Ordanis the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame to compeir in the hie kirkzard of Glasgw, quhair the speciall falt wes cōmittit, vpoun the sevint day of August nixt to cum betuix foure and fyve houris eftir none, and thair bairheidit to confes his said offence, first to the rector in name of the vniversitie, and baillies in name of the toun, and to the said Mr James partie offendit, And to ask God and thame forgifnes thairof, and to tak thame be the handis in signe and taikin alsweill of his humiliatioun as reconsiliatioun, And to purge him that he wes not steirit vp thairto be na maner of persoun, Or ellis that he entir his persoun in ward within the castill of Blaknes w^{t}in xlviij houris eftir the said sevint day of August, And remane thairin thaireftir vpoun his awin expensis ay and quhill he be fred be o^{r} souerane lord, vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to the horne, with certificatioun to him and he failzie, the saidis xlviij houris being bipast, he salbe incontinent y^{r}efter denūcit his ma^{teis} rebell, and put to the horne, and all his movabill guidis escheittit to his mat^{eis} vse for his contemptioun.

Note Q, p. 40.

Reparation of the Cathedral of Glasgow.

The following extract from the Records of the Town Council shows the interest which the magistrates took in this business :—

Die xxi^{mo} Mensis Augusti Anno Domini &c. lxxiv.

Statutum

The quhilk day the provost, baillies, and counsale, w^{t} ye Dekyns of the crafts and divers utheris honest men of the town convenand in the counsal here, and havand respect and consideration to ye greit decaye and ruyne y^{t} ye hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, thro^{t} taking away of the leid, sclait, and uther gray^{t} thereof in yis trublus tyme bygane, sua y^{t} sick ane greit monument will allutterly fall down and decay w^{t}out it be remedit. And because the helping y^{r}of is sa greit and will extend to mair nor yai may spair, And yat yai ar no^{t} addetite to ye uphalding and repairing y^{r}of be ye law, zet of thair awn free willis uncompellit, and for ye zeil yai beir to ye kirk, of meir almouss and liberallity sua yat induce na practick nor preparative in tymes coming, conform to ane writing to be mead thereanent, All in ane voce hes consentit to ane taxt and imposition of tua hundreth punds money to be taxt and

payit be ye township and freemen yairof for helping to repair ye said kirk and halding of it waterfast, and for casting and making thereof hes apointit yir persons following, viz. the Dekyn of ilk craft, John Arbuckle, Thomas Normant, Matthew Watson flesher, Patrick Howe litster, Robert Muir merchand, William Maxwell, David Lindsay Elder, Andr. Baillie, Robert Steuart, Master Adam Wallace, George Herbertson, John Fleming, William Hiegate, Robert Fleming, Thomas Spang, and Johne Lindsay, and to convene on Tysday next for endyng yrof.

It appears from the Records of the Kirk-Session that the ministers zealously co-operated with the magistrates.—December 7, 1586. It was appointed that the provost, bailies, and deacons of crafts, and ministers of Glasgow, convene in the college kirk to give their advice and judgment anent repairing the High Kirk.—Jan. 25, 1588. The session appoints commissioners to the General Assembly to desire a commission with license to [from?] the King's Majesty for reparation of the High Church of Glasgow the best way the town and parish of the same may.—March 7. The Commissioners appointed by the King's Majesty anent repairing the High Kirk, and hail brethren of the kirk-session of Glasgow, thinks guid that the laigh steeple be taken down to repair the mason work of the said kirk, and that the bell and clock be transported to the high steeple, and that the kirk have a quinzee left at the steeple foresaid for the relief thereof. (Could this be the order which occasioned the riot referred to by Spotswood? If so, it happened ten years after Melville left Glasgow).—Aug. 1. The session desire the council to send commissioners to the Assembly, as for other things to seek the Assembly's assistance for obtaining at the King's hand and counsel money for helping and upholding the parish kirk at Glasgow: or else to get a new commission to entertain the kirk with itself as it may best.—Dec. 29, 1603. The records mention a right Mr David Weemes had made to him from the dean and chapter of Glasgow to pursue the gentlemen in whose hands services of money were laid by the said Dean and Chapter for repairing, and beautifying and decoring the Metropolitan kirk of Glasgow.—The records abound with resolutions and orders to the same effect. Extracts from Records of Kirk-Session of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of Mr David Weemes, pp. 5, 6, MSS. vol. iii.

Note R, p. 40.

Library of the University of Glasgow.

A list, entitled *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ publicis Sumptibus Academiæ empti.* beside such works as those of Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustine, contains,—

The hail Acts of Parliament.
The Bible of Govan and College.
Historia Scotorum manuscripta, autore G. Buchanano.
Empti sunt opera Thomæ Jackei quæstoris Academiæ 1517.
Thesaurus linguæ Græcæ Henrici Stephani quatuor voluminibus ab heredibus Andreæ Polwarti emptus, &c.
Ex dono viri boni Thomæ Jackæj.
Ambrosii Opera fol.
Gregorii Romani Opera duob. voluminib.

Maister Peter Blackburne, ane of the Regentis of the College, at his departing to Aberdein, left and gave to the College as follows:—

Ane new gnāl Cart stentit upon buirdes sett out be Gerardus *Jode* Antuerpiæ 1575.
Tabulæ Vessalii with this inscription, Anatomes totius ære insculpta delineatio. fol. magno Paris. CIↃ.IↃ.LXV.

The names of some scholastic books follow, and on the margin is "Ex dono Petri Blackburni ante decessum 8 Nouemb. 1582."

A list of 33 volumes consisting of the works of the fathers, Erasmus, Pagninus. &c. has this note prefixed. "Decimo Junij 1581. D. Jacobus Boydæus, Episcopus Glasguen. has omnes Collegio Glasg. testamento reliquit."

14 July, 1586. "Magister Archibaldus Craufurd, Rector universitatis & ab Eglischem, in monumentum τῆς φιλομουσίας," presented to the College "Platonis Opera" and "Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible."

A list of books to the number of 60 or 70 volumes is preceded by this note:

"Libros hosce sequentes ipsa vetustate notabiles Collegio Glasguēsi testamento legavit reverendus senex M. Johannes Huesonus Ecclesiæ Cambuslangensiæ pastor anno 1619."

The list of books presented to this College by Buchanan may be seen in Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, Append. No. 8, 2d edit.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

Note S, p. 52.

Jerome on Episcopacy.

Nothing has proved more puzzling to the *jure divino* prelatists, who feel a great veneration for the fathers, than the sentiments which St Jerome has expressed in various parts of his writings, concerning the origin of Episcopacy. A very curious instance of this occurs in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. That learned and masterly writer enters into an elaborate reply to the objections which the Presbyterians have raised from Jerome's assertion, that the superiority of bishops to presbyters arose from custom rather than divine institution. In the middle of this reply the following singular sentence occurs: "*This answer to Saint Jerome seemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of some words of restraint; yet I satisfie not myself, in my judgment it would be altered.*" Ecclesiastical Polity, book vii. sect. v. p. 11. Lond. 1661. It will be obliging if some of the admirers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will examine this passage, and furnish a key to its meaning, and to the design with which it was introduced. In the mean time they are welcome to any assistance which they can derive from the following explication. It is known that the last three books (including the *seventh*) of the Polity were not published during the lifetime of the author. In looking over his manuscript, what he had written on this part of the subject appeared to Hooker *dangerous:* he retouched it and qualified his expressions, but still his answer *satisfied not himself:* it required yet to be altered: and to keep this in mind he made a jotting of it on the margin. The manuscript coming into the hands of Dr Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, he introduced the marginal note into the text and published both together. We may easily conceive how "the *judicious* Hooker" would have felt at seeing his acknowledgment of his perplexity in answering this objection thus ignorantly and rudely exposed to the public eye. Yet the blunder has been retained in all the editions which I have seen, from that of 1661 down to that which was lately printed at Oxford! The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the books on which candidates for holy orders are examined; but this does not necessarily imply that either they or their examinators have made themselves masters of its meaning and contents.

Dr Gauden, in his gasconading style, boasts of the service which he has performed for the Church of England, and the confusion with which he has covered her enemies, by publishing the posthumous books. "After this Phœnix of learning and grace, of prudence and eloquence, had collected this fair pile of his Ecclesiastical Polity—himself perished amidst his great undertakings;" and "his antagonists, finding themselves—sorely wounded—by this great archer in his five first books—received some comfort in this that they escaped the shot of his last three—and found, as it is by some imagined, some artifice so long to smother and conceal them from the publique." Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 23. But honest Isaac Walton tells a more tragic tale. After Hooker's death, two puritan ministers, having obtained admission into his study, "burnt and tore" many of his writings; and his wife having confessed this to Archbishop Whitgift, "she was found next morning dead in her bed." Walton goes on to tell a number of other stories, the design of which is to show that the posthumous works were altered. Walton's Lives, by Zouch, p. 248—263. He does not, however, refer to the passage under

consideration, but to those places in which sentiments concerning political liberty too liberal for High Church are advanced. Eccl. Pol. B. viii. p. 191—195. With respect to these, it may be remarked, that expressions of the very same import occur in that part of the work which was published by Hooker himself. Ib. B. i. pp. 19, 21, edit. ut sup. "The *seventh* book (says Dr Gauden) by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers, or known manuscripts of Mr Hooker's, is undoubtedly his own hand throughout." Life of Hooker, p. 26.

Note T, p. 71.

Of Beza's Treatise De Triplici Episcopatu.

I have not seen the original work, but have now before me a copy of a translation of it into English. It is entitled, "The Jvdgement of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas, concerning a threefold order of Bishops, with a Declaration of certaine other waigtie points, concerning the Discipline and Government of the Church." C in eights. The running title is "The Jvdgement of a Learned Man." Strype says it was printed in the year 1580, and John Field was supposed to be the translator. Annals, ii. 629. It contains the questions transmitted by Lord Glammis, the Chancellor of Scotland, which are six in number, and appear to be printed at full length. The second, which relates to *Councils*, states the objections which some urged against them, and which went to prevent entirely the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies, unless when called for special purposes by the prince.

Note U, p. 73.

Scottish Press and Edition of the Bible.

The following is one of the articles in a petition which the Assembly presented to the Regent in the month of August 1574: "Item, It is understand to the Generall Assembly be credible report of certain learned men lately arrived within this countrey that a French printer of the best renowned this day, nixt Henricus Stephanus, being banished with his wife & family from his countrey, hath offered unto them to come in Scotland, & to bring with him three thousand franks worth of books, and to print whatever he should be commanded, in so much that there should not be a book printed in French or Almain, but once in the year it should be gotten of him If he might have sure provision of a yearly pension of three hundreth merks, which indeed is ane offer so comfortable to the countrey & kirk that it ought not to be overseen That his G. will consider the same offer and take order therewith." Cald. MS. ad an. 1574.

I know no printer to whom this description agrees so well as Andreas Wechelius He was the son of Christianus Wechelius, a celebrated Parisian printer; and having embraced the reformed opinions, escaped the Bartholomew massacre under the protection of Hubert Languet, the ambassador of the court of Saxony. Wechelius quitted France in 1573, and established himself at Frankfort, where many valuable editions of the classics, corrected by the learned Sylburgius, proceeded from his press. Peignot, Dict. Raison. de Bibliographie, tom. ii. 342—343. It is probable that Melville, on his return from Geneva, had an interview with him, and brought home the information of his willingness to settle in Scotland.

Among the "Articles proponit to his Ma^{tie} and counsal" by the commissioners of the General Assembly, in July 1580, is the following: "9. Because y^{r} is great necessitie of a printer within this countrey, and y^{r} is a stranger banischit for religion callit Vautrolier y^{t} offers to imploy his labour in y^{e} said vocation for y^{e} weill of y^{e} countrey, It will please your G. & counsell to take ordour heirin as your G. thinks meit, and to give licence & privilege to him for y^{t} effect if it salbe thocht expedient be your G. & counsell." Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 98.

"Robert Lekprevik, Imprentar in Ed^{r}," obtained, on the 11th of January 1567, the exclusive privilege, for twenty years, of printing all books in Latin or English, necessary "for the weill and commoditie of the lieges of this realme and als all sic

thingis as tend to ye glorie of God." This was renewed on the 11th of Nov. 1570, with the specification of "the buke callit Donatus pro pueris, Rudimentis of Pelisso, The actis of parl^t maid or to be maid, The Cronicle of this realme, The buke callit Regia Majestas, The psalmes of Dauid with the Inglis and Latine catechismes les & mair, The buke callit the Omeleis for readaris in kirkis, Togidder with ye grammer callit y^e generall grammer to be vsit within the seulis of ye realme for eruditioun of ye youth." Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxvii. fol. 27, vol. xxxix. fol. 34. He also obtained a license for twenty years, to print "all and haill ane buke callit y^e Inglis bybill imprented of before at Geneva." Reg. of Privy Seal, April 14, 1568.

The first edition of the English Bible printed in Scotland came from the press of Bassanden and Arbuthnot, in folio. In the month of March 1575, articles of agreement were given in to the General Assembly, and approved by them, bearing: "Imprimis, Anent the godly proposition made to the Bishops, Superintendents, Visitors and commissioners in this General Assembly, by Alexander Arbuthnot, merchant burges of Edinburgh, and Thomas Bassenden, printer and burges of the said burgh, for printing and setting forth of the Bible in the English tounge, conform to the proof given and subscribed with their hands, its agreed betwixt this present Assembly and the said Alexander and Thomas that every Bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in Albis for 4 pound 13 shill., 4 pennies, keeping the volume and character of the saids proofs delivered to the Clerk of the Assembly."—"Item, the kirk hath promised to deliver the authoretick copy which they shall follow unto them betwixt and the last of Aprile." Certain persons were appointed to oversee the copy, but they merely corrected such errors of the press as had crept into former editions, and adhered to the translation which had been made and first printed at Geneva. "Mr George Young, servant to my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline," corrected the proof-sheets. Robert Pont composed the Kalendar. Wodrow's Life of Smeton, p. 5—8. The New Testament was printed first, and bears on the title-page: "At Edinbvrgh, Printed by Thomas Bassandyne, M.D.LXXVI. Cvm Privilegio." Bassanden died before the completion of the work; and the title prefixed to the Old Testament is, "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament.—Printed in Edinbrvgh Be Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie, dwelling at y^e Kirk of Feild. 1579. Cvm Gratia et Privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

The Dedication to the young king is dated "From Edinburgh in our General Assemblie the tent day of Julie 1579.—Now quhē as being cōuenit in our Generall Assemblie, this holy boke of God, callit the Bible, newly imprentit, was brocht before vs be the prenter thereof, Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and trauailes worthie to be remembered in this behalfe) and desyrit to be dedicat to zour Hienes with a conuenient preface in our common Scottis language, we cold not omit nor neglect the occasion offrit to do the same.—O quhat difference may be sene betwene thir daies of light, quhen almaist in euerie priuat house the buike of Gods lawe is red and vnderstand in oure vulgaire language, and that age of darkness quhen skarslie in ane haill citie (without the Clostres of the monkes and freyres) culde the buke of God anes be founde, and that in ane strange tongue of Latine not gud but mixed with barbaritie, used and red be fewe, and almaist vnderstand or exponit be nane. And quhen the false namit clergie of this realme, abusing the gentle nature of zour Hienes maist noble Gudshir of worthie memorie, made it an cappital crime to be punishit with the fyre to haue or rede the New Testament in the vulgare language; zea, and to make them to al men mare odius, as gif it had bene the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named new testamentares."

In the year 1579 it was ordained, by act of parliament, that every gentleman householder worth three hundred merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman and burgess worth five hundred pounds, should "have a bible and psalm buke in vulgar language in thair hous for the better instruction of thame selffis and yair familijs in the knawledge of God," under the pain of ten pounds. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 139. Jun. 16, 1580, his Majesty appointed "Johne Williamson, burges of Edr—his general sercheour throuchout y^e haill boundis of this his Hienes realme to that effect," giving him power to visit the houses of such as are described in the act of parliament, "and to requyre the sicht of thair bybill and psalme buik gif thai ony haue to be markit with thair awin name of the said John or his deputtis hand wryte for

eschewing of fraudfull and deceavabill dealing in that behalf," and if they have none to exact the penalty. Record of Privy Seal, vol. xlvi. fol. 129.

The designation of "merchant burges of Edinburgh," given to Alexander Arbuthnot, in the Articles for printing the Bible, shows that he was a different person from the Principal of King's College, Aberdeen. If any other proof of this were necessary, it might be added, that Alexander Arbuthnot printed the acts of the parliament held in 1584, whereas the Principal died in the preceding year. Comp. Inquis. Retorn. Edin. num. 39.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV.

Note V, p. 80.

Designs and Conduct of Lennox.

Having described his companion Monberneau, "a subtill spreit, a mirrie fellow, able in bodie, and maist meit in all respects for bewitching of the youthe of a prince," James Melville adds, "Mr Nicol Dalgles tauld me y^t^ this Monbirneaus mother was a verie godlie Lady and schew grait courtessie to them in France at Burge in Berie, and warnit them of M. Obignies sending in Scotland, Wherevpon he maid aduertisement to the Minist. of Edin^r^." Diary, p. 59. Sir Robert Bowes, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, (Edinburgh, Oct. 6, 1580), says: "Sondry of the ministers chosen by the Synodall Assembly holden heare on Tuesday last, were sent to the kynge to make peticōn for reformation in sondry causes, who for the first accusynge Monburneaw of papistrey and other manifest and odiouse crymes, prayed that he might be removed from the k. chamber and presence, or els to be reformed. Wherein the k. alleged he was a strānger, and that they had no lawe to compell hym, And after longe arguments and shewe of discontentme^t^ he sayd that order should be taken therein. It is likely that after the end of this convention and sight of the satlynge of Lenoux state in this Realme, and w^t^ her matie Monburneaw shall dep^t^ into Ffraunce to the effects remembred. And surely in case he shall abyde here, and in his accustomed lyfe and dealynges he will fynde some sharpe measure offered at length." Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vi. 71.

The project of associating Queen Mary in the government with the king was forwarded by Lennox. Sir George Douglas acknowledged that he was sent to France to signify the king's consent to it. Life of John Durie, p. 18. Wodrow MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Col. Glasg. The following extract of a letter from Scotland (by a friend and secret agent of the Hamiltons, if I may judge from presumptive evidence) contains some curious information on this subject: "The reason therof is a dealying betwixt the king & the Queen that there may bee an association in all negotiations w^ch^ have [has] been in handlyng of a long tyme. The kyng in the beginning skayred herew^th^ and could not like well of it: notwithstanding he continewed in rendrying good answeare vnto the Queen wherein she insisted, and abowt the first of Apryll and the first of Maye hir writynges come to the kyng resolutely to haue the kynges answeare if he would agree to the association or not; for in reason thereof shee would not be longer delayed. The kinges answeare is that he liketh well of the association, and will hon^or^ hir in that and in all other: and hathe desyred her to forme the association and send it back, wherein yf there be only conteined the dealynge w^th^ forayne princes and nothing to preiudice him in his government it shall be graunted vnto. This answeare appearethe rather given uppon feare than for love. Albeit divers spie owt this dealynge, yet there is none privie vnto it except the duke and Arraine. The duke is very bent and meaneth truly to further the same. Arraine agreeth with the duke in it, but it appearethe that he dealeth indirectly to staye the same: ffor there is no appearance that Arraine can lyke well of it: and yet it is supposed the association shall take effect; for the

queens wrytings beare so that the kyng looketh for worse in case he yeald not unto the association." Cotton MSS. Calig. B. iv. 35. This letter has no date, but it mentions that "there is *lately* come owt of Ffrance some horse and harnesse to the kyng;" and this present arrived at Leith on the 9th of May, 1582. Ib. Calig. C. vii. 8. The sanguine hopes with which the project inspired the papists appear from a letter by P. A. G. H. at Edinburgh, to James Tirry, a Jesuit at Paris, 12 Junij 1582. Calig. C. vii. 14.

There are many proofs that Lennox did not bear his honours with meekness, and that his morals were very offensive to the nation; although the shameless profligacy of Arran attracted greater notice and indignation. Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, gives the following account of the Duke's behaviour in the church, when the preacher blamed the court for supporting Montgomery, Bishop of Glasgow. "When I did speak against the same, he did plainly minace me, and called me pultron, villain, mischant, with many other injurious words, and threatened to run me through with a rappair, till his Majesty himself was compelled to lay his hand upon his mouth and stay the Duke's fury and malicious language heard of all that stood in his Highness seat, and uttered publicly before the people. After the sermon was ended, at the Duke's passing out of the kirk door, in plain language, laying his hand upon his sword, boasted he would have my life, and used diverse contumelious and reproachfull words of malice and despite." Apology of Mr Patrick Galloway for his flight, MSS. Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9. A paper, entitled "Notes proving that the Duke of Lennox and Arran sought of old the wrack of Religion, the king, and commonwealth," contains the following particulars, among a multiplicity of others: "His (D'Aubigney's) convoy to the ship by the Duke of Guise, confederat of the Council of Trent, his own letter to Glasgow and Glasgow's letters to the Pope and Spain, the warnings from foraigne Churches and Christian Princes, Mr Randolph from England, William Melvil from the Prince of Orange, the King of Navarre by Weems and Bothwell, with experience, proveth these things. Alexander Seton in his letter confesseth that in his course so much was gained that his Ma. mind was alienated from the ministers."—"The companie brought with him were papists by profession, and indeed atheists, obstinate enemies to the king's Crown and amitie, and were entertained with him almost to his departure: Montbirneau, Keir, Schaw, Charles Geddes, Kilsyth," &c.—"The Duke in his own person fretted and was enraged that he could not be avenged on the ministers, who would not beare with his Hypocrisie and adulterouse life, wherewith the land was polluted. He intended to put hand on John Durie at Dalkeith. In a French passion he rent his beard, and thinking to strike the borde strake himself in the theigh, crying, The Devil for Jo. Durie, which Munbrineo learned for the first Lessoun in the Scottish language."—"The D. said to the K. he sould hang the L. Yester over his awin balk, for refusing his chaine which he wald haif gevin to Senr Paul."—"He plucked imperiouslie Lindsay by the cloke from his Ma. in Dalkeith."—"After their familiar access to court, his Ma. chest ears were frequentlie abused with unknown Italian and French formes of oaths. The maistresse of all bawdrie and villanie, then Lady Marche, infected the air in his H. audience.—By justice courts the poor of the countrie, without difference of the guiltie from the innocent, were sold and ransomed at hundreth pounds the score. That monster of nature called Countess of Arran controlled [the Judges] at her pleasure,—and caused sindrie to be hanged that wanted their compositions, saying, what had they been doing all their dayes that had not so much as five punds to buy them from the gallows." MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 8.

Note W, p. 88.

Smeton and Arbuthnot called to St Andrews.

James Melville mentions the design of obtaining Smeton to be minister at St Andrews, and the anxiety of his uncle to have it accomplished. Diary, p. 93. This is referred to in the following minute of the General Assembly, April 1583. "Sess. 8. Captain Montgomery by the King's Majesty to the whole Assembly, required them in his Highnes name, seeing his Majesty is patrone and erector of the

Colledge of Glasgow whcrethrow he hath a care of the entertainment and standing of the same, that the Assembly medle not with the removing any of the members thereof, and especially of the principall." Cald.

The steps taken by the kirk-session of St Andrews to obtain Arbuthnot are recorded in the following minutes, which contain the only letter of that excellent man that I have met with :—

"Die septimo mensis Augusti āno octuagesimo tertio.

The qlk day M. Dauid Russell, at request of ye sessioun, offers him self willing & reddy to ryd to Aburdein on his awin expenss for M. Alex. Arbuthneth, minister, and to bring ane direct ansr fra ye said M Alex. in wreit quhidder he will cum or not wt yis conditioun, yt ye said M. Dauid be not burdenit to ryde ye next tyme for ye said M. Alex. in cais he condescend to cum. The session thinks gude yis offer be intimit to provest, bailzes, & counsall.

"Die mercurii vigesimo octavo Augusti āno lxxxiii.

"The qlk day comperit M. Dauid Russell, bailze, quha being send from the counsall of town & sessioun to Aburdein to M. Alex. Arbuthneth, mr principall of ye college of Aburdein, to desyr him to address him self to yis citie to be ordinar pastor of St Ands conforme to ye generall ordinance of ye Generall Assemble, and ye said M. Alexs promis maid to ye town to yt effect, and for ye said M. Alexs ansr yrto, The said M. Dauid for diligence producit ye said M. Alexrs ansr in wreit direct to ye sessioun qr of ye tenor followis :

"The comfort of ye Holie Spreit for salutations. Belouit in ye Lord, efter my maist hartly commendations, Pleis I resauit zor letter requesting me to addres my self to ye charge in St Ands according to ye ordinance of ye last Assemblie, qlk trewlie I wald maist glaidlie obey if I wer vtherwayis fre, and of honestie and conscience myt weill leif yis towne, lykeas ye beraris of yr lr, my Lord of Mrche his seruitor, and M. Dauid Russell, hes omittit na diligence to do yr charge, nor na persuasions to move me to ye same effect ; bot as I haif writtin baith to my lord and ye town, of treuth yr be presentlie sic stoppis & impediments of my transporting, and just causis to retein me heir, and chieflie no sufficient provision maid for yis vniversite, yt nather presentlie can I addres me to remove nor zit can I see how ye same may be hastellie done wtout great inconvenientis to yis cuintrie in generall and to me in particular, qlk I dowt not ye Assemblie hauing deebplie considderit al things will ressonablie regard as zor W. also will pacientlie receve for my present excuis : referring forder to my writing send to my Lord Erle of Marche, & ye town of St Ands, for I constantlie affirm yt if I may be free yr is na cumpanie among quhome I wald mair glaidlie trauell nor amang zou, as He knawis quho jugis ye secretis of hartis, to quheis almytie protectioun I maist hartlie commit zou. From our college ye xii of August, yor bruther to be commandit in ye Lord, M. Arbuthnet.

"And forder ye said M. Dauid declarit yt at ye said M. Alexrs desyre, he hes purchest or soveraine lords charge direct to ye said M. Alex., to charge him to adres himself heir wt all diligence, qlk charge is direct to him als wt Walter Todrig, messinger, and yis day aucht dayis wt Goddis grace he sal schaw ye said charge & execution yrof, wt ye said M. Alexrs mynd & ansr yrin." Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews.

The General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April 1581, had appointed Arbuthnot to be minister of New Aberdeen. "Maister Alexr Arbuthnot transportit to ye ministrie of Abdn, and ordanit to demitt ye principalitie of the Colledge in favours of Mr Nicoll Dalgleisch." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102, b.

Note X, p. 92.

Melville's Trial.

The following is the Testimonial given him by the University :—

Seeing that the winderful providence of God has from all eternity ordeaned, and the Scriptures plainly forwarned, that of necessity sclanders should arise, to the

effect that his oun Elect should be tryed, and our master Christ, of this point in speciall, hath made his Faithfull servants forseen, that they should be drauen before the Tribunall seats of princes, and calumniously delated; as also the Experience of all Ages, from time to time till our dayes, has sealed this as an undoubted Truth: we tho^{t} it nothing strange to hear our brother, Mr Androu Melvil, provest of the New Colledge, calumniously traduced to your Majesty and H. Council, as a seditious subject, tending be his doctrine to call your croun in question, and to steal the hearts of your M. subjects from your obedience, and to that effect charged this day, as we are credibly informed; yet, notwithstanding, being bound and obliged of y^{t} Christian duety, whereby we ought to glorifie God, In giveing faithfull Testimony to his Truth; and of that debtfull obedience, wherby every one of us is bound to your H. in particular, We, RECTOR, Deans of Faculties, professors, Regents, and masters, within the university of Sainct Andrewes, conveened together in the fear of God, after calling upon his name, have thought it meet to send furth this our testimony, be our commissioners appointed for that effect, Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Wilkie,[1] to your M. and H. council, wherby we will most humbly crave, that your M. & H. council be fully perswaded and out of doubt, That whatsomever is laid to our Brothers charge, so long as he occupyed the chair of verity, and place in schools within this city, as it is False and Fained of it self, so it is only Forged of the Devil and his instruments, to bring the Faithful servants of God in Contempt and Hatred of their supreme Magistrat, q^{ch} God forbid. For as we wer continual and diligent Auditors of his Doctrine; so we bear him faithful record in God, and in conscience, that we heard nothing out of his mouth, neither in doctrine nor application, which tended not directly to the Glory of God, to the establishment of your M. croun, and to every one of our particular comforts and edification, And whensoever the occasion offered it self in special, to speak of your M., In God and in conscience as we have said, we heard him never but in Great Zeal, and Earnest Prayer recommend your M. estate, into his protection; exorting always all manner of subjects, to acknowledge their obedience to y^{e} meanest magistrats, your H. subjects; as bearing a portion of that Image, for which they are called Gods on earth. Therfor we most humbly, in all Reverence, wold crave of your M. & H. Counsel, not to be slandered or offended, in this Incident; for as its one of the proper effects of the word of God, so its the ordinary way, whereby God brings about his oun work to the Glory of his oun name, to the comfort of the Godly, and to the closing of the blasphemous mouths of the supposts of Sathan, who are not ashamed in so manifest a light, so horribly to lye upon the Servant of God; and for verification hereof we have subscribed thir presents, with our Hands, and have ordaned our seal to be affixed thereto. At Saint Andrews the 8 day of February, 1584.

Mr James Wilkie, Rector
Mr James Martine, Dean of Faculty
Mr John Robertson, Professor of Theology
Mr James Melvil, Professor of Theology
Mr William Wallat, Professor of the Mathematicks

Mr Robert Bruce
Mr Thomas Buchanan
Mr Robert Inscho
Mr David Monypennie
Mr Robert Wilkie
Mr William Marche
Mr William Cranston
Mr James Robertson
Mr John Caldcleuch
Mr John Malcomb
Mr And. Duncan
Mr David Martine
Mr John Rutherfoord
Mr Archibald Moncreif
Mr Walter Abercrummie
Mr David Blyth
Mr Mark Ker
Mr Gawin Borthwick
Mr John Lickprevik
Mr Andrew Inglis
Mr David Inglis
Mr William Murrey
Mr James Aiton
Mr Hector Monro
Mr James Bennet

Cald. III. p. 304—306. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.

[1] In the accompts of the university for the year 1583, is the following article of discharge: "It. vi. lib. dat. M. Rob. Wilkie, Commissario Univ^{tis} in causa M. Andreæ Melvin."

Sentence of Imprisonment Pronounced on Melville.

Note Y, p. 94.

Apud Halieruidhous xviii° Fᵉʳⁱⁱ,
Anno etc. lxxxⁱⁱʲᵒ.
Sederunt

Colinus Ergadie comes
Jacobus comes de Arrane
Dauid comes de Craufurd
Joannes comes de Montrois
Joannes comes de Mortoun
Jacobus comes de Glencairne
Jacobus dⁿˢ de Down
Thirlstane
Comendatarius de Culros
Caprintoun
Clīcus Regʳⁱ
Murdocairny
Prior de Blantyir
Segy
Mʳ of Requeistis.

Mr Andro Meluile chargeit to ward.

Forsamekle as Maister Andro Meluile, provest of yᵉ new colledge of Sanctandrois, Being callit befoir the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, And he comperand personalie wes inquirit vpoun certane thingis laid to his charge spokin be him in his sermon maid in yᵉ kirk of Sanctandrois vpoun the day of Januar last bypast, offensiue and sklanderous to yᵉ kingis maiestie, Eftir sindrie alledgeances maid be yᵉ said Mʳ Andro for declyning of yᵉ judgement and protestationis tending to yᵉ same effect. At last being inquirit gif a minister speiking in pulpett that qˡᵏ salbe alledgit to be treasoun aucht to be tryit yairfoir befoir yᵉ king in yᵉ first instance or not, Ansuerit yat althoᵗ yᵉ speiche wer alledgit to be treasoun, zit yᵉ tryell in yᵉ first instance aught not to be befoir yᵉ king bot befoir yᵉ kirk, Qʳupon his hienes and his secreit counsale, ffindis yat his hienes and not yᵉ kirk is Judge in yᵉ first instance in caussis of tressoun qᵗsumeuir, And in respect of yᵉ said Maister Androis proceidingis and behaveor sa oft declyning his maiesteis judgment, and sua refuising to acknauledge his hienes royall estait and aucᵗⁱᵉ, As alsua to obiect aganis yᵉ witnessis sūmond for the tryell of yᵉ said mater, Clamyng to yᵉ priuiledge of certane actis of parliament and secreit counsale concerning yᵉ iurisdictioun of yᵉ kirk, Quhilkis being producit, red, and considerit, wer fund to contene na sic priuiledge nor libertie grantit to yᵉ kirks to cognosce in materis of tressoun in the first instance as wes alleᵗ be him, Ansuering alsua maist proudlie, irreuerentlie, and contemptuouslie, that yᵉ lawis of God wᵗ yᵉ lawis and practik obseruit within yis cuntrie were peruertit and not obseruit in this cais, And last yat he had spokin all yat he had to say, adherand to his former protestationis, His maiestie wᵗ auise of yᵉ saidis lordis of his secreit counsale In yir respectis declaris yᵉ said Maister Andro to be worthie to be cōmittit to ward in his hienes castell of Blaknes, and forder pvneist in his persoun and gudis at his hienes will, Thairfoir ordanis Lrēs to be direct to yᵉ masʳ of counsale or vther officear of armes, To pas and in his hienes name and aucᵗⁱᵉ cōmand and charge yᵉ said Maister Andro Meluille, To pas and entir his persoun in ward wᵗin yᵉ said castell of Blaknes, thairin to remane vpoun his awin expensis during his hienes will, and ay and quhill he be fred be his maiestie, within ten houris nixteftir he be chargit yʳto vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to yᵉ horne, and gif he failze yʳin yᵉ saidis ten houris being bypast to denūce him his maiesteis rebell and put him to ye horne, And to escheit and inbring, etc. And that ane Lʳᵉ be direct for his ressait in ward, wᵗin yᵉ said castell. Record of Privy Council.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V.

Note AA, p. 124.

Presentation of the Principalitie of ye New College of St. And. to Mr Johne Robertsoun.

Ure soverane lord ordanis ane lrē to be made vnder the previe seall, bering yt forsamekle as his matie being surelie informite of the depairting out of the realme of Mr Andro Melven, principall of ye New Colleige, callit the pedagoge in Sanctandrois, and of ane number of maisteris & regentis yairof quha hes passit out of this realme, and in ane maner laift ye said Collaige voad & dissolat of all lairning, doctrene, and instructioun, to ye grite preiudice of ye schoillis and decay of gud lrēs wtin this realme, and his matie being of gud mynd and dispositione to fortefie, mentene, & aduance ye curs of lairning, incress of gud letters, and vertew wtin the realme, and speciallie to sie ye said Collaige and pedagoge restorit, redintegrat, and restablisit in godlie (*sic*) and exerceiss yairof, Thairfoir and for ye effect foirsaid his matie hes wt ye aduyse of ye lord and consallr (*sic*) Patrik, bischope of Sanctandrouz, quhois predicessors foundit & erectit ye said Collaige, to place qualefeit & lairnit men to be masteris yairin: And specialie Mr Johne Robertsoune, quho is remanent and actuall maister of auld, to be principall Mr yairof; to nominat, present, and admit Bursaris and pur scoillars yairin; to tak order for ye rentis, fruttis, dewteis, profeittis, emolumentis of the said Collaige of ye crope & zeir of God lm vc fourscoir four zeiris, and sic lyk zeirlie in tyme cuminge, And to appoint sik personis as yai pliss for ye ingadering and inbringinge of the saidis rentis and fruitis for sustentatone of the saids Mrs regents and bursars, for instructing of ye youtheheid in gude literature and science, and to do all & sundrie thingis yt belangs to the ryt and dew administracione of the said Collaige, firm & stabill halding qtsumever the said bischope shall do yairin anent the premissis: Ordaninge the lordis of or secreit counseill and session to direct lrēs of horning vpone ane suptn chairge of ten dayis alanarlie at ye instance of The said bischope, Mr Johne Robertsoune, and sik vders as saill be appointit be yam for ye inbringing of ye saidis rentis of ye crope & zeir of God foirsaid, and siclyk zeirlie in tyme cūming to the effect aboūwritten; discharging be yir prnts all vders, economus, intrometters, factors, or vdir personis qtsaeuer, tittill, gift, or licence of factorie preceding ye dait of yir prnts, to intromet or vplift ony of ye fruits, rentis, profeits, & emolumētis of ye said Collaige in maner aboūwriten, yt ye tenantis, taxmen, fewars, farmoners, and parochinars of the kirkis and landis annexit to the said Collaige reddelie ansr, obay, and mak thankfull paymēt of ye said rentis of ye said crop & zeir of God to yam, yair factors, and servitors alanerlie, and yt ye said lrē be extendit, &c. Subscriuit at Holyrudhous ye XXVI day of Februar, Anno dni 1584 yeiris. Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 124.

Note BB, pp. 130, 131.

Royal Charges to Melville.

Act warding Mr Andrew Melvil.

At Halyrudhouse, the 26 day of May, the year of God 1586 years, the Kings Maj. and Lords of Secret Council having consideration of the disordered estate of the Universitie of St Andrews, occasioned for the most part be the Dissention and Diversitie betwixt Patrick Bishop of St Andrews, and Mrs Andrew and James Melvilles masters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the Kirk, Division of the said Universitie, and decaying of Learning, and all virtuous exercise within the same, speciallie of theologie, whereof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this Realme, albeit be occasion of the said Diversitie and variance, the ordinar profession thereof has been discontinued thir two years bygane, to the great encouragement of the adver-

sars of the true and Christian Religion, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme for the eversion thereof, and the erection again of Antichristian papistrie, condemned be God, and be his Hieness Lawes, for repressing of whose practices, and continuing of the Exercise of Theologie within the said universitie in the mean time, his H. with advice foresaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to pass immediatelie to Angus, Merns, Perth, and other parts of the North where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuites to be, to conferr with them, and travell so far as in him lyes to reduce them to the true and Christian Religion presently professed and acknowledged be his Maj. and this whole realme, and in case he shall find them obstinate, to delate them to his Maj. and his Secret Council to be tane order with according to his H. Lawes and Acts of Parliament, enduring the which time and travell, his Hieness has dispensed, and be the tenour hereof dispenses with his ordinarie profession, and exercise within the said New Colledge, and appoints the same to vaike untill his returning, Commanding in the mean time the said M^r James to attend upon his own place for the instruction of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answer to God and his H.; and to the Intent that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that Universitie, his Hieness with advice forsaid ordeans and commands the said Bishop to teach weeklie two lessons of theologie within S. Salvators Colledge, one upon Tuesday and another upon Thursday everie week, beginning upon the first Tuisday of Junie next, and so continuing ay and while his Maj. take further order thereanent, and that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flock whereunto he is astricted be the late Conference, and that Letters be directed hereupon if need be, charging everie one of the said persons to do accordingly as they will answer to his Maj. upon their obedience at their uttermost charge and perril.

Extractum ex Libris Actorum Secreti Concilii per me Joannem Andro Clericum Deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.
—Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6, 17, p. 219. Joannes Andro.

The following charge taken from Calderwood, (MS. vol. iv. 8), is corrected by another copy which Wodrow has inserted in his Life of Andrew Melville. MSS. vol. xiv. Bibl. Col. Glasg.

Principall and Masters of the New Colledge, we greet you well. For as much as we are informed certainly, That upon the Sundays, you assemble to your selves a number both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English Tongue, and inveigh against the late agreement q^ch, by the advice of the G. Assembly, was appointed for the Quietnes of the Kirk and Realm; q^rby great inconveniencys may ensue: specially the Division of the members of the university, Gentlemen and Burgesses, who by y^t means are abstracted from their parish kirk and pastors there; We, willing that no such occasion should ensue, and for the wellfare and quietnes of the Toun and kirk there, have by thir presents tho^t good that ye contean yourselves within the Bounds of your own vocation & calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the Instruction of the youth, and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to y^e people of the parish. We gave our commandment to Mr Andreu Melvill returning to the Colledge, that he should not in any sort preach to the people; wherein if either ye or he contineu we will take further order in time coming, that our appointment be not so lightly regarded. Thus we committ you to God. From Hallyroodhous the 4 of Feb. 1586.

James Rex.

Note CC, p. 132.

Conduct of James VI. on the Execution of Queen Mary.

Lord Hamilton having been employed by Courcelles, the French ambassador, to speak to James of his mother's danger, "the kings answere was, that the Queene, his mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed; ffurther, that having bound her selfe to the Queene of England to doe nothing againste her, she ought to have kept her promise: notwithstanding that he woulde no waye faile in his dutie and naturall obligatione he ought her." To Sir George Douglas, who represented to him how discreditable it would be to him to allow Elizabeth to put his mother to death, the king said that he knew "she bore

him no more good will than she did the Queene of England—and that in truth it was meete for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and serving of God." The Earl of Bothwell, being asked by the king what he should do if Elizabeth asked his consent to proceed against his mother, said, "yf he did suffer it he were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; whereat the King laughed and said, he would prouid for that." Courcelles to the King of France, Oct. 4, 1586. "The nobilitie believe indeed that ther is some secrete intelligence betweene the Queene of Englande and the king, which is the rather confirmed becaus the King's secretare and Grawe were onlie made privie to the said Keiths instructiones," &c. Same to same, Nov. 30. The Master of Gray's embassy confirms them in this opinion, "and that the King of Scotts will not declare him selfe openly against her [Elizabeth] though his mother be put to death, vnlesse the Queene and the Statts would deprive him of his right to that crowne, which himselfe hath vttered to Earle Bothewill and Chevalcire Seaton." Dec. 31. Alexander Stewart, sent in the company of the ambassadors "with more secret charge," had said to Elizabeth, "were she even deade, yf the king at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him doges and deare." On being informed of this "the king was in marvilose collore, and sware and protested before God that yf Steuard came he would hang him before he putt off his bootes, and yf the Queene medled with his mothers life, she should knowe he would follow somewhat else than dogges and deare." Feb. 10. Courcelles expresses his fears that if Mary's execution should happen, James would "digeste it as patiently as he hath done that which passed between the Queene of England and Alexander Stuard, whose excuse he hath well allowed, and vseth the man as well as before." Feb. 28. On the arrival of the intelligence of Mary's execution, Courcelles "believeth in truth that the king is greatly afflicted with this accidente." March 8. But when Gray was banished, the queen's death was not mentioned among the grounds, "lest he should have accused others." And when the Estates twice requested the king to revenge his mother's death, and offered their lives and fortunes in the cause, he merely "thanked them, and said he would open his intentions afterwards."—June 6, and August — .

The above quotations are made from "Ane Extracte gathered out of Monsieur Courcelles Negociation in Scotland, from 4th October 1586 to 28th September 1587," in the possession of the Right Honourable the Marquess of Lothian. This is, I presume, the same with that in Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 233. It is very singular that nearly a month should have elapsed before Mary's execution was known at Edinburgh. In the year 1585, when Stirling was taken by the banished lords, Elizabeth's ministers at London had intelligence of the fact within forty-eight hours after it happened. Melville's Diary, p. 165.

Note DD, p. 140.

Melville's Poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark.

The title of this poem is "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitvm in Coronatione Reginæ. 17 Maij 1590. Per Andream Meluinum. Pro. 16, 13. Iustitia stabilit thronum Regis. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Waldegraue, An. Dom. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regali." 4to, five leaves. The poem is republished in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 71—76. On the back of the title-page of the original edition are the following lines, in which the author apologises for the haste with which the poem was composed and published, and ingeniously alludes to the late voyage of the royal bridegroom :—

Ad Regem.

Quod feci dixique tuo, Rex inclyte, iussu,
Ecce iubes volitet docta per ora virum.
Jussisti quod here, ego hodie : cras ibit in orbem :
Et properatum adeo præcipitabis opus?
Præcipita. per me ire licet quo authore volasti
Trans mare. Sors eadem fors erit : vrget amor.

James must have been pleased with the conceit expressed in the two concluding

lines, and with the following address in the poem itself, which pays a flattering compliment to his gallantry in braving the winter sea, and to (what he was no less proud of) his poetical achievements:—

Ferguso generate, poli certissima proles,
Quot reges tulit olim orbis, quot regna Britannus,
Tot regnis augende hæres, tot regibus orte,
Tot reges geniture olim fœlicibus astris,
Lætus in optatæ sanctis amplexibus Annæ:
Annæ, cuius amor te tot vada cerula mensum,
Tot scopulos, tot præruptas saxa ardua rupes,
Tantam Hyemem, tot fœta feris et inhospita tesqua
Raptauit, gelidisque morantem distulit oris,
Quam procul a patria, ac populo regnisque relictis
Tam propior Phœbo, Musis lucem annue nostris,
Dum canimus decus omne tuum, decus omne tuorum,
Rex Iacobe, decus Musarum et Apollinis ingens.

The theme of the *Stephaniskion* is the right government of a kingdom. After a description of the cares which environ a crown, and the small number of those who have swayed the sceptre with credit to themselves and benefit to their people, whose names, according to the saying of an Asiatic monarch,

Unà omnes inscribi uno posse annulo, et unâ
Includi gemma, fulvum quæ dividit aurum;

the poet inquires into the causes which incite men to covet this dangerous eminence,—the secret impulse of nature, the innate desire of distinction, consciousness of talents or of birth, thirst for personal glory or family aggrandisement, patriotism, and that more exalted and sacred flame which seeks, by the faithful administration of a terrestrial kingdom, to obtain a celestial and unfading crown.

Vis arcana naturæ, et conscia fati
Semina:
Levat alta laborem
Gloria, celsi animi pennis sublimibus apta.
Quid studium humani generis? quid viuida virtus
Ignauæ impatiens vmbræ atque ignobilis oti?
. . . . . .
Et prædulce decus patriæ: populique Patrumque,
Vel bello quærenda salus, per mille pericla,
Mille neces, et morte ipsa quod durius usquam est?
Quo patriæ non raptet amor cœlestis, & aulæ
Ætheriæ, æterna regem quæ luce coronat?

The prince described is of course a patriot king; but the author does not maintain (as Archbishop Adamson had accused him of doing), that popular election is the only legitimate mode of investing a prince with the sceptre:

Seu lectus magno e populo, seu natus avito
In solio, vel lege nova, vel more vetusto,
Sortitus sceptrique decus regnique coronam.

He does not touch the harsh string of resistance to rulers who abuse their power, but he strongly reprobates, and condemns to the Stygian lake whence it ascended, the pestilential principle, that kings are born for themselves, and that their will is their law:

Stat regi, ut regni Domino, pro lege voluntas:
Talia dicta vomit diris e faucibus Orcus.
. . . . . .
Est pecus, est pejor pecude, est fera bellua, soli
Qui sibi se natum credit: qui non nisi in ipso
Cogitat imperium imperio: qui denique secum
Non putat ipse datum se civibus, at sibi cives.

The marriage of James, with its attendant solemnities, was celebrated by other poets besides Melville. Among these were Hercules Rollock and Adrian Damman. "De Avgustissimo Jacobi 6, Scotorum Regis, & Annæ—conjugio: 13. Calend. Septemb. 1589, in Dania celebrato:—Epithalamivm Ad eamdem Annam, Serenissimam Scotorum Reginam. Hercule Rolloco Scoto auctore. Edinburgi Excudebat Henricvs Charteris. 1589." Ten leaves in 4to. "Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis

A Bisterveld Gandavensis—Edinburgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde-graue. An. Dom. 1590." I in fours. This last collection consists of a Greek and Latin poem on the marriage, and of Latin poems on the storm which drove the Queen to Norway, the King's voyage, the coronation, and the public entrance into Edinburgh. Prefixed to the work are encomiastic verses by Melville in Latin, and by Robert Pont in Latin and Greek. Damman gives a poetical description of the ceremony of the Coronation, in the course of which he praises the sermon preached by Galloway, and especially the prayer offered up by Bruce:

Conticuere iterum, versisque ad Sacra Ministris,
Brucius assurgit, vir nobilis, inque togati
Classe Ministerij nullo pietatis & æqui
Laudibus inferior, precibus Solemnia sanctis
Commendare Deo, Christumque in vota vocare
Incipit, & prudens animi, linguæque disertus.

He gives the following flattering description of Melville, and the part which he acted in the solemnity:

Altisonis stat pausa tubis: strepitusque silescit
Gaudia testantis populi: quum denique surgit
Nobilis eloquio, doctrinaque inclytus omni,
Divinâ imprimis: qui multus Apollinis antra,
Antra rosis, violisque, et anethi picta corymbis,
Lymphæ ubi limpidulo trepidant pede, rite frequentat,
Melninus, grandique ad Regem carmine fatur
Ausonio, monitisque docet prudentibus artem
Imperij.

It appears from Damman's account, that Melville pronounced his poem immediately after the crown was placed on the Queen's head, and not before that ceremony was performed, as James Melville has stated in his Diary.—Damman was not a Dane, as is commonly supposed. He was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and had taught Humanity in that city. Anton. Sanderus, De Gandavensibvs Erudit. Fama Claris, p. 13. Antv. 1624. Sanderus says he went to Scotland at the invitation of Buchanan. "Tandem a Georgio Buchanano ad Nobilem iuventutem politissimis litteris imbuendam accersitus in Scotiam fuit." Others say that he came to Scotland in the retinue of Queen Anne. He afterwards taught for some years as Professor of Humanity in the College of Edinburgh, and acted as Resident of the States-General at the court of Scotland. Crawfurd's Hist. of the University of Edinburgh, pp. 35, 40. Epist. Eccles. et Theolog. p. 35—38. Amst. 1704.

Note EE, p. 148.

Patronage and Popular Election.

"Ordinarie vocation consisteth in Election, Examination, and Admission.—It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall Congregation to elect their Minister.—For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this libertie with all care must be reserved to every severall Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers." First Book of Discipline, head iv. "Election is the chosing out of a person, or persons, most able, to the office that vakes, by the judgement of the Eldership, and consent of the Congregation, to which shall be the person, or persons appointed.—So that none be intrused upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferiour person, without lawfull election, and the consent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk, and good order craves. And because this order, which God's word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices used in the Pope's kirk, we desire all them that truely feare God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices, together with the effect thereof, have flowed from the Pope and corruption of the Canon law onely, in so far as thereby any person was intrused or placed over kirkes having *Curam animarum;* and for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same and to the said liberty of Election, they ought not now

to have place in this light of Reformation." Second Book of Discipline, chap. 3 and 12.

At the first General Assembly, "the kirk appointit the electioun of the minister, elders, and deacons to be in the publick Kirk, and the premonition to be vpon the Sonday preceiding the day of the Electioun." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 2. In June 1562, it was concluded, "tuiching persones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without nomination of the people, and dew examination and admission of the Superintendent." Keith, 513. An act of Assembly, April 1582, for correcting disorders produced by ambition, covetousness, and indirect dealing in entering to the ministry, concludes thus: "this act no wayes to be prejudiciall to laick patrones and yr presentatiouns, vnto ye tyme ye lawes be reformed according to the word of God." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 123, b. On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishoprics to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen. The General Assembly, in August 1588, petitioned his Majesty against this; "inhibiting in ye meantyme all commissioners and presbyteries yt they in no wayes give collatioun or admissioun to any persons presentit be ye saids new patrons as is above speit [specified] unto ye nixt General Assemblie of ye Kirk." Ib. f. 153, a. Among the articles of an overture approved by the Assembly in May 1596, was the following: "Thridlie, because be presentatiouns many forciblie are thrust in ye ministrie and vpoun congregatiouns yt utteris yrafter they were not callit be God, it wald be provydit yt none seik presentatiouns to benefices without advyce of ye presbyterie within ye bounds qr of pbrie [sic] lyis, and if any doe in ye contrair they to be repellit as Rei ambitus." Ib. f. 178, a.

Such was the law of the church. The practice appears to have varied somewhat in different places. Sometimes the General Assembly or the presbytery of the bounds nominated or recommended a minister, either of their own accord, or at the desire of the session or congregation. In some instances the election was by the session, or by the session and principal persons of the parish, and in others by the votes of the congregation at large. Sometimes the congregation elected the individual themselves; at other times they nominated electors from among themselves; and at other times they referred the choice to the presbytery. But in whatever way this was conducted, the general consent of the people was considered as requisite before proceeding to admission, and the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was acceptable to the parish. On the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddington, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination, but Mr James Carmichael having produced and read the act of Assembly 1562, they relinquished their claim. Record of Presbytery of Haddington, August 15, 1601. The following is the account of the election of Robert Bruce to be minister of St Andrews:—

"Die xxio mensis Maii anno lxxxixo.

The qlk day being appointit to ye electioun of ane minister and fallow laborar wt M. Robert Wilkie, minister in ye functioun of ye ministrie in this congregation. furt of ye nyne personis efter specifyt, viz. nominat be ye town, vniversite, & landward parochenaris: to witt, Mrs Robert Bruce, Jhone Cauldcleuche, Wm Marche, nominat be ye town; Mr Johne Malcom, Alex. Monipenny, & M. Jhon Auchinlek, nominat be ye universite; and Mrs Nichol Dalgles, Jhone Dauidsoun, & Robert Dury, nominat be ye gentill men & paroshenaris upon land. Comperit ane ryt hono11 man, James Lermonth of Darsy, provest of St Andoe, M. Wm Russel bailze, Thomas Lentroun & Patrik Gutherie, commissioners for ye town, & Patrik Bonkill ye common clerk, M. James Wilkie rector of ye universite, M. David Monypenny deane of facultie, M. Andrew Meluill Mr principall of ye new College, and M. Wm Cranstoun maister in ye auld college, commissioneris for ye said universite, and hon11 men Sir George Douglas of Elenehill knyt, James Wod of Lambeletham, James Hay chalmerlane of ye priore of St Andoe, Patrik Dudingstoun portioner of Kincapill, Andrew Wod of Straytwethy, & M. Alex Jarden of Smyddygrein. commissionaris for ye gentillmen and paroshinaris vpoun land. Quha all wt ane voce, efter ernest incalling on ye holy name of God, electit & chusit ye said Mr Robert Bruce as ane man maist meet, habill, and quhalifyt minister and fallow laborar in ye ministrie wt ye said Mr Robert Wilkie. And ye saidis haill commissionaris hes aggreit ye ilk ane of thame, to witt, ye towne, universite, & paroshenaris vpon land send, wt all diligens yr supplication in ye maist feruent maner to

ye said M. Robert Bruce to cum & occupy ye said office in & upon him conforme to ye said fre election." Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews. On the demission of Mr Robert Wilkie, who was appointed Principal of St Leonard's College, "The maist speciall of the haill parochin alsweill to land as burt being convenit, efter ernest incalling upon ye holy name of God, electit & chusit, all wt ane voce wtout discrepans or variance, Mr David Blak, quha wes specialie recommendit to thame be ye generall kyrk, pastor and minister to this congregation." Ib., Nov. 11, 1590.

Mr Andrew Forester, minister of Corstorpnine, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and a presentation of it to himself by the king, confessed, after some interrogatories, "that bayt ye dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be his foirknowledge and accepted be his consent." The presbytery found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and "becaus be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the Generall Assembly deerning sic persones as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure wtout foirknowledge and consent of the kirk to be Rei ambitus, of the qlk fault he is to be tryit befoir his judge ordinarie." Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 5, 1597.

The parishioners of Aberlady requested the presbytery, "that ane lite myt be maid of qualifeit men and sent to teache in their paroche kirk upon several Sabboth dayes per vices, To the end yt ye Brethrene of the presbyterie wt their consent myt out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr Andrew Blackhall, younger, being put on the leet, was suspected to be *reus ambitus*, and ordained to make his purgation. He satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was myndit to accept of the same wtout ye special advyse of the presbyterie." Ib. from January 21 to March 17, 1602. The presbytery "finds the said Mr Andro not to be Reus ambitus;" but still they came to the following resolution:—

"At Hadingtoun ye 24 Martij 1602.

The qlk day ye brethrene being to noīate and elect ane of the thrie yt was vpon ye Lite for Aberladie to be placit as pastour thare, before yt ye said mater suld be put in voting thot meit yt Mr Andro Blakhal suld subscryve ye submissioun following.

I, Mr Andro Blakhal, younger, am content to put and presētlie puts ye gift and presēntatoun of ye vicarage of Aberladie obtainit in my name in ye hands of ye presbyterie of Hadingtoun, to use it as thay think gude.

Sic subscribitur,
M. A. Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure in the case of an unpopular presentee occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of Episcopacy. In 1621, Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king a presentation to the parish of North Berwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what is "ther lyking or approbation" of him. Commissioners, accordingly, attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported "in name of the whole people that thei ware not content wt Michael Gibbert, and that universallie ye people had no lyking of him, and thawcht him not meit for that place." The presbytery having taken him on trials, "commends and allows his gift and holie affectioun, juges him able to enter in the ministrie qr it sall please God to call him wt consent of the congregatioun; but in respect of the place of Northberwick qrunto the Generall Assemblie haldin at Aberdein hes thawcht meit an man of singular gifts of authoritie and experience, also in respect of ye commissionars of the said parochin of Northberwick dissenting yrfra, we thinke him not meit for yt place of Northbervick." It was ordained accordingly that a letter should be written to "my lord of St Androis, bearing the presbytries judgement anent the said Michael Gilberts not qualification for Northberwick." On the 5th of September the presbytery received the following answer from the archbishop:—

"Loving brithren, I haue receaved yor ltre tutching Michael Gilbert, qrby I perceaue yt he is not be zow fond meit to be receavit in that kirk. But I must pray zow in yor answair to forbeir the consideration of ye kirk, at leist the mention of it

in your writt, because, as I formarlie wrote, if he be fund meit to be an minister I cannot shift but giue collatioun as I am requyrit. He is presentit to that kirk, yrfor directit to be tryit by zow: if he be not fund meit it exoners both zou & me To say so in generall that Michael Gilbert, being presented be his Ma. for such a kirk and directed by me to be tryed by zou, ze find him not qualifeit. And no more then this being, I sall desyr zow speedilie to acquent me whom ze wold chuse with consent of the parochin, and I sall doe the best I can to haue zou satisfeit, for I shall be loith to admitt any whom ze by yor judgement finds not qualefeit to anie of yor kirks; and certainlie wold we in planting haue this regard to consider ye qualities of men, ther prudence as weill as yr teiching, whom Chrysestome in some place requyris as necessarie in a pastor, or kirk wold be in an better estate, & or calling not so exposed to contempt as it is, but thes I leaue and for the present commits zow to God.

Rests your assured brother,
St Andrews."

The presbytery took the bishop's hint, and made an act declaring simply the presentee's "non-sufficiencie," but after some delay they received instructions from the bishop (Feb. 5, 1622) to proceed with Gilbert's settlement; on which they came to this conclusion, "That in regard of the opposition made already by the peopill, and in regard of the slander and contempt that may be given in publick to the ministrie, urging the people to yield unto yt qlk no wayes they will do, that the mater be delayed to such opportunities as the arch B. may bespek." Ib. from June 27, 1621, to February 5, 1622. The presentee, however, ultimately prevailed; for on the roll of members of presbytery for the year 1624 is "Michael Gilbert, minr of Northbervick."

The consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that John Davidson should be settled as minister of Saltpreston and the Pannis, "ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the tounes foirsaids come and shew thair gude lyking of Mr Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbytery (met at Tranent), desyring us maist earnestly wt ane voyce," &c.—"Thanks returned to my Lord of Newbottle," whose concurrence in the settlement had been requested by the presbytery. Ib. Oct. 29—Dec. 24, 1595. Oftener the consent of the congregation was reported to the presbytery by commissioners. The reader may be pleased to see the following copy of a formal written call, which is the earliest document of the kind that I have met with:

"Vnto zor godlie W. of the presbyterie of Hadingtoun, humlie menis and schawis, we zor bretherne the prors [parishioners] of Gullane, wt the speciall consent of our pastor, Mr Thomas Makghe that qras it hes pleisit God in the age, infirmitie, and often diseisis of our said pastor, to offer occasion of support to him and to vs both be Mr Androw Makghe his sone, of quhome we having had pruiff and tryall the twa zeiris bygane, dois testifie his doctrine to be sound, sensible, & edifying, his lyff and conversatioun to be honest and unrebukeable: In respect qrof haueing gude expectatioun yt he salbe ane profitable instrument amangis vs for advancement of Goddis glorie and our awin salvatioun, hes wt ane voyce thoucht expedient maist ernistlie to requeist zor wisdomes to proceid wt that diligence zor w. sall think maist expedient to the admission and ordinatioun of the said Mr Andro to the office of ministerie within our congregatioun: That being warrandit be ye outward calling and authoritie of the kirk, he may be answerabill to our said expectatioun in the synceir preaching of Goddis word, ministring of ye sacraments, discipline, and all vther externall benefites of ye kirk, according to the reull of the said word and commoun practise of the reformit kirk wtin this cuntrey: Unto quhome, in the Lord, ane and all, we promise faytfullie our concurrance and obedience to the vttermost according to or dewtie. And zor godlie w. answr humlie we beseich

Sic Subscribitur	Mr Thomas Makghe minister of Gullane
Rot Hepburne	George Ker
Alexr Tod	P. Levingtoun of Saltcottis
Mr Mark Hepburne	Ro. Congilton of that ilk
George Dudgeoun	Walter Ker

Andro Robesone
Williame Marsheall
Jhone Sinclair
George Halyburtoun
Daniel Broun
Michael Tod

James Sandilands
George Walker
George Sseveis
Thomas Wilson.

This is the mynd of the haill rest of the prors yt cannot subscryve, as thai haue testifyit be thair consent quhen thair voittis wes requyrit, desyring me notar vnderwritten to subscryve in thair names.

Ita est Joannes Craik notarius publicus ad premissa requisitus testem his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus." Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 7, 1597.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

Note FF, p. 154.

Riot against Melville at St Andrews.

The summons raised at the instance of Mr Andrew Melvill, Principal of the New College of St Andrews, and Mr David Makgill of Nisbet, his Majesty's advocate, states, "that upon the fourt day of Junij instant, the said Mr Andro being vnder medicine wtin his chalmer of the said college, lippȳing for nae violence—Mr David Methven, &c. convocat and assemblit togidder be the ringing of the cōmoun bell the haill ceitie, for the maist part of the said citie bodin in feir of weir, with quhom they come to the said college and in maist barbarous and insolent maner brak up the back and foir yettis yrof, clam the wallis of the same, and preisit violentlie to haue brokin up the said Mr Androis chalmer dur, lyke as thay brak up wt ane lang Jeist the bak stair of his said chalmer vpoun set purpois and deliberatioun to have slayne and murdriest him within his said chalmer, quhilk thay had not faillit to have done were not, be the providence of God and the mediatioun and travellis of the magratis of the said citie, thair rage and fury wes sum quhat mitigat lyk as thay in deid remanit wtin the said college and about the same the space of tua houris togidder suting the said Mr Androis lyff, uttering all the tyme mony injurious speches, saying we have now gottin the occasioun we lang socht, let us tak it and mak us qwyte of this man that troublis ws ay,"—The Lords ordayn Mayster William Russel and William Leirmont, two of the Bailies of St Andrews, to enter into ward in the Castle of Blacknes, and remain there until they give up the names of the chief persons concerned in the riot,—and ordain the provost and members of town council to subscribe a Band obliging themselves and their successors to preserve all the members of the universitie "harmeless and skaydless."—And they further decern that such of the rioters as had been summoned and have not appeared, shall be denounced rebels. Record of Privy Council, 23 Junij 1591.

The following extract from the Record of the Burgh Court of St Andrews relates to the circumstance mentioned in the text as having given occasion to the riot. The act is crossed in the record, and on the margin is the following official note: "Die vigesimo quarto mensis Augusti 1591. This Act deleit wt consent of ye prowest, bailhes. and counsell. J. Bonde, Scriba." The Act runs thus.

Mr Andro Malwill & ye Town.

Curia Burgalis civ. Sti Andreæ tenta in prætorio ejusdem per honorabiles viros Thomam Lentroun Magistros Gulielmum Cok et Gulielmum Russell ballivos dictæ

civitatis, die Veneris quarto die Mensis Junii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo primo.

The q^lk day, in presence of the baillies of this citie, Mr Robert Weilkye, principal of St Leonardis College w^tin ye citie of St And^s, renunciand expreslie be y^r presentis all previleges, exemption, and immunitie or jurisdictioun that he may pretend in y^e contrair heirof, And submitting him in this caice to y^e jurisdiction of the provest and baillies of y^e citie of St And^s alenerlie, and w^t him David Dalgleisch and W^m Muffat, citineris of y^e said citie, Ar becum bound, oblist, and actitat forthaim, y^r airis & successoris conjunctlie and severallie, for Maister Andro Mailweill, rector of y^e Universitie of St And^rs, That in caice it may be fund and tryed y^t Maister Johne Cauldcleuch, ane of y^e prencipall Maisteris of y^e New College, quha hes schott and deidlie woundit Davit Trumbull ane nytbour of this citie w^t ane arrow, q^rbye he is in danger of his lyfe, to be anye tyme heirefter w^tin y^e boundis of y^e said College in anye pairt they sall present him to y^e justice for underlying of our Soverane lordis lawis, he being requyrit be y^e prte stewart or y^e ballies of y^e said citie, my lord being w^tin y^e college for y^e tyme of his requisition, And w^tin ye boundis of y^e said College for y^e fact foirsaid under y^e paines of ane thousand ponds to be aplyit to sic uss as y^e provest, balleis, & counsaill of y^e said citie sall think expedient, And y^t y^e said Mr Andro, rector foirsaid, renunciand in lyk maner be thir prntes expresslie all previlege, exemptioun, & immunitie y^t he may pretend in y^e contrair in this caice allenerlie sall be answerable to y^e Stewart of regalitie of St And^rs ye provost and baillies y^rof as law will in caice he sall be querrellit heirefter be anie of y^e said David Trumbullis friendis under paine foirsaid. In presence of Mr Piter Rollock, Bischope of Dunkell ; Mr Wm Mairch, ane of y^e regentis in St Leonardis College; David Watsoun ; Mr David Russell, deane of gild ; and Mr Patrick Mailuill, ane of y^e M^rs of y^e New Col. : and Jhon Mair, w^t uthris diverss."

Note GG, p. 156.

Constitution and Procedure of Kirk-sessions.

In speaking of the election of Elders and Deacons, we ought to keep in mind that formerly it was annual. At St Andrews, when the time of election approached, the session made up a list of persons to be nominated for office during the ensuing year, and caused this to be read from the pulpit, accompanied with an intimation that the session would meet on a certain day to hear objections against the persons nominated, and to receive the names of any others that might be proposed as better qualified. The election succeeded to this. The Session sometimes appointed electors, and at other times they acted as electors themselves ; in which last case the individuals to be chosen, if already in the Session, were successively removed. Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, Oct. 8 & 15, 1589 ; Jan. 12, 1590 ; and Nov. 28, 1593. This was also the practice at Glasgow. Extracts from Rec. of Kirk-Sess. of Glasgow : Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 28. "Oct. 22, 1609. The Bishop compeared and intimat, the Synod had for sundry and good respects concluded and ordained that the Elders and Deacons in all Sessions shall hereafter be chosen by the ministers. The Session approves." Ibid. p. 29. At Edinburgh the election was popular. Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, pp. 267, 268. The General Assembly, April, 1582, sanctioned this mode of election. "Concerning a generall ordour of the admissioun to y^e office of elders referris it to the ordo^r usit at Ed^r q^lk we approve." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 124, b. In the parish of the Canongate, or Holyroodhouse, the members of Session were chosen by the communicants at large. "Juley 28, 1565. The q^lk day y^e names of y^e faithful that be in the lyt of y^e Eldars was geiven wp be y^e auld kirk, to be proclamit be y^e minister and to be chosen on Sonday come aucht dayes."—"The fourt day of August. The q^lk day the efternone at y^e sermone y^e haill fayt^full woted in chesing y^e eldars and diacons."—"The 11th day of Aug^t. The q^lk day it is ordanit y^t y^e eldaris and deaconis as efter follows present thameself to y^e kirk and set in y^e place appontit for thame to resawe thair office. The q^lk day it is ordanit y^t y^e minister warn oppenlie in y^e pulpell all thois y^t communicates to y^e puirs to come to y^e Tobo^t on Tisday y^t nixt comes at 7 ho^rs in y^e morning, to heir y^e compts of y^e deacons of thair resait and how it is destrybutit." The Buik of the Kirk of Canagait.

The statement made in the text respecting the civil punishments inflicted on delinquents is justified by the minutes of the last-named Session. An unmarried woman having confessed her pregnancy, "Thairfoir *the baillies assistane the assemblie of ye kirke* ordanis hir for to depart furt of ye Gait within 48 hours heirefter, under ye pain of schurging and burning of ye scheike." Buik of the Kirk of Canagait, Sept. 31, 1564. In all instances in which any civil penalty is added this form of expression is used.—The following minute refers to the determining of controversies by *arbitration*. "Dec. 8, 1565. The qlk day it is ordanit the communion to be ministrat upon the 16th of ys instant, also to advertise the communicants to be at the Saterday exortation efter-nune. The qlk day it is ordanit that gif thair be onie persones have onye gruge of hatrit or malice or ony offense in his heart aganis his broder, that they and ilk ane of them come on Tisday in the morning at 8 hors to the Tolbot, where 4 of the Kirk shall be present to juge the offense and gif that it stands in them to reconseil the same, ye said four to be Johne Hart, Johne Short, Jhone Mordo, Johne Atchison, Thomas Hunter, James Wilkie, or ony four of thir." Ibid. Dec. 8, 1565. At Glasgow, the Session was accustomed to proceed in certain cases by way of *inquest*, or *trial by jury*. "Nov. 14, 1583. The Session appoint an inquest to be taken of men who are neither Elders nor Deacons for this year, out of the several parts of the town." This was done generally every year, and the practice is mentioned in the minutes as late as 1643. The inquest is ordinarily made up of thirteen honest men, and in some cases women are employed. Extracts, *ut supra*: pp. 42, 43.

The following minute may be given as an illustration of the method of *privy censures* in sessions. "The qlk day being appointit to try ye lyfe and conversation of ye haill memberis of ye Sessioun, alsweil ministeris as elderis & deaconis, Mr David Blak minister being remouit, there is nathing objectit aganis him, bot all ye brethren praises God of him, and yt he may continew in his seit. M. Robert Wallace being remouit, ye brethrein thankis God for him, bot it is desyrit of him yt he may be mair diligent & carefull over ye maneris of ye people, & in visiting of ye seik. M Robt Zwill being remouit, thair is nathing opponit aganis him in lyfe, doctrein, nor conversation, bot he is to be admonisit of multiplicatione of wordis in his doctrine and yt his nottis be in few wordis yt ye people may be mair edifyt. Mr Androw Meluill being remouit, yr is nathing opponit aganis him, bot ye haill brethrein thankis God for him. Mr Dauid Monypenny being remouit, yr is nathing opponit aganis him. M. Wm Welwod being remouit, thair is nathing aganis him. Ye Commisr remouit, nathing opponit. Dauid Murray & Duncan Balfour yr is nathing opponit, except Dauid Murray payis na thing to ye contributionis of ye puir. And as to Duncan Balfour, falt is fund wt him yt he being ane elder suld be in company wt thame yt brak upe ye Tolbuth dur, & electit ye counsell tyme of sermone vpon Weddinsday; forder ye murthir of Pareis being laid to his charge becaus he wes in companie in ye kingis seruice at yt tyme. Quharof ye said Duncane purges him selfe in conscience, as also of cuming wt ye kingis commissioun to stay ye doctrein in ye New College. Mrs Wm [and] Henry Russell, Andro Welwood being remouit, yr is falt fund vith Mr Wm being [*sic*] suld pas to ye synodall assemblie wtout command of ye sessioun, and yt yr is ane sklander betwix Mr Henry and his father, and yt Andrew Welwod mend his rasche speiking in ye sessioun. Mr Wm Russel purgit him of ye thing laid to his charge; Androw Welwod promisit to amend." Record of Kirk-Session of St Andrews, March 2, 1596.

Note H H, p. 157.

Presbyterial Exercises and Trial of Ministers.

The following extracts illustrate the mode of procedure in the ordinary exercise:—"It is ordanit that Mr Rot Rollock sall mak ane catalogue of the young men quhom he thinks meitt to exerceis, and that they quha sall come to the pbrie be sittaris, and not standeris. Ordanis that all the brethren of the ministerie wtin this presbyterie sall convene in dew tyme, and sit at the burdes vnder the pains contanit in ye actis of ye pbrie, and that nane be absent wtout ane lawfull excus, and that ye catalog be red, the absents markit, and the neist day censurit. Ordanis the first speikar sall occupy na langer tyme nor an hor, the second half an hour

preciselie, vnder the panes to be censured gif he transgress, and that the prayer before and efter the exerceis be schort." Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Nov. 8, 1597. "Oct. 27, 1598. Maister Dauid Robertsone maid y^e^ exercise upone y^e^ first cap. Esay v. 3, and vas allowit, and Mr Peter Blackburne addit, quha followis nixt;" *i. e.* makes the exercise next week. Record of Presbytery of Aberdeen. "April 23, 1602. Johne Mylne made the exercise—admonisit to studie diligentlie and to have a feling of that q^lk^ he delyverit.—"Nov. 26, 1602. Robert Forbes maid the exercise, quha was admonisit to eschew affectat language, and to utter his words w^t^ gretar force." Ibid. "Dec. 8, 1616. Prophesie maid be Mr Rob^t^ Backanq^ll^, 1 Cor. 14, v. 8. Followed Mr George Greir in observations upon the text exponed. Doctrein judged, it was ordeined Mr Andro Blackhall to expone in the first place, and Mr Thomas Ballantyne to observe in the second place. 1 Cor. 14, v. 10." Rec. of Presb. of Haddington. "Dec. 4, 1593. Mr Andro Polwart (and six other young men) put on the privie exercise." Rec. of Presb. of Glasgow. "Junij 18, 1600. A remembrance concerning the brethren that teiches in privat hous. Mr Alex^r^ Greg heard this day in the gallery.—April 29, 1601. He is to be heard in Mr James Carmichael's gallery." Presb. of Haddington. May 8, 1608. Mr James Carmichel, younger, heard privile exerces y^e^ secund tyme upone Ephes. 6, 12. The Bre^n^ praysit God for him, and appoyntit him to exerceis privilie the next in y^e^ morning in y^e^ galrie, prosecuting the samine text. Ibid. The General Assembly, in March 1572-3, agreed, "That sick ministers as nes not q^r^weth to buy bookes may have bookes bought to y^m^ be y^e^ collector, and to allow y^e^ pryces y^r^of in y^r^ stipend. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 56. "Oct. 20. 1598. It is agreit by y^e^ haile presbitrie thair be a collection gatherit amongis y^e^ brethrein and of y^e^ penaleteis to by comentareis vpon y^e^ text of y^e^ exerceis, quhilk sall serue to everie ane of y^e^ presbyterie quha hes nane in tym cumīg.—Feb. 23, 1598. Item, the said day the Moderator collected fra every minister of the presbyterie sex shillings aucht pennies for the bying of Molerus vpone Isay, and delyuerit the same to John Roche, collecto^r^, to giff y^e^ buikar." Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.

In October 1581, the Provincial Synod of Lothian represented that they had agreed to have disputations in every presbytery on the articles in controversy with the Papists, and moved that the General Assembly should appoint the form to be observed. The Assembly "thinks thir disputations good q^n^ thay may be had." Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 115, 116. In March 1597-8, it is appointed, "that a common heid of religioun be intreatit every moneth in ilk p^brie^ both by way of discourse and disputation." Ibid. f. 191, b. The way in which this exercise was conducted will appear from the following minutes: "Aprilis 7, 1602. "The q^lk^ day y^e^ common heid, De Authenticis Scripturarum editionibus et Versionibus Sacrisque Vernaculis, being first handillit publictlie before y^e^ pepil be Mr John Gibson, they disputit priuielie. It was fund Quod sola hebraica editio Veteris Testamenti et Græca noui sit authentica editio Scripturæ, et q^d^ necessariū sit scripturas converti oñiaque sacra peragī publice corā populo in ecclesia vernaculo sermone. The next cōmoun heid De Authoritate Scripturæ was appointit to James Lamb to be entreattit y^e^ secund Wednesday of May approaching." "Junij 2. The controvertit heid De authoritate S. Scripturæ being first publicly entreated before y^e^ pepill be James Lamb, his text being upon y^e^ 2 epistill to Timothe, 3 cap. 16 vers. Q^lk^ being censurit—The Brethren *per vices* everie ane enterit in thair disputation in Latine anent y^e^ same mater, according to y^e^ ordinance of provincial assemblie." Record of Presb. of Haddington. The member who delivered the discourse on the common head, sustained his thesis in the dispute against the other members of presbytery. Ibid. July 4, 1602, and March 2, 1603. "Jan. 6, 1603. The quhilk daye M^r^ Peter Blackburne intreatit vpone the cōmoun heid of cōtroverzie De Ecclesia, q^rin he did mervellous, and y^r^foir wes comendit." Rec. of Presb. of Aberdeen.

The General Assembly which began on the 31st of March 1589, appointed all the ministers of the church to be tried *de novo*, and nominated certain individuals as assistants to each presbytery in this work. Act inserted in the Minutes of Presb. of Haddington, Nov. 5, 1589. In consequence of this a rigid examination commenced, of which the following extracts will convey some idea. "Tryall be passages of Scripture and questions.—*Mr Thomas Macghie.* His passage of Scripture, 46 Isai, vnto y^e^ 5 verse, exponit and collectit the same, and y^r^efter removit. The Brethrene censurit, he is jugeit to be weill verst w^t^ the Scriptures.

Being examined vpon ye authoritie of the Scriptures, he is thot prompt to confound the enemies of the trewth wt the word of God and guid [doctrine].—28 Julij, at Morning. *James Gibsone.* Haiffing teicheit publiklie at his appointit hour, being [removed] he was judgeit to haue done weill. Zit he omittit what he promesit to defyne: As also he repeated sundrie impertinent [words] bayth in doctrine & prayer. Qrfoir he is admonisit to be[ware of them.]—*Thomas Greg.* 28 Julij at eftirnown. His passage of Scripture, 3 to the Galathians, vnto the 4 verse expounding ye samin was removit. He is jugeit to have done weill, and it appeiris he is versed with ye Scripturis. Being examinat as followis, It is not ane falt to Godis pepill to embrace the thingis that God commandis, Ergo it is not ane falt to the Christians to keip the Ceremoniall law: 2. Quhidder gif the pepil war justifeit by the Ceremonies of the Law: 3. Quhidder ar we justifeit be fayt or be warkis, or partlie be warkis. 4. We cane not be justifiet be that alane qlk is never alane, bot fayt is never allane, thairfoir we cane not be justifiet be fayt allane: Of the qlks he onderstandis the argumentis & answerit yrto, howbeit he be not verst in logik.—*Jamis Rid,* 22 Octobris. Jamis Rid being hard mak privie exercise, the bretheren juges he hes done better nor affoir. Zit he hes not cleirlie exponit the text, qrfoir he is desyrit to be mair popular, qlk he promesis to do, God willing, protesting that at his next heiring he may be hard at mair length to the effect he may collect his doctrene mair amplie in the place, qlk cane not be done in half ane hour to satisfie for the descriptioun of ane ample text.

The sentences pronouncet.

Mr Jamis Carmichaell meit to be continewit in the ministrie in a bettir degrie.—*Mr Johne Ker* unmeit to be continewit, Thairfoir deposes [him from the] function of the ministrie: Zit the brethern jugeis that [if he be] occupyit wt his book, he may do better heirafter.—*Jamis Lamb* meit to be continewit in the ministrie in the lawest missour.—*Daniel Wallace* meit to be continewit in ane law missour.—*Jamis Rid* unmeit to be continewit, Thairfoir [deposes him from the] function of the ministrie for the present.—*Thomas Gregge* meit to be continewit in ane gude degree.—*Mr Thomas Macghie* meit to be continewit in ane bettir degrie.—*Alexander Forrester* meit to be continewit in sum reasonable degrie.—*James Gibsone* meit to be continewit in ane reasonable gude missour." Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.

Note II, p. 164.

Extraordinary Meeting of Delegates from Counties.

The following curious deed throws light upon the nature and purposes of this meeting:—

"At Glasgow, the allevint daye of October, ye zeir of God imvc fourescoir threttein zeires. The quhilk day the nobillmen, baronis, gentlemen, ministeris, cōmissioneris of ye sr̄efdomes and burrowis wndervrittin, viz. Lanerk, Renfrew, and Dumbartane, and of ye presbitereis yairof, being convenit according to ye bande maid be our sourane lord & his estatis, for mātēmente of ye trew religioun presētlie professit wtin this realme, and defens of his hienes persoun and estait, and being informit of ye cōvening of ye nobillmē, barrōnis, gētlmē, and ministeris of Fyfe and wtheris partis of this realme, for prosecuting of ye said bande, And that ye sevintein daye of this instāt is appointtit to ye said convening, & that certane cōmissoneris of everie province salbe direct to meit in ye burt of Edinburt, for cōsulting and avysing wpoun ye following furt and prosecuting of ye said bande: Heirfore ye saidis nobillmē, barrōnis, gētellmē, & ministeris of ye sr̄efdomes foirsaidis, hes maid, constitut, & ordanit, & be thir presētes makis, constitutes, & ordanis the Lard of Calderwood, the Lard of Merchistoun, the gud man of Duchall, the Lard of Greinoh, M. Rot Lindsaye, M. Jon Hewesoun, M. Johne Haye, M. Johne Couper, & M. Patrik Scharp, ministeris, or ony thre of ye saidis ministeris, thair lautfull and wndowtit cōmissioneris, to cōvein & meit at Edinburt ye daye foirsaid, or ony wther daye or place appointtit or to be appointtit, and thairto cōcurre wt ye cōmissioneris of ye wther sr̄efdomes & provinces of this realme thair to be assemblit, and to give thair advyse & cōsale in sik causs cōcerning ye following furt of ye said bande & wtheris cōcerning ye glorie of God, the preseruatioun of his maiestie, per-

soun and estait, & cōmounweill of ye cōtrey, as salbe treated and as salbe cōcludit, to promise in ye names of ye nobillmē, barrōnis, & gētilmē of ye sr̄efdomes foirsaidis and burrowis wtin ye samȳ to follow furt the determinatiouns of ye cōmissioneris foirsaidis, qlk yaj and eurie ane of thame, wpoun thair cōsience & honors, hes faitfullie promesit to do and performe; and ye said nobillmē & barronis & gētilmē & ministeris foirsaid hes gevin cōmand & power to ye clerk of ye kirk & presbitrie of Glasgw to insert thir presentis in ye buikes *of ye buikis* of ye said presbitrie, and to extract ye samȳ yrfurt subscryvit be him for ȳ as gif thaj had subscryvit ye samȳ yame selfis." Record of Presbytery of Glasgow.

Note KK, pp. 184, 185.

Black's Process.

"Anent the charge gevin be vertew of our souerane Lordis Lrēs to Maister Dauid Blak, minister at Sanctandrois, to haue compeirit personalie befoir the Kingis maiestie and lordis of secreit counsaill this day, viz. the xviii day of Nouember instāt, To haue answrit to sic thingis as sould haue bene inquirit of him at his cwming, Tuicheing certane vndecent and vncumelie speiches vtterit be him in diuers his sermonis maid in Sanctandrois, vnder the pain of Rebellioun, and putting of him to ye horne, wth certificāne to him and he failzeit Lrēs sould be direct simpr to putt him thairto, Lyke as at mair lenth is cōtenit in ye saidis Lrēs executionis and indorsationis thairof. Qlk being callit, and the said Maister Dauid compeirand personalie, Declairit that albeit he micht obiect aganis the summondis as being direct *super inquirendis* Contrair the act of parliament, na particulair caus specifeit thairin, zit he wald tak him to the ordinair remeid appointit be the Lawis and Libertie of the Kirk, allegeing that nane sould be iugeis to materis deliuerit in pulpett, bot the preicheouris and ministeris of the worde, And thairfore desirit to be Remittit to his iuge ordinair, Quhairupoun being inquirit be his maiestie to quhat iugement he declynit, answrit to the presbiterie quhair the doctrine wes teicheit quhair his maiestie sould be a complenair in the first instance as a Christeane and member of the kirk, and not as a King. Allegeit be his Maiestie, That this mater is altogidder ciuile and not spirituall; and forder, that the generalitie of the summondis is restrictit to this particulair expressit in this vther Lrē heirwith produceit be the Inglis ambassadour. Being inquirit, quidder gif his maiestie micht be iuge in materis of tressoun as the kirk is iuge in materis of heresie, Grantis, zit allegeit That the wordis deliuerit in pulpett, albeit allegeit to be tressounable, sould be tryit *in prima instancia* be the Kirk as onlie iuge competent, To the contrair quhairof The act of parliament maid in the lxxxiij zeir of God wes allegeit, To the dirogatioun of the quhilk act Maister Dauid produceit ane vther act in the parliament haldin at Edinburgh in the lxxxxij zeir of God, Being inquirit quhat warrand they had oute of the worde of God, for materis spokin aganis a Christeane magrāt. Allegeit quhateuir is spokin to be spirituall, And thairfore mon be reulit be the worde of God, and for this purpois allegeit the first of Timothie. Continewit to the Last of Nouember instant, And Mr Dauid ordanit To remane heir in the meantyme." Record of Privy Council, Nov. 18, 1596.

The Interloquitor, declaring the Lords of Council judges competent of all the crimes libelled in the new and enlarged summons, was passed on the last day of November. And on the 2d of December, a Decreet was passed finding Black guilty of all the articles libelled, and ordaining him to confine himself beyond the North Water till his Majesty should determine on his farther punishment. Record of Privy Council.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII.

Note LL, p. 206.

Ecclesiastical Rights of Professors of Divinity.

It was reported to the General Assembly in April 1582, "that ane elderschip (presbytery) is begun already at St Androes of pastouris and *teachers*, bot not of those that hes not the cure of teaching." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 118, b. By the General Assembly, May 1586, "It is found that all such as the Scripture appoints governors of the kirk of God, as namelie pastors, *doctors*, and elders, may convene to Generall Assemblies, and vote in ecclesiastical matters." Ibid. f. 139, b. Being constituent members of the presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, doctors or professors of divinity might be sent by them, as well as by their universities, as representatives to the General Assembly. In consequence of a complaint from the synod of Fife that this right had been infringed, it was recognised anew by the Assembly which met at Holyrood House in the year 1602, and at which his majesty was present. Ibid. f. 203, a. One reason of Rollock's being admitted one of the ministers of Edinburgh, soon after the meeting of the commissioners at St Andrews, might be to exempt him from the restriction intended to be laid on all theological professors. On that occasion Bruce at first objected to receiving imposition of hands, as implying that he had not previously a valid call to the ministry. Patrick Simson, in a letter dated May 1, 1598, says: "I perceive that Mr Rob. Rollock stands much on the lacke of ordination in your ministry, which makes me marvail how he could call himself *a minister of Christs Evangel at Ed.* in his Analysis upon the Epistle to the Romans, and in the mean time wanting ordination to that ministry, if this fform of ordination which we want be so essentiall as he speaks." Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 35 : MSS. vol. i. But I do not think that Rollock, in 1593, when he published the book referred to, was a minister in the same sense as Bruce and Simson were: I mean that he was not properly the pastor of a congregation. In consequence of a petition from the town, the presbytery had authorised him to preach the morning lecture in one of the churches. Rec. of Presb. of Edin. Sept. 5, 1587. But it was not till the beginning of the year 1598 that he "was admittit to be ane of the aught ordinar ministers of this burt." Reg. of Town Council, Jan. 25, 1597.

Note MM, p. 207.

Character of David Black.

Spotswood says, that "Mr Black was summoned" before the commissioners. Hist. p. 448. But James Melville, who was one of the commissioners, says, "Mr Robert Wallace was procedit against and removit from St Andrs be sum form of kinglie commissione, proceiding and process. *Bot Mr David Black was never anes called*, and yet, of mere kinglie power, it behovit him to be debarrit St Andrs." Diary, p. 314. Spotswood farther says, that "the elders and deacons of the church —all upon oath deponed that the accusations were true, and that Blake had spoken all that whereof he was convicted before the councel. And they declared that both the one and the other were given to factions, and that they did not carry themselves with that indifferency which became preachers." Yet the archbishop had himself stated, a little before, that Black presented to the privy council, as a proof of the falsehood of the charges, two testimonials, the one subscribed by the provost, bailies, and council, and the other by the rector, dean of faculty, and professors of the university. Hist. p. 425. Comp. Rec. of Privy Council, ult. Nov. 1596. Now, several of the magistrates and of the professors were at that time members of session. But this is not all. The following extracts from the minutes of session prove that the elders and deacons felt the highest respect and regard for Black.

Die nono Januarii 1596.

The qlk day, Mr Robert Wallace, Mr David Monypenny, and Mr Robert Zule, ar ordenit to pas to ye counsall of ye toun and desyr ane supplication to his M. for relief of Mr David Blak yr pastor, and als order to be takin for serving of Mr David Blakeis cuir qll he cum hame, and yat order may be taken wt ye parochin qll he cum hame, qlkis ar now all gane lous.

Die xixmo *Martii*, 1596.

The qlk day ye sessioun hes statut that ye clerk uret ane bill and missive in yr names to Mr David Blak, yr minister, to gif him thankes for his last lr of recommendatione send be him to yame, as also to shaw him yt ye kinges ma. is desyrus to confer wt him, and yt he send his awin supplicatione to his ma. to obtain licens to cum to his ma. to yt effect. And to schaw to ye said Mr David yt qt lyis in thair power to farther his hame cuming they sall do ye samin wt his awin advys, and to schaw him ye townis commissionaris, send to his ma. for his delyuerance, resauit ye samin ansr of his ma.

Supplicatione for Mr David Blak.

Die viii *Maij*, 1597.

The qlk day ye sessioun of Sanctandrois hes ordanit ane supplicatione to be send to ye Generall Assemblie convenit to morne at Dundie, requesting thair godlie w. to interseid to his ma. to grant licens to Mr David Blak thair [minister] to be restorit and admittit to cum hame to this citie to use his functioun of ye ministrie as he was wont to do befoir, and becaus ye bailzies and sum otheris of ye elderis and deconis wes nt present to consent heireto the sessioun ordanit Alex. Winchester, Martyn Lumsdane, George Cristie, Robert Wmsoun, & Charlis Watsoun clerk, to pas wt ye said supplicatione to thame & otheris zealous men of this citie to inquir of thame to subscryve ye said supplicatione & request for ye pastor aforesaid, & for his hame-cuming again.

Melville's poem on Black's death may be seen in *Delit. Poet. Scot.* tom. ii. p. 81—84. There are two encomiastic poems on him by Hume of Godscroft. Lusus Poetici, p. 53—55. "Mr David Black minr of St Andrews" obtained a decree for an "annual rent of aucht bolls victual—furth of the lands of Lochschedis," which he inherited from "umqll Henry Blak burges of ye bruch of Perth, father to the said complainer." Act Buik of the Commissariot of St Andrews, July 18, 1594.

Note NN, pp. 226, 228.

Basilicon Doron.

According to Spotswood, this work was shown to Melville in MS.; and in consequence of extracts from it being laid before the synod of Fife, his majesty published it in the course of that year (1599). Hist. p. 457. But this is contradicted by the account which James has himself given in his apologetic preface to the second edition, and which I have followed in the text. I have now before me a copy of the first edition, belonging to Archibald Constable, Esq., Edinburgh; and I have no doubt that it is one of the *seven* copies (perhaps the only one now existing) to which that edition was limited. Its title is, "ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ Devided into three Bookes. Edinbvrgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue, Printer to the Kings Majestie. 1599." X in fours. It is beautifully printed in a large italic letter. Prefixed to it are two sonnets, the first of which, entitled "The Dedication of the Booke," is not to be found in the subsequent editions. I have seen no reason to think that it was reprinted until 1603, in the course of which year it went through three editions; all of them, probably, published after the death of Elizabeth. If this was the fact, the wonderful influence which Spotswood says it had in promoting James's accession must have been *ex post facto*. I have not seen it mentioned between 1599 and 1603. One of the seven copies might be conveyed to some of the courtiers of Elizabeth in the secret correspondence which James carried on with them during that interval; but they had other reasons than his merits as an author for favouring his title.

On comparing the first edition with the subsequent ones, I find that alterations were made on the work. For though all the charges against the Scottish preachers are retained in substance, James found it necessary to drop or soften some of his

most unguarded and harsh expressions, and to give an ambiguous turn to the sentences which had created the greatest offence. For example, in the original edition (pp. 8, 9), he says: "If my conscience had not resolued me, all my religion was grounded upon the plaine words of the Scripture; I had neuer outwardly avowed it, for pleasure or awe of *the vaine pride of some sedicious Preachours.*" In the edition printed at London in 1603, (p. 5), that sentence ends, "I had neuer outwardlie auowed it, for pleasure or awe of *any flesh.*"—"The reformation of Religion in Scotland *being made by a popular tumult and rebellion* (as wel appeared by the destruction of our policie) and not proceeding from the Princes ordour," &c. P. 46, orig. ed. "The reformation of Religion in Scotland, *being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherein many things were inordinately done by a populare tumult and rebellion of such as blindly were doing the worke of God but clogged with their own passions and particular respects,*" &c. P. 31, ed. 1603.—"Take heede, therefore (my Sonne), to *these* Puritanes, verie pestes in the Church and common-weill *of Scotland;* whom (*by long experience*) *I have found,* no deserts can oblish," &c. P. 49, orig. ed. "Take heed, therefore (my Son), to *such* Pvritans, verie pestes in the Church and common-weale, whom no deserts can oblige," &c. P. 34, ed. 1603. The following sentence of the original edition (p. 51) was afterwards omitted: "And the first that raileth against you, punish with the rigour of the lawe; for I haue else in my days bursten them with ouer-much reason." The following sentence respecting those who "meddle with the policie in the pulpite," is also omitted: "But snibbe sukerlie the first minteth to it: And (if he like to appeale or declyne) when ye haue taken order with his heade, his brethren may (if they please) powle his haire and pare his nayles as the King my Grandefather said of a Priest." Pp. 107, 108. The following character of the islanders of Scotland is dropped: "Thinke no other of them all, then as Wolues and Wild Boares." P. 43.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

Note OO. p. 331.

Writings of James Melville.

Under the year 1591, he gives the following account of what was most probably his first publication. "Then did I first put in Print some of my poesie, to wit, the description of the Spanyarts Naturall out of Julus Scaliger wt sum exhortationes for warning of kirk and countrey." Diary, p. 225. In a short history of his life at Anstruther, prefixed to his Diary, he says: "In the year 1598 I cawsit print my Catechisme for the profit of my peiple, and bestowit yrvpon fyve hunder marks quhilk God moved the hart of a maist godlie and lowing frind to frelie offer to me in len for yt effect: of the [quhilk] I remean addettit, bot could never to my knowledge attein to a hunder marks again for the buiks." Ib. p. 10. This rare book was published under the following title: "A Spiritvall Propine of a Pastour to his People. Heb. 5, 12. You whom it behoooued, &c. Jam. 1. 19, 21, 22. And sa my beloued brethren, &c. [Edinburgh, Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Maiestie, Cum Privilegio Regio."][1] It is in quarto, and consists of 127 pages. On the back of the title-page are "Contents of the Buik." The *Epistle Dedicatorie* is addressed "To the Reverende Fathers and Brethren, Elders of the Congregation of Kilrinny, and haill flocke committed to their gouernement."—"Receiue, Reuerende Fathers, louing brethren, and deir flock, this *Spirituall Propine:* conteining in short summe the substance of that exercise of tryall, wherewith ye are acquainted in dayly doctrine, before ye communicate at the Table of the Lorde, togidder with the grounds of the doctrine of godlinesse and saluation, contryued in a peece of not vnpleasand and verie profitable Poesie," &c. It is dated

[1] The imprint is supplied from the title to the second part.

"From *Ansteruther*, the 20 day of Nouember, 1598. Your Pastor, louing and faithful be the grace of God vnto the death, JAMES MALVILL." Then follow sonnets, commendatory of the work, by M. R. D. [Mr Robert Dury] M. I. D. [Mr John Davidson] A. M. [Andrew Melville] M. I. I. [Mr John Johnston] M. W. S. [Mr William Scot] M. I. C. and M. I. C. [probably Mr John and Mr James Carmichael.] They are all in Scotch, except that subscribed A. M. which is in Latin, and accompanied with a translation, probably by James Melville. The first part of the work is in prose, and consists of prayers and meditations suited to different occasions, directions for self-examination, and "the forme of tryall and examination, taken of all sik as ar admitted to the Table of the Lord," in question and answer. The second part is in poetry, and is introduced by the following title: "A Morning Vision: or Poem for the Practise of Pietie, in Devotion, Faith, and Repentance: Wherein the Lords Prayer, Beleefe, and Commands, and sa the whole Catechisme, and right vse thereof, is largely exponed." It is prefaced by a metrical dedication to "James the Sext, King of Scottes, and Prince of Poets in his language;" and contains, among other devotional and moral pieces, a singular composition, set to music, and entitled, "Celeusma Navticvm: The Seamans Shovte or mutuall exhortation, to ga forward in the spirituall voyage."

In giving an account of treatises against the imposition of prelacy on the Church of Scotland, Row says: "I have also seen a little poem in print, called the *Black Bastill, or a Lamentation of the Kirk of Scotland*, compiled by Mr James Melville, sometime Minis^r at Anstruther and now confyned in England, 1611." Hist. pp. 311, 312. I have not met with a copy of the printed work, but a MS. volume, communicated to me by Robert Graham, Esq. contains a poem which I have no doubt is a transcript of that to which Row refers. It is entitled, *The Blackbastall*, and consists of 93 stanzas. Prefixed to it is the date, "November, 1611." The following stanzas form part of the exordium:—

The air was cleart w^t quhyt and sable clouds,
Hard froist, w^t frequent schours of hail and snaw,
Into y^e nicht the stormie vind with thouds
And balfoull billows on y^e sea did blaw:
Men, beastis, and foulls vnto thair beilds did draw;
Fain than to find the fruct of simmer thrift,
Quhen clad with snaw was sand, wodd, crag, and clift.

I satt at fyre weill guyrdit in my goun,
The starving sparrows at my window cheipid,
To reid ane quhyle I to my book was boun:
In at ane panne, the pretty progne peipped,
And moved me for fear I sould haue sleiped,
To ryse and sett ane keasment oppen wyd,
To sie give robein wald cum in and byde.

Puir progne, sueitlie I haue hard ye sing
Thair at my window one the simmer day;
And now sen wintar hidder dois ye bring
I pray y^e enter in my hous and stay
Till it be fair, and than thous go thy way,
For trewlie thous be treated courteouslie
And nothing thralled in thy libertie.

Cum in, sueit robin, welcum verrilie,
Said I, and doun I satt me be the fyre,
Then in cums robein reidbreist mirrelie
And souppis and lodgis at my harts desyre:
But one y^e morne I him perceaved to tyre;
For Phebus schyning sueitlie him allurd.
I gaue him leif, and furth guid robein furd.

The poet betakes himself to his meditations, and sees "full cleirlie in ane visioun,"

Ane woman with ane cumlie countenance,
With ferdit face and garisch in attyre.
Ane croun of glas vpone hir heid did [glance],
Hir clothes war collourit contrair hir [desyre],
Ane heavie yock layd on hir neck and [lyre],
Of reid ane scepter in hir hand she buir:
In riche aray, yit sillie, leane and puir.

Hoised up one hie upone a royal throne
Thair feirclie satt abone the woman's head
(Which held hir under feir and all undone
As presoner) ane rampand Lyon reid:
This lyon craftie foxes tua did leid:
And round about hir threttein wolves danced,
To haue the keiping of hir scheip advanced.

After the leopard, "the Lyons grit lieutenant" (the Earl of Dunbar), has fenced the court, and a wolf, "clad in silk," has made "ane preitching all of woll and milk," the Lion (the king) is declared supreme, and at his will and pleasure the wolves (the bishops) are set over the flock; on which the captive lady breaks out into a "heavie Lamentation," which occupies the rest of the poem.

In the same MS. is another poem (of 69 stanzas) on the same subject with the preceding, evidently composed by James Melville, and entitled, "Thrie may keip counsell give twa be away; or Eusebius, Democritus, Heraclitus." Democritus says:—

I laucht to sie how lords ar maid of louns,
And how thai ar intretted in our touns.
Quher sumtyme thai war fain for to reteir thame
For rocks and stoannes of wyffis that came so near thame.
I laucht to sie thame now sett ouer the flocks
Who came to cowrt with thair auld mullis and sockis,
Quher thai war nocht regairdit with ane sows
By king, by cowrt, nor any of his hous.

I laucht how Jon and George, who war most sclandrous,
Ar lords advanced of Glasgow and St Androus;
How William, Androu, Sanders, and the laif,
By perjurie and playing of the knaif,
Ar styllit in God our fathers reuerend,
Who scarrs amongs our pastours trew war kend,
And justlie so, for now ar thai declynd
And ar becum men of contrarie mynd.

The Reverend William Blackie, minister of Yetholm, possessed a manuscript volume, which he has deposited in the Advocates' Library. It consists of poems in the Scottish language by James Melville, and in the handwriting of the author. They appear to have been all written by him during his banishment. The greater part of them are expressive of his feelings on the overthrow of the liberties of the Church of Scotland, and the imprisonment and banishment of his uncle. "A Preservative from Apostacie, or the Song of Moses, the servant of God, Deut. xxxii. with short notes, translated out of Hebrew and put in metre," is dedicated "to the Church of Scotland in generall, and the people of the paroch of Kilrennie in speciall." Then follows a long sonnet, entitled, "The Wandering Sheepe, or David's Tragique Fall." The last poem in the volume is "The Reliefe of the Longing Soule: The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's, exponed by a large paraphrase of metre for memorie and aften meditatioun." Prefixed to it is a dedication: "To his lowing sister in Jesus Christ, M. Nicolas Murray, grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.—London, Novemb. 5, 1606. Yrs much bound in Christ, JAMES MELVILL." The following are specimens of the poetry in this volume:—

To Mr Andrew Melvin.

O matchles Melvin, honour of our lands!
How are we grieved and gladit with thy bands!
We grieve to see sic men comitt as thee,
We joy to hear how constantly thou stands
Pleading the cause of God cast in thy hands
Against this bastard brood of Bischoprie.
Whais eydle rites, pompe, pryd, and graceless glore,
Justlie thou haits; hait still, hait more and more.

Happie, thryse happie, Melvine, thoch in warde,
Men loves thy cause, God has it in regarde,
No prisone can thy libertie restraine
To speak the right, but[1] flatterie or but fairde,

[1] Without.

Pure, plain, not mingled, maimed or impairde.
No brangled titles can thy honour staine,
Thy tell-treuth fervent freedom wha would blame,
'Wrays but his awin fals, faint, or servile shame.

AT MR ANDREW MELVING'S GOING TO FRANCE, APRIL 1611.

Mond à l'envers.

No marvell Scotland thow be like to tyn,
For thou hes lost thy honey and thy wine,
Thy strength, thy courage, and thy libertie,
Went all away, when as he went from thee.
In learning, upright zeall, religion trew,
He maister was, but now bid all a Dieu,
Be mute, you Scottish muses: no more verse
But sobbing say, Le mond est à l'envers.

In the MS. volume entitled *Melvini Epistolæ* is a translation into English verse of part of the *Zodiacus Vitæ* of Marcellus Palingenius: "Dedicat. to the E. of D.;" that is, the Earl of Dunbar. It contains only *Aries* and part of *Taurus*. There can be no doubt of its being the work of James Melville. The MS. is in his handwriting, and on the margin is a number of variations. His apology for the Church of Scotland does not appear to have been printed till many years after his death: "Ad Serenissimum Jacobum Primvm Britanniarvm Monarcham, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ libellus supplex, ἀπολογητικος και ὁλοφυρτικος. Auctore Jacobo Melvino Verbi Dei Ministro, Domini Andreæ Melvini του παυυ nepote. Londini,—1645." 8vo. In the Advocates' Library are two poems in MS., "Funeral Tears," and a "Dialogue," on the death of James Melville, written by Thomas Melville. Jac. V. 7, nos. 6, 7. I subjoin the epitaph on him by his uncle, printed at the end of the last-mentioned book, which is rare.

Epitaphium Auctoris, à Domino
Andrea Melvino conscriptum.

Chare nepos, de fratre nepos, mihi fratre, nepote
Charior, et quicquid fratre nepote queat
Charius esse usquam; quin me mihi charior ipso,
Et quicquid mihi me charius esse queat.
Consiliis auctor mihi tu, dux rebus agendis,
Cùm privata, aut res publica agenda fuit.
Amborum mens una animo, corde una voluntas,
Corque unum in duplici corpore, et una anima.

Vnà ambo vexati odiis immanibus, ambo
Dignati et Christi pro grege dura pati.
Dura pati, sed iniqua pati, sub crimine ficto,
Ni Christum, et Christi crimen amare gregem.
Qui locus, aut quæ me hora tibi nunc dividat, idem
Hic locus, hæc me eadem dividat hora mihi.
Tune tui desiderium mihi triste relinquas?
Qui prior huc veni, non prior hinc abeam?
An sequar usque comes? sic, sic juvat ire sub astra.
Tecum ego ut exul eram, tecum ero et in patria.
Christus ubi caput, æternam nos poscit in aulam,
Arctius ut jungat nos sua membra sibi.
Induviis donec redivivi corporis artus
Vestiat, illustrans lumine purpureo.
Æternum ut patrem, natumque et flamen ovantes,
Carmine perpetuo concelebremus, Io.

Note PP, pp. 343, 396.

WRITINGS OF ANDREW MELVILLE.

I subjoin a list of his printed works.

1. "Carmen Mosis—Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ. M.D. LXXIII." 8vo. See above, p. 40—42.

2. "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiæ Regem, habitum in Coronatione Reginæ.—Per Andream Meluinum.—Edinbvrgi 1590." 4to. See above, pp. 139, 140, 430.

3. "Carmina ex Doctissimis Poëtis Selecta, *inter quos, quædam Geo. Buchanani et And. Melvini inseruntur.* 1590." 8vo. Ruddimanni Bibl. Roman. p. 71.

4. "Principis Scoti-Britannorvm Natalia. Edinbvrgi—1594." 4to. See above, p. 174.

5. "Theses Theologicæ de libero arbitrio. Edinburgi, 1597." 4to. Sibbald, de Script. Scot. p. 42. These might be the *Theses* of some of his students.

6. "Scholastica Diatriba de Rebvs Divinis ad Anquirendam et inveniendam veritatem, à candidatis S. Theol. habenda (Deo volente) ad d. xxvi. et xxvii. Julij in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreanæ, Spiritu Sancto Præside. D. And. Melvino S. Theol. D. et illivs facultatis Decano συζητησιν moderante. Edinbvrgi, Excudebat Robertus Waldegraue Typographus Regius 1599." 4to. Pp. 16. In Bibl. Col. Glasg.

7. "Gathelus, seu Fragmentum de origine Gentis Scotorum." This poem was first printed along with "Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regum Scotorum. Amstel. 1602."

8. "Pro supplici Evangelicorum Ministrorum in Anglia—Apologia, sive Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria. Authore A. Melvino. 1604." See above, p. 239.

9. Select Psalms turned into Latin verse, and printed (probably at London) in 1609. See above, p. 291.

10. "Nescimus Qvid Vesper Servs Vehat. Satyra Menippæa Vincentii Liberii Hollandii. MDCXIX." 4to. Pp. 35. Another edition was published in the year 1620. A copy of each is in the British Museum. On the back of the title is a letter, "Liberius Vincentius Hollandus Francisco de Ingenuis S. P. D." dated "Amstelodami IV. Idus Sept. Anno a Christo nato M.DC.XIX." I have not seen this work, but from extracts which have been communicated to me, it appears to be a satire partly in prose and partly in verse, and refers much to the affairs of Venice. This last circumstance, taken in connection with Melville's advanced age, excites a suspicion that he was not the author. And yet if he was not, it is strange that it should have been so generally ascribed to him both by Scottish and foreign writers. Barbier, Dict. des Ouvrages Anonymes et Pseudonymes, tom. iii. p. 489. Charters's Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4. It has also been ascribed to Nicholaus Crassus, a Venetian.

11. "Viri clarissimi A. Melvini Mvsæ et P. Adamsoni Vita et Palinodia et Celsæ commissionis—descriptio. Anno M.DC.XX." 4to. Pp. 67. Melville was not consulted in the publication of these poems, nor was he the author (as has often been inaccurately stated) of the tracts added to them. In the epistle to the reader, the publisher says: "quia absque eius venia; gratum illi an futurum sit hoc meum studium nescio."—"Est vir iste clarissimus omni invidia & exceptione major: virosque illustres Josephum Scaligerum, Theodorum Bezam et alios habet laudum præcones: non ideo opus est illi meo encomio. Tantum *descripsi* vitam Adamsoni," &c.—John Adamson (afterwards Principal of the College of Edinburgh) was employed in collecting Melville's fugitive poems (see above, p. 338), but whether he or Calderwood was the publisher of the *Musæ*, I cannot determine.

12. "De Adiaphoris. Scoti του τυχοντος Aphorismi. Anno Domini 1622." 12mo. Pp. 20. In Bibl. Jurid. Edin.

13. "Andreæ Melvini Scotiæ Topographia." This poem is prefixed to the *Theatrum Scotiæ* in *Bleau's Atlas*. "'Tis Buchanan's prose turn'd into elegant verse," says Bishop Nicholson. Scot. Hist. Lib., p. 18. In a letter to Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, "ult. Decemb. 1655," J. Bleau acknowledges a letter from him containing "les corrections du vers de Melvinus." MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. A. 3, 19, num. 35.

Melville was a large contributor to a collection of poems, by Scotchmen and Zealanders, "In Obitvm Johannis Wallasii Scoto Belgæ—Ludg. Batav. 1603." 4to. There are two poems by him in John Jonston's "Sidera Veteris Ævi," p. 33; a work which was published along with his "Iambi Sacri," and his "Cantica Sacra Novi Testamenti—Salmurii 1611." He has also verses prefixed to "Comment. in Apost. Acta M. Joannis Malcolmi Scoti—Middelb. 1615." Malcolm, in his Dedication to the King, and in the body of the work (p. 264), defends Melville with much freedom, and laments his removal from Scotland.

Among his works in manuscript are the following:—

1. "D. Andreæ Melvini epistolæ Londino e turri carceris ad Jacobum Melvinum Novocastri exulantem scriptæ, cum ejusdem Jacobi nonnullis ad eundem. Annis

supra millesimū sexcentessimo octavo, nono, decimo, undecimo. Item Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Oratio Apologetica ad Regem An. 1610, mense Aprilis." This volume (which is in the Library of the University of Edinburgh) brings down the correspondence between Melville and his nephew till the end of the year 1613. It belonged to James Melville, and is partly in his handwriting. Before his death he committed it to the care of his friend, Sir Patrick Hume of Ayton, who has inserted the following note: "Hic visū est insere (*sic*) paraliepomena quædam eiusdem et aliorū quorū αυτοσχεδας cum libellis ipsis ipse mihi cōmendavit author paulo ante obitū. Pa. Hume."

2. "Letters from Andrew Melville to * * * * in the United Provinces." In Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 42. They are six in number, and were addressed to Robert Durie at Leyden.

3. "Floretum Archiepiscopale; id est, errores Pontificii, assertiones temerariæ, et hyberbolicæ interpretationes." Ibid. num. 47. They are extracted from Archbishop Adamson's academical prelections at St Andrews, in Melville's handwriting, and subscribed by him.

4. "Paraphrasis Epistolæ ad Hebræos Andreæ Melvini." Harl. MSS. num. 6947, 9. It is a metrical paraphrase of the whole epistle, and was most probably composed in the Tower.

5. "A. Melvinus in Cap. 4 Danielis." In Bibl. Col. S. Trinit. Dublin. This I have not seen.

There are verses by him, in his own handwriting, among the Sempill Papers (MS. in Arch. Eccl. Scot. vol. xxviii. num. 7); and in a collection of Letters from Learned Men to James VI. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. On a blank leaf at the beginning of a copy of *Aulus Gellius* (transmitted to me by Dr Lee) there is a poem written, with this title: "Canticum Mariæ, paraphrasticos expressum, a D. Andrea Melvino Scoto." I have not seen it elsewhere. It is followed by poems of Buchanan, all of which have been published. The volume bears this inscription, among others: "Liber Māgri Gulielmi Guildej. 1610."—Copies of Melville's large *Answer to Downham's Sermon* were at one time not uncommon. In enumerating the writers in defence of ruling elders, a foreign divine mentions "Ex Scotis, And. Melvinus in MS. refut. concionis Downamii." Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. ii. p. 458. It is also mentioned by Charters. Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 4. Charters says that there is a copy of a Latin commentary by him in the Library of the Students of Divinity at Edinburgh. "I have seen also in the library of the College of Glasgow, a large folio, entitled, *Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Romanos*, in small write, said to be writ by Mr Melvil." Wodrow's Life of Mr Andrew Melville, p. 111. Neither of these MSS. is now to be found. Five poems "ex Musis Andreæ Melvini, viri clarissimi et undiquaque doctissimi," are appended by Dr Koelman of Utrecht to his Dissertation, *De Diebus Festis*. Traj. ad Rhenum, 1693.

In *Biographical Memoranda*, No. iii. p. 108, printed at Bristol in 1814, an English "Poem by A. Melvin" is given from a MS. in the possession of the editor. On inspecting that MS. I find that the poem is by George Herbert.

Besides those formerly mentioned, encomiastic verses on Melville were written by David Wedderburn (Musæ Sacræ, tom. i. p. xlvii.) by John Dunbar (Epigr. p. 29), by John Leech (Epigr. p. 86), by James Wright (Poemat. præf. Strangio, De Interpret. Scripturæ), and by Leon. Moyartus (Lachrymæ Zelandicæ in Obitum Joan. Wallasii).

Four letters from Melville to David Hume of Godscroft are prefixed to the *Lusus Poetici* of the latter. They afford specimens of his humour as well as proofs of the intimate friendship which subsisted between him and Hume. One of them is subscribed, "*Plus fellis quam mellis;*" which shows that the play on his name, with which Episcopalian epigrammatists have diverted themselves so much, was not the invention either of Dr Duport or Bishop Barlow. James Hume, the son of the poet, is the author of various works on arithmetic and mathematics. In the edition of his father's poems, published by him at Paris in 1639, he has inserted several epigrams against Melville, with answers to them by his father. In a note to the latter, he says: "Scripsit author alia duo Epigrammata ad Melvinū; *sed, quia nimis acerba in Episcopos Anglicanos, omisimus.*" Dav. Humii Lusus Poet. p. 114. From this it appears that the editor was a politician as well as a mathematician.

I have a copy of Buchanan's History, with marginal notes in Melville's handwriting. In one of these, so far as I can make sense of it (for part of it has been

cut off), he traces his own descent from the royal families of Scotland and England, in the way of stating that he was sprung from Queen Jane, the wife of James I. by her second husband, Sir James Stewart, surnamed the *Black Knight*. On the title-page of the dialogue *De Jure Regni*, he has written these lines,—

Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
Perditus ut dubitet Senecam præferre Neroni?

Did he intend this to apply to Buchanan and his royal pupil?

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

Note QQ, p. 350.

University of St Andrews.

At the opening of the classes in 1411, Bishop Wardlaw, with the concurrence of James Bisset, prior of the Abbey of St Andrews, and Thomas Stewart, archdeacon of Lothian, granted to the masters and students the privileges belonging to a university, and applied in the usual way to the Pope for a confirmation of what he had done. Besides the bull founding the university, which was issued on the 27th of August, 1413, Benedict XIII. signed on the same day five other bulls securing its rights.

The university laboured under no want of teachers at its commencement. Before the papal bulls were executed, Laurence Lindores, as professor of divinity, began to read the fourth book of the Sentences. Richard Corvel, John Litstar, John Scheves, and William Stephani or Stevenson, appeared as lecturers on canon law. And John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier, taught the arts of philosophy. This is the account given by Fordun. Scotichronicon, lib. xv. cap. 22. Hector Boethius makes Laurence Lindores professor of laws, and Richard Corveil doctor of decretals. Hist. Scot. lib. xvi. Spotswood, though he refers to Boethius as his authority, gives a different statement; making Scheves, Stephen, and Lister readers in divinity, Lendors in canon law, and Cornwall in civil law. Hist. p. 57.

The first professors appear to have had no salaries. The revenues of the university for some time consisted chiefly of small sums received from the students at their admission and graduation; and the greater part of these was applied to the defraying of the common expenses. The classes were at first taught in such places of the city as were found most convenient. Robert de Montrose gave a house for the students of theology to meet in, which was at a subsequent period converted into the public library. And Bishop Kennedy appropriated to the classes of philosophy certain buildings in the neighbourhood, which retained the name of the *Pædagogium* until it was erected into a college under the designation of St Mary's. Hovei Oratio.

James I. who, in recompence of his long captivity, had received a good education in England, patronised the newly-erected university after his return to Scotland. Besides confirming its privileges by a royal charter, he assembled those who had distinguished themselves by teaching, and by the progress which they had made in their studies, and after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them according to their merit with offices in the state or benefices in the church. Fordun. Hovei Orat. Buch. Hist. p. 190, edit. Rudd.

Note RR, p. 350.

Colleges at St Andrews.

I shall give here some more minute facts as to each of these, according to the order of time in which they were erected.

St Salvator's College.—This college, which was founded by James Kennedy, Archbishop of St Andrews, in 1450, received from its founder a new and more improved form in 1458. It consisted of three professors of divinity, called the provost or principal, the licentiate, and the bachelor; four masters of arts, who were also in priest's orders; and six poor scholars or clerks, making in all thirteen persons, according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour, in honour of whom the college was named. The provost was bound to read lessons in theology once a-week, the licentiate thrice a-week, and the bachelor every *readable* day: the first, to preach to the people four times, and the second, six times a-year. From the four masters of arts, two at least were to be annually chosen as regents, the one to teach logic, and the other physics and metaphysics, according to the method of the schools and the statutes of the university. The college was liberally endowed by the founder for the support of the masters and scholars; besides the altarages subsequently founded by other individuals. The provost had the rectory of Cults conferred on him, the licentiate the rectory of Kembach, and the bachelor that of Denino—parish churches in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, the revenues of which they drew, after appropriating a certain part of the emoluments to the respective vicars. The rectory of Kilmany was appropriated for the common support of the founded persons, and of the servants attached to the establishment, in victuals, &c. The strictest rules were laid down as to the behaviour of all the members, and as to the religious exercises, as well as the studies, of those who were admitted to the benefits of the institution. Young men of rank or opulence, who might choose to study in the college, and to pay for their board, were bound to obey the provost, and to submit in all things to the rules of the house equally as the bursars or poor scholars.

Bishop Kennedy was careful to have his college provided with the most able teachers. With this view he called home John Athelmer, who had been educated at St Andrews, but was then in the university of Paris, and placed him in the situation of provost or principal. To him he joined Thomas Logy, who had already filled the office of rector of the university, and James Ogilvy, as second and third masters or professors of divinity. Mr Jo. Athelmer was presented to the "paroche church of Qhylt" (Cults) March 25, 1450. He is often mentioned as Dean of Theology. "Mr Jo. Almer, præpositus Collegii Sti Salv." occurs in the records as late as 1473. James Ogilvy seems to have been the same person who, on account of his great learning and virtue, was designed for Bishop of St Andrews by the General Council of Basle, and who afterwards taught theology in the university of Aberdeen. Boetii Vitæ Abredonens. Episcop. fol. xxvii. b.

St Leonard's College.—Adjoining to the church of St Leonard, and within the precincts of the Abbey, was an ancient hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in pilgrimage to visit the relics of St Andrew, being attracted by the fame of the miracles wrought by them. "The miracles and pilgrimages having ceased in process of time, as may be believed," the hospital was converted into a receptacle for aged women. But the patrons, not being satisfied with the conduct of the new objects of their charity, resolved to convert the hospital, with the adjoining church, into a College, "for training up poor scholars in learning and the arts, to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of the people." This was called the *College of St Leonard.* The charter of foundation was executed in 1512 by John Hepburn, prior of the Abbey, and confirmed by Archbishop Alexander Stewart, and by King James IV. The prior and conventual chapter were patrons of this College, and retained the power of visiting it and reforming its abuses. The teachers were always taken from the monastery. Dr Howie in his Oration, frequently quoted, has stated that John Annand was the first principal of St Leonard's College; and Boece has done the same. Vit. Episc. Abred. xxvii. But Alexander Young was Principal down to 1517; Gavin Logie in 1523—1537; Thomas Cunninghame in 1538; and John Annand in 1544. Transumptum Fundationis; and subscriptions to the Statutes in the last-mentioned year. Gavin Logie is the person known for his early partiality to the Reformation. Life of Knox, Note I. Annand was probably the person who disputed with Knox at St Andrews. Ibid. p. 58. This College was intended for the support and education of twenty poor scholars. The Principal was appointed to read on two days of every week a lecture on the Scriptures, or on speculative theology, to the priests, regents, and others who chose to attend. And by a subsequent regulation an additional salary was appointed to be given to two

of the four regents, provided they chose to read, twice or thrice in the week, a lecture on the Scriptures, or on the Master of Sentences. Papers of University.

It was required of those who were admitted to St Leonard's College, that, besides being of good character, acquainted with grammar, and skilled in writing, they should be sufficiently instructed in the *Gregorian song*,—"cantuque Gregoriano sufficienter instructum." Papers of University. The religious of the Priory of St Andrews were always celebrated for their skill in music, and singing formed one of the regular exercises of the students. Boetii Abredon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi. Individuals who had belonged to it were employed in composing the music used in churches after the Reformation. Old Music Book, MS.

St Mary's, or New College.—There were still in the university professors and students who did not belong to either of the Colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard. These continued to teach in the Pædagogium, although they were not formed into a college, and had but slender funds. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who has been highly commended by Erasmus for his literary attainments, intended to give it a collegiate form, and with this view he not only repaired the chapel of St John the Evangelist, which served as a place of worship to the pædagogium, but also bestowed on it the living of the church of St Michael de Tarvet, in the neighbourhood of Cupar in Fife. In the deed of annexation it is said, that the pædagogium of the university "lay almost extinct in consequence of the deficiency of funds and of learned men;" and that the archbishop, with the consent of his chapter, had resolved to "endow and erect it into a college, to the praise of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learned men, and the salvation of the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors, the archbishops of St Andrews, and all the faithful." The premature death of the primate, who soon after fell in the field of Flodden, appears to have defeated this annexation, and prevented the erection of the college. It was not to be expected that the pædagogium would rival colleges which were provided with extensive funds and accommodations both for masters and scholars. But it continued to have regents and a principal; and several distinguished individuals, among whom were George Buchanan, received their education in it, while it remained on its original footing. Archbishop James Beatoun resumed the design of his predecessor, and obtained a bull from Pope Paul III. authorising him to erect buildings for a college and chapel, under the name of the Assumption of St Mary, in which grammar, logic, theology, medicine, and law, both canon and civil, should be taught, divine offices performed, and a collegial table provided from the rents of certain benefices which were united and annexed to the institution. The buildings which were begun on the site of the pædagogium by Archbishop Beatoun were carried on by his nephew and successor, the Cardinal. But the college was not finally erected until 1554, after Archbishop Hamilton had obtained a papal bull from Julius III. by which he was authorised to alter at his pleasure the arrangements made by his predecessor.

By the foundation of Bishop Hamilton, *St Mary's College*, or, as it was often called, the *New College*, was provided with four principal professors, denominated the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; eight students of theology; three professors of philosophy and two of rhetoric and grammar; sixteen students of philosophy; a provisor, cook, and janitor; and five vicars pensionary. The Principal, besides exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of the college and presiding at the theological disputations once a-week, was to read a lecture on the sacred Scriptures, or to preach, every Monday. The licentiate was to read a lecture on the Scriptures four times, and the bachelor five times a-week; and the canonist was to lecture on canon law five times every week. It was also the duty of each of these professors to say mass at stated times. It behoved the students of divinity to be in priest's orders and initiated into theology, "so as to have answered thrice in public, and given specimen of their erudition according to the custom of the university." They were bound regularly to attend the lectures of the three theological professors, to answer publicly to the difficulties of Scripture every holiday, to say mass, and to preach thrice a-year in public. Their continuance in this situation was limited to six years; for it was expected "that by the divine blessing, and their assiduity, they shall within this period be fit for becoming licentiates in theology, and for discharging higher offices." The three professors of philosophy were to teach logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics, at the direction of the Principal; and the orator and grammarian were, at the same direction, to interpret the most

useful authors in their respective faculties. And they were not to hold their places above six years, or the time during which they taught two courses, unless they received a new appointment. It behoved the students of philosophy, before their admission, to be initiated into grammar and the Latin tongue, so as to be able to express themselves properly in that language at disputations and examinations; to swear that they had no benefice or patrimony to support them, and to supplicate, for the love of God, to be admitted to the place of poor students. Each of them in order was bound to awake all the domestics at five in the morning, and furnish lights to such as wished them. The professors, regents, and students were to wear caps after the Parisian manner; and all the scholars, including the noble and wealthy, as well as the bursars, were to wear gowns bound round them with a girdle, to which the bursars were to add a black hood. By the bull of Julius III. as well as that of Paul III. the college had the power of conferring degrees in all the faculties; and the jurisdiction over the bursars belonged to the Principal, from whom an appeal lay to the archbishop and the pope, to the exclusion of the rector of the university or any other judge, even in the second instance. The college was provided with ample funds. The revenues of four parish churches, Tyninghame, Tannadice, Inchbrayock (including Craig and Pert), and Conveth or Laurencekirk, were appointed for its support; in addition, as it would appear, to what had formerly belonged to the Pædagogium. Fundatio et Erectio Novi Collegii.

Some of the professors of the New College, nominated by Archbishop Beatoun, including the Principal, had previously been teachers in the Pædagogium. The instrument of Presentation and Investiture, Feb. 8, 1538, appoints "Magistrum *Robertum Bannerman*, pro theologo et primario dicti collegii de assumptione beatæ Mariæ, et pro sub-principali Mag^rm^ David Guynd, pro Canonista Mag^rm^ Thomam Kyncragy, pro civilista Mag^rm^ Jōhem Gledstanis, Item pro regentibus artium et studentibus in theologia Magistros *Andream Kynninmond*, Johannem Forbous, Wilhelmum Young et *Walterum Fethy*." Those whose names are printed in italics had previously been teachers in the Pædagogium.

Archbishop Hamilton, in his foundation, omitted civil law and medicine, which his predecessors had appointed to be taught. But, upon the whole, his arrangements appear to have been adapted to the means of instruction which he had in his power; and in several points they indicate a due attention to the progress which learning had made since the erection of the two other colleges. He was equally attentive in providing the college with professors. Archibald Hay, who was made principal soon after Cardinal Beatoun's death, appears to have excelled most of his countrymen at that time in learning and liberal views. During his residence in the College of Montague at Paris, he published a panegyrical oration on Archbishop Beatoun's advancement to the purple. It is entitled, "Ad Illustriss. Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Cœlio Cardinalem D. Dauidem Betonum — Gratulatorius Panegyricus Archibaldi Hayi. Parisiis 1540." It is in 4to, and ends on fol. LXVI. On the title-page is a motto in Greek and in Hebrew. The dedication to the Cardinal is subscribed "addictissimus *Consobrinus* vester Archibald Hayus." In the course of this work the author censures, with much freedom, the ignorance, negligence, and hypocrisy of the clergy, but makes no allusion to the reformed opinions either in the way of approbation or condemnation. The most curious and valuable part of it is that in which he lays down a plan of teaching for the New College which the Cardinal was employed in organising. It will be of far more consequence, he says, to procure teachers capable of instructing the youth in the three learned languages, than to endow a rich but illiterate college. If it should be thought proper to add teachers of Chaldee and Arabic, he would highly approve of the arrangement. "Quod si visum fuerit linguæ caldaicæ et arabicæ interpretes addere, vehementer probabo; quandoquidem cum Hebraica magnā habent affinitatem, et plurima sunt illis duabus linguis scripta, quæ non parum sint habitura momenti ad rerum pulcherrimarum intelligentiam." Fol. lix. Though he does not propose to banish the Peripatetic philosophy from the schools, yet he would wish to see the study of *the divine Plato* take the place of scholastic *argutiæ*. Fol. lx. a. He laments the neglect of the Roman law, and extols the science of mathematics. Fol. lx. b. lxii. a.

Robert Bannerman resigned the provostship, July 12, 1546, on account of his advanced age, and to allow the college to be provided "de alio quovis famoso, juniori et magis ydoneo primario seu principali." On the same day collation was given

to Archibald Hay, "clerico Sti Andreæ dioces." Oct. 1, 1547, the office was conferred "perdocto et spectabili viro Magro Johanni Douglass clerico dunkelden. dioc." in consequence of the death "quond. Magri Archibaldi Hay ultimi primarii."

Dr Howie mentions the kind reception which Archbishop Hamilton gave to two Englishmen, Richard Smith and Richard Marshall. Oratio de Fundatoribus Acad. et Coll. Andreapol. "Richardus Martialus, Alb. Theologus," was incorporated at St Andrews in 1549. In 1550, Mr John Douglas, being made rector for the first time, had for one of his deputes "Richardum Martialem verbi dei præconem egregium." In 1556 the same person is styled "Collegii Mariani Licentiatus."—"Doctor Richardus Smythæus, Anglus," was incorporated in 1550. In 1552 he styles himself "professor sacræ Theologiæ." Richard Martial, D.D.; was of Christ Church College, of which he was made Dean in 1553. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss. vol. ii. col. 136, 138. Smith was also of Oxford, and is the author of a great many controversial works against the Protestants. Wood, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 333—337. Dr Laurence Humphrey represents him as flying into Scotland to avoid a dispute with his successor Peter Martyr: "Animosus iste Achilles, die ad disputandum constituto,—ad Divum Andream in Scotiam profugeret, ratus eum qui in hoc articulo bene lateret, bene viuere." Joannis Ivelli Vita et Mors, p. 44. "Those of his persuasion accounted him the best schoolman of his time, and they have said that he baffled Pet. Martyr several times. Protestant writers say that he was a sophister—and that he was a goggle-eyed fellow, and very inconstant in his opinion." Wood, *ut supra*. Further particulars concerning him will be found in Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. vol. ii. p. 162. App. No. 54. Strype's Cranmer, p. 172.

Note SS, p. 359.

Change of Professors at St Andrews in 1580.

It was at first proposed that St Salvator's, or the Old College, as it was called, should be converted into the seminary for divinity, on account of the number of chaplainries founded in it, which would serve for the sustentation of the theological students; and, to make room for Melville, it had been agreed that James Martine, who was at the head of that college, should be translated, and made Principal of the New College. But upon maturer deliberation this measure was thought unadvisable. It was judged that those who were presented to the chaplainries in St Salvator's might study theology in any college in which it was appointed to be taught. The revenues of the New College, and the number of bursars in it, were greater than those of either of the other two; and there was less need for dispossessing the founded persons in it, in order to make room for those who had been elected professors of theology. Determination anent the Old and New College, September 6, 1579; subscribed "R. Dunfermling. P. Sanctandros." This last was the chief reason of its being preferred. The General Assembly had declared that Robert Hamilton's holding the office of provost of the New College was an impediment to him in the discharge of his duty as minister of St Andrews, and had repeatedly enjoined him to demit the former situation. Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 67. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 480, 564. Archibald Hamilton, the second principal master of that college, who had long been disaffected to the constitution in church and state, had lately avowed himself a Roman Catholic, and deserted the university. His name occurs for the last time in the records of the university, Nov. 2, 1576, when he was elected one of the auditors of the questor's accompts. On the 6th Oct. 1574, his name was excluded from the roll of persons to be chosen as elders in St Andrews, "because he being of befoir nominat and electit refused to accept the office of elder on him, and not to be nominat quhil he mak repentance yrfoir." Records of the Kirk-Session of St Andrews. The place of John Hamilton, one of the regents, had also been vacated in the same way. John Hamilton, "ex gymnasio Mo," was chosen one of the examinators of the bachelors, Feb. 21, 1574. He could not, therefore, have left Scotland earlier than 1575. Lord Hailes (Sketch of the Life of John Hamilton, p. 2) says that he was in France in 1573; proceeding upon the authority of Servin, who, in 1586, says, "Il y a treze ans qu'il demeure en ceste ville." Plaidoyé de Maistre Lois Servin, Advocat en Parlament, pour

Maistre Jean Hamilton Escossois, p. 14. Par. 1586. The *Plaidoyé* was published by Hamilton himself, which shows how difficult it is to attain to accuracy in such minute circumstances. The counsel who pleaded against Hamilton alleged, "qu'il ne sçait parler ne Latin ne François." Servin replied that his client was ready to give proof before the parliament of his knowledge of both languages. Ibid. pp. 59, 109. The pleading related to the cure of St Cosme and St Damian, to which Hamilton had been presented by the university, and contains some curious matter as to the constitution of universities and the privileges of the Scots in France. The professors of law and mathematics in St Mary's College were transferred to St Salvator's; and such of the regents as were displaced were allowed to remain, if they chose, as bursars of theology.

When this reformation was made on the university, Patrick Adamson, as Archbishop of St Andrews, held the honorary office of Chancellor. James Wilkie was Rector of the University, and Principal of the College of St Leonard, in which he had taught for more than thirty years.[1] James Martine was Principal of St Salvator's College, which place John Rutherfurd, shortly before his death, had resigned to him.[2] Though he had never left the college in which he received his education, the literary attainments of Martine were respectable, and he continued to discharge the duties of his office with credit to himself for nearly half a century. Baronii Orat. Funeb. pro M. Jacobo Martinio. William Skene was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Conservator of the Privileges of the University.

Note TT, pp. 361, 378.

New Foundation of King's College, Aberdeen.

It appoints a principal, sub-principal, three regents, and a teacher of grammar. The latter is thus described: "Volumus præceptorem grammaticæ virum esse bonum et doctum et apprime versatum in Latina et Græca literatura, cum carmine quam soluta oratione." The first regent was to teach Greek; the second the precepts of invention, disposition, and elocution, in as easy a method as possible; and the third the rudiments of arithmetic and geometry. The sub-principal was to teach physiology, the history of animals as chiefly necessary, geography and astrology, general cosmography, and the reckoning of time, "which throws great light on other arts and the knowledge of history;" and towards the end of his course he was to initiate the students into the principles of the holy tongue. The Principal was alternately to lecture on theology, and explain the Hebrew language; and he is thus described: "Is in sacris literis probe institutus, ad aperienda fidei mysteria et reconditos divini verbi thesauros, idoneus linguarum etiam gnarus et peritus sit oportet, inprimis vero Hebraicæ et Syriacæ, cujus professorem esse instituimus; linguam enim sacram, ut par est, promoveri inter subditos nostros cupimus, ut scripturarum fontes et mysteria rectius aperiantur." The teachers were appointed to confine themselves to their own branches. "Quatuor autem hos regentes noluimus (prout in regni nostri Academiis olim mos fuit) novas professiones quotannis immutare, quo facto fuit ut dum multa profiterentur, in paucis periti invenirentur; verum voluimus ut in eadem professione se exerceant," &c. Nova Fundatio, Jacobo 6to rege.

This foundation is contained in a Royal Charter, the copy of which now before me is without date. But in the description of the donations made to the college

[1] In the Library at St Andrews there are Greek books which belonged to James Wilkie, containing MS. notes, from which Dr Lee is induced to think that he was acquainted with that language. There is the same evidence as to the literary acquirements of John Rutherfurd, William Ramsay, John Duncanson, and Robert Wilkie.

[2] On the 26th September, 1577, "Johne Rutherfurd, younger, son lawfull to ane venerabill man, Mr Johne Rutherfurd, Rector of the university of St Andˢ—with express consent and assent of the said Mr Johne, his father," signed a letter of factory to the half of the teind sheaves of Quilts; "præsentibus Mro Jacobo Martine *præposito* dicti Collegii," &c. On the 18th December, 1577, "Christiane Forsyth, relict and executrix of umqll Mr Johne Rutherfurd, sumtyme provost of St Salvator's College, and rector of the university of St Andˢ, delivered certain wreitts and evidentis," &c. Rutherfurd must, therefore, have died in the interval between the 26th September and the 18th December, 1577. Papers of University.

by King James VI. it agrees with the act of parliament in 1617, entitled, "Ratificatioun to the Old Colledge off Abirdene." Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 576.

The following are some of the steps taken respecting this new erection. In April, 1583, George, Earl Marischal, Robert, Commendator of Deer, and certain brethren who had charge of the King's Majesty's Commission, presented a petition to the General Assembly, desiring them to visit the College of Aberdeen to take trial of the travels they had taken in the said matter, and "to depute some persons to take trial of the members thereof, that they be sufficient and qualified and *conforme to the new erectione*." To this the Assembly agreed, and ordained Mr James Lawson, Mr Andrew Melville, and Mr Nicol Dalgleish, "to consider the proceedings of the said commissioners touching the said erection, and if they find the same allowable and weel done, to give their testimony and approbation thereof to be presented to the Erle Marshal, that his Lo. may travel for the King's M. confirmation thereof." Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 236, 237. Nothing having been done in the affair, the Assembly which met in October that year renewed the appointment of the committee. Ib. p. 268. It appears, from the following letter, that this measure met with opposition from the crown :—

"Chancellor, Rector, and other members of our College of Abd. we greit yow weill. We are surelie informed that at this last gñall assemblie it was desyrit by some persones that Mr Alex^r Arbuthnot, Princ^ll of our said College, sould transport himself to St Andrews, and be minister thairof, q^rthrough our said College sall be heavilie damnifiet, and the foundatione thairof prejudged. As also it is meanit they intend to pervert the ordour of the foundatione established be our progenitors and estaites of our realme. Quhairfore we will and comand you to observe and keipe the heides of your fundatione, and in no wayes to hurt the funds, ay and q^ll the estaites be convenit to ane Parliament, at q^lk tyme we will cause see q^t is to be reformit thairin. And this ye do upone your obedience as ye will ans^r unto us therupone, notwithstanding any ordour taken p̃tlie or to be taken thairin in any sort thair anent, and keep this our l^re for your warrand. Thus comittes you to God. At Halyruidhous, 25 May, 1583. Et sic subs.

"James Rex."

In 1581, parliament appointed a commission to "treate and conclude on certane articles;" one of which was "Reformatioun of the College of Abirdene." Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 214. In 1584 the new foundation was presented by the professors to parliament, and at their request a commission was appointed to consider it. Ib. p. 355. In 1597 parliament passed the following act: "Oure Souerane Lord, with aduyse and consent of the estaittis of this present parliament, Ratifeis [and] approvis the new foundatioun of his mat^eis colledge of auld Abirdene to be reveist be his hienes comissioneris appointit to that effect, viz., Mr Johne Lyndesay of Balcarhous, his mat^eis secretar, Mr James Elphingstoun of Barntoun, ane of the senators of his hienes colledge of Justice, and Mr Dauid Cunynghame, bischop of Abirdene, in all and sindrie pointis, priviledgis, liberteis, Immuniteis, claussis, and circumstances y^rof quhatsumeur, eftir the forme and tenno^r of the samyn. And ordanis his mat^eis clerk of reg^r to ressaue the said fundatioun, and to extend ane act of parliament thairvpoun in the mair forme, with extensioun of all claussis neidfull." Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iv. p. 153.

The question as to the legality of the New Foundation was warmly disputed in the college, between the years 1634 and 1638. The greater part of the professors, with Dr Arthur Jonston, the Rector, at their head, maintained the affirmative, in opposition to the professors of canon law and medicine. On the 7th of October, 1637, a royal letter was issued for visiting King's College, and "establishing the new foundation by James VI.;" but, in consequence of the representations of "the mediciner and canonist," this visitation was not held, and a new commission was given in the following year, appointing the visitors to proceed "according to the old foundation." At this visitation (April 1638) the Rector and his friends pleaded that the original deed of new foundation, subscribed by the king, privy council, bishop, and members of the college, had been secretly destroyed and burnt sixteen years ago, which they offered to prove presently; and that the act of parliament quoted above was a valid ratification of it. This was denied by the other party, who pleaded that, in an action before the Court of Session in March 1636, the lords had found that the act of parliament could "make no faith," forasmuch

as "the alledgit fundation wes nevir revised, reported, nor ratified in Parliament." And with respect to "the copie of the act of counsall alledgit subscribed be his Matie at Abirdeine, 1592," they argued that it was "ane tyme of greyt trouble and confusione in this land, and wes done sine causa cognitionis et partibus non auditis, if ever it wes done." Papers of Visitation; and Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, vol. ii. p. 439—442.

Note UU, p. 361.

Grammar School of Glasgow.

In the statutes of the Cathedral Church of Glasgow, confirmed in the fourteenth century, it is declared: "Cancellarii officium est in scolis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare et terminare." Chartul. Glascuens. tom. i. p. 549: in Bibl. Coll. Glasg. In 1494, Mr Martin Wan, Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, brought a complaint before the Bishop (Robert Blacader), against M. D. D. Dwne, a priest of the diocese, for teaching scholars in grammar, and children in inferior branches, by himself apart, openly and publicly ("per se ac separatim palam et manifeste,") in the said city, without the allowance and in opposition to the will of the Chancellor. Wan pleaded, that, by statute and immemorial usage, he had the power of appointing and deposing the master of the grammar-school, and of licensing or prohibiting all teachers of youth in Glasgow. — "Instituend. et destituend. magrum scolæ grammaticalis civitatis Glasguensis, curamque et regimen dictæ scolæ ac magisterium ejusdem habend. sic *quæ quod absque illius* (*sic*) magri Martini cancellarii prænominati ac cancellarii dictæ ecclesiæ pro tempore existentis, nulli liceat scolam grammaticalem tenere, scholaresque in grammatica aut juvenes in puerilibus per se clam aut palam infra prædictam civitatem seu universitatem instruere et docere." The bishop having heard the parties, considered the productions, and examined witnesses, decided, with the advice of his chapter, and of the rector and clerks of the university, in favour of the Chancellor, and prohibited Dwne from all teaching or instructing of youth or scholars, without license specially sought and obtained from the said Mr Martin, or the Chancellor for the time being. Cartul. Glasg. tom. ii. p. 939.

It appears from this that there was a grammar-school in Glasgow long before the year 1494. In the sixteenth century the situation of master of it was highly respectable. Among the *non-regentes* nominated to elect the rector, or to examine the graduates, the records of the university mention, in 1523 and 1525, "Matthæus Reid, magr scolæ grammaticalis;" in 1549 and 1551, "Mag. Alexr Crawfurd, mag. scolæ grāmaticalis;" and in 1555, "Archibaldus Crawfurd præceptor schol. gram."

At what time Thomas Jack became master, I have not learned. The following is the title of his book: "Onomasticon Poeticvm siue Propriorvm Qvibvs in svis Monvmentis vsi svnt veteres Poetæ, Brevis Descriptio Poetica, Thoma Jacchæo Caledonio Avthore. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Waldegraue, Typographus Regiæ Maiestatis. 1592. Cum Privilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 150. It is dedicated to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, who had been educated under Jack, along with John Graham, a younger son of the Marquess of Montrose. The dedication is dated "Ex *Sylva*, vulgo dicta, *Orientali*;" *i. e.* Eastwood. Prefixed and subjoined to the work are a recommendatory letter by Hadr. Damman A Bistervelt, and encomiastic verses by the same individual, by Robert Rollock, Hercules Rollock, Patrick Sharp, Andrew Melville, and Thomas Craig. From the verses of Robert Rollock, it appears that he had been the scholar of Jack, whom he calls "præceptor ille olim meus Jacchæus." After mentioning that he left the school of Glasgow "a. d. v. Kal. Sept. 1574," Jack goes on to say: "Eo ipso anno, *mense Nouembri*, non sine singulari numinis providentia, suæ gentis decus, et pietatis et eruditionis nomine, *Andreas Melvinus* Glascuam venit, qui gymnasio præesset, quem haud dubie in summum suæ Ecclesiæ et Reipub. Scoticanæ commodum cò miserat Deus. Ille, versibus meis perlectis, me instanter urgere non destitit, ut operis frontem ad umbilicum perducerem." Having mentioned the revisal of his work by Buchanan (See Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, p. 238, 2d edit.), Jack adds: "Ad *Buchanani* curam accessit et *Andreæ Melvini*, *Roberti Pontani*, et *Hadriani Dammanis* opera, quibus eo nomine me devinctissimum confiteor." Onomasticon Poeticum, Dedic. Epist. In

1577, "Thomas Jackæus" was "Quæstor Academiæ." Annales Collegii Fac. Art. Glasg. Feb. 4, 1578, "Mr Thomas Jack, vicar of Eistwod," signs, as a witness, a tack granted by the College to John Buchanan of Ballagan. Ibid. "Mr Thomas Jack, minister of Rutherglen," was among those who opposed the election of Montgomery to be Archbishop of Glasgow. Records of Privy Council, April 12, 1582. "Tho. Jack" was a member of the General Assembly, Aug. 1590. Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 158, b. He is mentioned as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, in May 1593. Record of the Presb. of Glasgow. And he died in 1596, as appears from the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umqhill Mr Thomas Jak, min^r at Eastwod." She leaves a legacy to "James Scharp, her oy, sone to Mr Patrick Scharp," and constitutes "Mr Gabriel Maxwell, her oy," her only executor and intromitter. Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh, Aug. 1, 1608. In the Dedication of his *Onomasticon*, Jack says, "*Gabrielem Maxvellum*, nepotem meum, qui mihi unici filii loco est, ingravescente hac nostra ætate, tuo commendo patrocinio."—Gabriel Maxwell was a minister in the presbytery of Paisley, 18th March, 1594. Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. And he is mentioned as "Regens et Magister A° 1605," in a List of the Masters of the College of Glasgow. MS. by Principal Dunlop, in Advocates' Library.

Note V V, p. 362.

Early State of High School of Edinburgh.

This school had the same dependance on the Abbey of Holyrood House which that of Glasgow had on the Cathedral Church. This is established by a very curious document, a royal charter by James V. dated March 21, 1529, "Henrico Henrison super officio Magisterii Eruditionis in Schola Grammaticalis de Edinburgh." It ratifies and embodies a donation by George, Bishop of Dunkeld, as Abbot of Holyrood House, with consent of the convent of that monastery. This donation bears, that "our Louit Clark and Oratour, Maister Dauid Vocat principale Maister and Techour of our Grammar scule of the burgh of Edinburgh, has chosin his louit friende and discipill, Maister Hary Henrisoun, to be Comaister with him into the said skule," and to succeed to him after his decease: "And because we, the saidis Abbot and Cōuent, understandis y^e said Maister Hary is abil and sufficientlie qualyfyit therto, has made under him gude and perite scolaris now laitlie y^e tym that he was Maister of our scule within our burgh of y^e Canongate, Heirfor we, &c. ratifyis and approuis y^e said admissioune of y^e said Maister Hary to be Commaister," &c. and gives and grants him "pouir and licence to be principale maister of y^e said Grammar skule after y^e said Maister Dauid deceiss—wit all and syndrie profitis, &c. and dischairgis all utheris of ony teching of Gramar Skules within y^e said Burgh, except y^e teching and lering of Lectouris allenerally, under y^e panys contenit in y^e Papis Bullis, grantit to vs yerupon. And we with (will) ? y^e said Maister Hary Henrysoun heirfore be ane gude, trew, and thankful servitour to ws and our Successouris enduring his lyftyme, and to be at nie solempne festiual tymes with ws and our successouris at y^e mess and ewin sang, with his surplis wpoun him, to doe ws seruice y^e tyme yat we sall doe diwine seruice within our said abbey as efferis.—Y^e ferd daye of Septemb. y^e yeir of God 1524 yeiris." Ex Diplomatum Collectione MS., vol. ii. p. 350: in Bibl. Jurid. Edin., Jac. V. 4, 23.

During the disputes between the magistrates and Mr William Robertson, the right of the Abbot is always taken for granted. April 8, 1562, the town-council agree to write to Lord James to deal with Lord Robert (Abbot of Holyrood House), for removing Mr W. Robertson from the grammar-school, for granting the office of master "to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as yai can find maist abill y^rfore, and for vphalding and sustening y^e s^d m. & doctouris, *as alsua of y^e regentis of ane collage to be biggit w^tin yis burgh.*" Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 26. April 11, 1562, Mr William Robertson produced "ane gyft grantit be abbot Cairneros to vmq^le Sr Jhone Allane." Ib. f. 27. He afterwards produced a gift to himself "be presentation of the abbat of Halierudhous—of y^e dait y^e x day of Januar 1^m v^c xlvi yers," to which it was objected by the procurator of the town (Oct. 3, 1562), that it ought to have had the seal of the convent and the subscription of the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, administrator and governor of the Abbot of Holy-

rood House, who was then a minor under fourteen years of age. "The provost, &c. sittand in jugemēt as iugeis ordineris to the persoun of Mr Williame Robertsoun, haifand consent of Robert, commendator of Halierudhous—findis ye said Mr W. vnhabill to exerce ye said office of scholemaister within ye said burt, & yairfore decerns him to remove," &c. Reg. ut sup. ff. 44, 45. This is a very curious minute. Robertson continued to defend his right, and on the 6th of May 1565 the Queen interposed her authority in his favour. Ib. ff. 128, 129. On the 6th of March 1562 the council "ordainis ane writing to be maid in maist effectuous manner to Mr James Quhite, Scottisman in London—to accept upon him ye mastership of ye hie gramer scole; and becaus yai ar surelie informit [he] hes greit proffit be his scole in Londone, and yt he is ane man of excellent lerning baith in lating & greik, ordanis ane yearlie pensioun to be given to him of iiij^{xx}li (fourscore pounds) of ye readaest of yair comoun gude, besyde and abone ye profet yt he sall haue of ye bairnis." Ib. f. 60. July 28, 1568, the treasurer is appointed to ride to St Andrews "for Mr Thomas Buchquhānane to be Maist. of yair hie scole." Ib. f. 220. He entered to the school on the 11th of February following, and appears to have left it about July 1570. Ib. ff. 294, 260. It would seem that he acted as assistant to his uncle during his residence at Stirling; for a pension of £100 was given to "Mr Thomas Buchannane, Maister of ye grammar scole of Striueling, quha hes bene in the nowmber of his hienes houshald" and has bruiked the pension, "thir diuers years bygane.—Penult. Aug. 1578." Reg. of Presentation to Benefices, &c., vol. ii. f. 2.

It appears, from the gift to Henry Henryson, that in 1525 there was a grammar school in the Canongate, distinct from that of Edinburgh, and that both were originally under the patronage of the abbots of Holyrood House. In 1580, "the baillies, counsall, and Kirk of the burt of the Canongait" entered a complaint before the Privy Council, in which they stated that they have "bene euir cairfull, according to thair duteis, that thair youth sould haue bene instructit and brot vp in the knowledge of God and gude lres, And thairfoir hes had grammer sculis ane or ma, And that not onlie sen reformatioun of religioun, bot also in tyme of Papistrie & past memorie of man, Quhill that Mr William Robertsoun, sculemaster of Edinburt, be sum solistatioun purchest of his hienes in the moneth of October last the confirmatioun of ane papisticall gift gotten in tyme of blindnes at the abbot of Halieruidhous then being in minority without consent of the convent, And be the same hes stoppit and dischargit their sculis be the space of ane quartir of ane yeir or mair last bipast, throw the qlk thair haill infantes and children are dispersit, &c.—The lordis of secreit counsall ffindis thameselfis not to be judges competent to the said mater, and thairfoir remittis the samen to be decydit befoir the judges competent thairto as accordis." Record of Privy Council, 9th Sept. 1580.

Note W W, p. 364.

Alexander Syme.

The following grant to Alexander Syme furnishes a curious notice as to the teaching of law in Scotland: "Marie be ye grace of God quene of Scottis, &c. Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to oure derrest moder Marie, quene drowriare and regent of oure realme, that ye want and laik of cunning men, raritie and skarsines of thame to teche and reid within our realme, hes bene ye occasioun of ye decay of knawlege and science within ye samin, swa yat yir mony zeris bigane yair hes bene few yat applyit yame or gaif yair studie to obtene letters. And yat florischeing of letters, knawlege, and science nocht allanerlie to ye plesure of ws and our successouris, and to oure and yair perpetuale honour and fame, Bot also to the greit decoring of ye countrie and vntellable proffeit of oure liegis quhilk sall follow yairvpoun, gif be authorising of cunning men all liberall sciences beis frielie techit, floriss, and incress; and We, vnderstanding that oure weilbelovite clerk, Maister Alex. Sym, hes spendit his haill youtheid past in vertew and science, and having experience of him yat he is habill to reid, instruct, and teiche, Thairfor," &c., grants him a pension of 100 lib. Scots, during the Queen's pleasure—"To ye effect yat he sall await upoun our said derrest moder, and be hir Lectoure and reidare in ye lawis or ony vtheris sciencis, at oure burt of Edr, or quhair he salbe

requirit be our said derrest moder yairto. And alsua to gife all vtheris young meno of fresche and quyk Ingynis occasioun to apply yair hale myndis to studie for like reward to be hade of ws in tyme cuming, &c. At Ed. Feb. 5, 1555." Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxviii. fol. 10.

In 1562, Mr Alexander Syme was appointed one of the examinators of the master of the High School of Edinburgh, "in grammar, greik, and latein." The following is a list of these "men cūning and experte in the saidis sciences," who may be presumed to have been the most distinguished for learning in the country: "Maisters George Baquhannane, George Hay, Alexander Sym, David Colass, Johnne Craig minister of Halierudhous, James Panter, James Kinponte, Clement Litill, Johnne Henderson, and Johnne Spottiswood superintendant of Lothian." Register of Town Council, Oct. 3, 1562. In 1567, Mr Alex. Syme was appointed one of the procurators for the Church. Cald. ii. 81. He was alive in 1573, when he was appointed procurator, along with Edwart Henderson, for the College of St Leonard before the Lords of Councel. Pap. of Univ. of St Andrews.

Note XX. p. 365.

Edward Henryson.

Henryson's first work was a translation of a treatise of Plutarch: "Plutarchi Septem Sapientvm Convivivm," published in "Moralivm Opvscvlorvm Plvtarchi Tomus Tertivs—apvd Graphivm, Lvgdvni 1551." 12mo. The dedication is inscribed "D Hvldrico Fuggero Edvardvs Henrisō S. P. D." A copy of this book, belonging to the university of St Andrews, has on the title-page the author's autograph, "Edward Henryson," with a number of corrections of errors of the press by the same pen. This book has also the autograph of "G. Hay, Rvthwen."[1]

In 1555 Henryson published a defence of Baro against Govea, on the subject of the distinction between magistratical and judicial authority. "Edvardi Henrysonis Pro Eg. Barone adversus A. Govеanvm de Jurisdictione Libri II. Parisiis 1555." 8vo. fol. 80. The Dedication, "Ad Huldrichum Fuggerum Kirchbergi & Vveissenhorniæ dominum," is dated "Biturigibus quarto nonas Octob. An. do. M.D.LIV." He informs Fugger that he had planned the work in his house—"in Michausa tua," and that he considered all his literary labours as due to him in virtue of the pension which he had from him—"tibi tui stipendij iure debentur." A copy of this work in the Advocates' Library has the following inscription in the author's handwriting: "D. Joanni Henrysoni Eduard Henryson author amoris ergo D.D. postridie Calend. No. 1555."

This work, as well as Henryson's Commentary on the title of the Institutes *De Testamentis*, was republished by Meerman: Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici, tom. iii. Meerman says the *Comment. de Testamentis ordinandis* was printed at Paris, 1556, in 8vo. In the dedication of it to Michael d'Hopital, dated from Bourges, "7 Cal. Jul. 1555," Henryson says, that the second year of his teaching Civil Law in that place was then running. His name, however, does not occur in two published lists of the professors of that university. Meerman, Nov. Thes. tom. iii. Præfat. p. vii.

The following note is written on a blank leaf of *Arriani Epictetvs*, Gr. in the Library of Edinburgh College. A. T. a. 10. It is in the handwriting of Henryson's son. "Fuit hic Doctoris Eduardi Henrysonis liber E quo transtulit in linguam latinam Epicteti Enchiridium et arriani Commentarios de Epicteti dissertationibus in Ædibus Reuerendissimi viri Henrici Sancto Claro tum decani Glasguensis postea Episcopi Rossensis Eduardi Mæcenatis Anno 52 post Millesimum Quingentissimum. Antequam in publicum prodierunt Jacobi Scheggii Eruditissimi Et Hieronymi volphii Ælingensis Interpretis optimi Eruditæ Et doctæ conuersiones. Mentionem facit Volphius Interpretationis Thomæ Naogeorgii quam non videre mihi contigit

[1] George Hay, sometimes called parson of Ruthven, and at other times parson of Eddilston, was a brother of Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, who filled, for many years, the office of Rector of the University of Glasgow. Cald. ii. 618, 619. An account of his Answer to the Abbot of Crossraguel has been given elsewhere. Life of Knox, pp. 193, 194, 384. In April 1576, "Certane brether appointit to oversie the booke wrytin be Mr George Hay contra Tyrie." Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 65.

licet sedulo perquisierim. Cur autem pater suam versionem Henrico Sanclaro dicatam non Ediderit Secuta Luctuosissima illi Mæcenatis mors Et typographorum Apud nos penuria Et Statim postea tantorum virorum lucubrationes Editæ in Gallia fuere." Some of the statements in this note are at least dubious. Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross, did not die until Jan. 2, 1565. The translation of Arrian by Scheggius was published in 1554. Henryson was with Fugger in 1551; and it is not very probable that he was in Scotland during the following year.—Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 350), mentions a translation of another work of Plutarch by Henryson: "Plutarchi Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorū. Lugduni, 1555."

In 1563 "Maisteris James Balfour persoun of Flisk, Ed. Henrysoun, Clement Littill, aduocatis, and Robert Maitland," were established Commissaries of Edinburgh: Balfour had 400 merks, and the rest 300 merks each, for their "feis yierlie." Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. xxxii. fol. 79. Henryson is known as the editor of the Scots Acts of Parliament, which appeared in 1566. His name occurs in a list of Advocates, May 22, 1585. Papers of Hospital of Perth. He was dead before March 10, 1591. Inq. Retorn. *Edinburgh*, num. 1414. Several particulars as to his family are mentioned in Maitland's History of Edinburgh. p. 198. And his talents and his patronage of science are celebrated by John Rutherfurd. De Arte Disserendi, Præfat.

Note Y Y, p. 370.

Archbishop Adamson.

Dr Mackenzie is offended at the presbyterian historians for asserting that the archbishop's name was *Patrick Constance*, and that he was a minister of the Church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. Lives, iii. 365. That he was called *Constyne, Constance,* or *Constantine,* is most unquestionable. Recommendatory verses by James Lawson and Robert Pont are prefixed to "Catechismvs Latino Carmine redditvs—Patricii Adamsoni Scoti poetæ elegantissimi opera—Lekprevik, 1581."[1] In his verses Pont says:

Vidit Patricivs cum Constantinus opellæ,
Admouitque manum noster Adamsonivs.

The following is the title-page of the first edition of one of Adamson's earliest works: "De Papistarvm Svperstiosis Ineptiis Patricij Adamsonij, Alias Constantini carmen. Matth. 15. Omnis plantatio, &c. Impressum Edinburgi per Robertum Lekprewick. Anno 1564." In Bibl. Coll. Edin. Wilson, perhaps thinking the *alias* discreditable to his father-in-law, omitted the second name in his edition. It is unnecessary to produce other proofs. If any of the presbyterian historians have asserted that the archbishop changed his name, they are mistaken; for he inherited both designations from his ancestors. Dionysius Adamson or Constantine was Town Clerk of Perth toward the close of the fifteenth century. He is mentioned in thirteen charters from 1491 to 1500, and is sometimes called *Adamson* and sometimes *Constantine.* Extracts from Registers of Births, &c. in Perth, by the Rev. James Scott; now in the Library of the Advocates. The writer of *Vita P. Adamsoni,* subjoined to *Melvini Musæ* (p. 45), says the bishop was the son of Patrick Constan, a baker. Mr Scott says that Patrick Adamson or Constantine, who was a magistrate of Perth in 1541, and died Oct. 23, 1570, had a daughter named Violet, and three sons, Patrick, Henry, and James. Violet married Andrew Simson, master of the grammar school of Perth. Patrick became Archbishop of St Andrews. Henry was killed on the street of Perth, April 16, 1558. James held the office of provost of Perth from 1609 to 1611, and was the father of Mr Henry Adamson, the author of the poem entitled *Gall's Gabions.* Extracts from Registers, *ut supra.*

In 1558, "Patricius Constyne," of St Mary's College, was laureated. Rec. of Univ. of S. And. In 1560, "Mr Patrik Coustone" (Constone) was declared by the

[1] This work was first printed at St Andrews in 1573. Melville's Diary, pp. 27, 28. Charters mentions both editions (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 2), as does also Sibbald, (De Script. Scot. p. 24). In his dedication of it to the young king, the author informs James that he had composed it with the view of assisting in his education.

General Assembly qualified "for ministring and teaching." Keith's Hist. p. 498. Dec. 1562, "Mr Patrik Couston (*Constance*, Buik of Univ. Kirk), if he be not chosen, for St Johnston, for Aberdeen." Keith, 519. June 1564, "Mr Patrick Constance, minister of Syres, desyreing the license to pass to France and vther countreyes for augmenting of his knowledge for a tyme, The haill assemblie in ane voice dissentit yᵗfra." Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 11. "Accingenti se ad iter vir Dei Johannes Cnoxus maledixit, quod tam ampla messe et tanta operariorum penuria gregem deseruisset, ut ea quæ sunt mundi quæreret." Melvini Musæ, &c. p. 45.

The presbyterian writers say that Adamson, on his return to Scotland, betook himself a second time to the ministry, and that, being disappointed of the archbishopric of St Andrews, he preached a sermon, about the time of Douglas's consecration to that See, in which he told the people, "There are three sorts of Bishops; my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery: my Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure: and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel." Dr Mackenzie summarily rejects this statement, as inconsistent with Adamson's account of himself, "that he was then at Bruges (Bourges) in France, nor did he return to Scotland till the year 1573." Lives, iii. 365, 366. The writer of the life of Adamson in the Biographia Britannica adopts Mackenzie's statement, but blames him for not exposing more particularly the anachronisms of which the presbyterian writers have been guilty; and having referred to dates and authorities "to put this matter out of dispute," he concludes that the whole is a scandalous story, fabricated by men who were induced by "great spleen to write anything that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invective." Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 39, 2d edit. But it has happened to this writer as to those who contradict others on a subject on which they are themselves superficially informed. For, in the *first* place, Bannatyne, who was on the spot, has recorded in his *Journal* (p. 323), that "Mr Patrik Cousting (Consting) preached" at St Andrews on the Friday before Douglas's consecration; and James Melville says that he heard the sermon, and has given the words used by the preacher, as quoted above. Diary, p. 27. In the *second* place, in spite of the averments and presumptions of the writers referred to, it is unquestionable that Adamson had left France, and was in Scotland when Douglas was appointed to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and even before the death of Hamilton, the former incumbent. Archbishop Hamilton was executed April 1, 1571; and Douglas was elected to the bishopric on the 6th, and consecrated on the 10th day of February, 1572. Now, Mr Patrick Adamson presented a petition to the General Assembly, which met on the 6th of March, 1572, "requesting them to ratify his pension of 500 merks out of the parsonage of Glasgow, because he was willing to serve in the ministry." Cald. ii. 343. "The Assembly (Aº 1571), brotherly required Mr Patrick Adamson to enter again in the ministry." He answered that he would advise till next Assembly. Ibid. ii. 226. "In the tenth Session (of the Assembly which met March 1, 1570), Mr Patrick Adamson showing that he was appointed by advice of the brethren then convened at Edinr to await on Court, and preach to my lord Regent's Grace, and for that purpose was modified to him 500 merks be year, and had served 3 months upon his own expences: therefore requested the brethren to appoint when he should receive payment of his stipend *pro ruto*, wch was done." Ib. ii. 165. But the following document puts the matter beyond all doubt. "Gift of ane yeirlie pensioun of the soume of fyve hundreth merkis money of this realme—to Maister Patrik Adamsoun—from the personage of Glasgow, &c., 25 day of August, 1570." Register of Benefices disponit sen the entres of the Noble and Michtie lord Matthew erle of Levinax, Lord Dernelie, to the office of Regentrie, fol. 2.

These authorities would have outweighed the testimony of Adamson himself, though he had asserted the contrary. But he has done no such thing. His words are: "Scripsi quidem in Gallia in ipso belli furore" (Dedic. in Catechis.); meaning the civil war which raged in 1567 and 1568. Misunderstanding this, his son-in-law has said, "dum Martyrii *Parisiensis* rabiis conflagraret;" and Thomas Murray, proceeding on this mistake, adds, "In medio belli civilis quo Gallia *anno* 1572 conflagrauit, incendio." Præfat. et Carm. ante Jobum. In this way carelessness creates blunders, and blunders, acting on prejudice and spleen, produce calumny. I have entered into this examination, not on account of the importance of the facts

to which it immediately relates (although truth is preferable to error in all things), but because it affords a specimen of the ease with which the common charges of falsification which writers of a certain description have brought against Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and other presbyterian historians, may be refuted.

It would seem that Adamson had some connection with the university of St Andrews, while he was minister of Ceres. At least, the preface to his poem, *De Papistarum Ineptiis*, is dated, "Sanctiandreæ 4. calendas Septembris. Anno 1564. Ex pædagogio." Among the works ascribed to him is a eucharistical poem to Queen Elizabeth for the liberation of Scotland from civil war. Graii Oratio de Illustr. Scot. Script. p. xxxii. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i. Charters. Sibbald. He was probably the author of the Latin translation of the Scots Confession of Faith, published by Lekprevik, "Andreapoli Anno Do. M.D.LXXII." Subjoined to it are a specimen of his paraphrase of Job, and an epitaph by him on Walter Mill the martyr. This is the epitaph inserted in Spotswood's History, p. 97. Among the Cottonian MSS. are two epitaphs "per Patriciū Constantinū Scotum;" one on Bishop Jewel, and another on the Duke of Guise. Calig. B. 5. 58.

Note AAA, p. 371.

John Davidson, Principal of the College of Glasgow.

Charters, in his Account of Scottish Divines, and Wodrow, in his Life of John Davidson, have confounded the Principal with the person who is the subject of the succeeding note.[1] The latter (who became minister of Liberton, preached for some time in Edinburgh, and died minister of Prestonpans) was a student of St Leonard's College, in the university of St Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. The former had been at the head of the College of Glasgow many years before that period. "Die xxiv° Octobris anno 1556. Incorporati sub præscripto Rectore—Magr Joannes Dauidson vicarius de Alness." The same year he was chosen one of the four intrants for electing the Rector. And on the 25th of Oct. 1557, he is styled "principalis regens pedagogii Glasguen." Annal. Univ. Glas. In 1559, "Mag. Johānes Dauidsoun, principalis regens pedagogii seu universitatis Glasguen" signs two deeds relating to the college rents; and in 1560 another is subscribed by "Mr Johne Dauidsoun principall regent of ye pædagog of Glasgow." I have not been able to ascertain at what time he died, but believe his name occurs for the last time in the records of the university about the year 1572.

The following is the title of a book published by him: "Ane Answer to the Tractiue, set furth in the zeir of God 1558, be Maister Quintine Kennedy, Commendatar of Crosraguell, for the establisching of ane Christiane mannis conscience (as he alledgis) the Forth and strenth of his Papistrie, and all vthers of his Sect, as appearis weil be his Epistle direct to the Protestantes, and Prentit in the last part of this Buik. Maid be Maister Johne Dauidsone, Maister of the Pædagog of Glasgw. Colloss. 2, Bewarre, &c. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. Cum priuilegio. 1563." 4to, 34 leaves. The running title is: "The Confutatione of M. Q. Ken. Papisticall Councels."

After an address "To the Beneuolent Reader" is a dedication "To the maist Noble and vertuous Lorde Alexander, Earle of Glencarden." Having praised the exertions of his lordship in the Reformation of religion, and stated that this answer was undertaken at his desire, the author goes on to say: "And because this buik of M. Q. contenit so many absurditeis, quhilk wald haue consumit great tyme to haue confutit thaim all, it chancit weill, that ane lytle space before the beginning of the reformation of the religion, he excerptit furth of this hale Buik ane Schort tractiue, contening the hale mater of his Buik, as the Coppy bearis that he send me, to present to James Betoune, Archebischop of Glasgw (quha was my gude Maister and liberal freind, quhowbeit for religione we are now seperatit in ane part, as mony fathers and sonnes is, in thir our days), to quhom I pray God send the treuth and knawledge of his worde: that may vnit vs in spirit and mynde againe together, that hes seperatit vs (as apperis) in our warldly kyndenes." At the end

[1] There was a third person of this name, who was alive at the same time. Mr John Davidsone was minister of Hamilton in 1567 (Keith, p. 575), in 1578 (Melville's Diary, p. 43), and in 1589. Cald. iv. 139.

of the book is an answer to "Maister Quintine Kennedeis Epistle to the Brethren Protestantes," in which Davidson reminds the Abbot he had sent him his *Schort Tractive*, "to haue bene presentit in that troublus tyme to James Betoune, Archebischope of Glasgo, our gude Lorde and Maister, to haue had his Judgement and mynde of zour said buik, before that tyme laitly Prentit: quhilk for that present tyme we approuit baith to be gude and godly, bot sen syne, I finding the Scriptures sa weill oppinnit be the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God communicatis vnto men the vnderstanding of his Scripturs, that I could nocht be langer of zour opinione, without I wald haue mantenit, as ane shameles man, that thing quhilk had nother ground of Scripture, gude reasone, nor approbatione of the Ancient Doctours. Quharefore, for the brotherly luife I beare to all men in Christo, and for the auld Parisiane kyndnes that was betuix vs,[1] to bryng zour L. and the people of this countrie fra the errour and blyndnes that this lytle buik of zours hes haldin zow and thaim baith in. Be sindrie Scripturs and reasonis I haue trauellit, vsing me heirin, efter the commone maner of Reasoning, without dispyte, or reproche, and on the maist gentile maner I could, I haue schawin zow quhow ze haue far ouersene zour self in this buik, of the quhilk, in my hart trewly I am sorie. Praying zour L. heirfore, gif ze finde the Reasonis I bring in aganis zours, to haue evacuat the reasonis of zour buik in ony sorte: vnderstand my labours not to be, that I desyre zour L. (quha excedis me far in vnderstanding, and in all kynde of subtile reasoning) to acknawledge zour self to be ouercum be me, bot lat the veritie beare away the victorie fra vs baith."

The following notice is bestowed on Davidson's book by Ninian Winget: "Of this mater I heir of a buke set furth be an honorable cõfessour of ye trew catholik fayth, M. Quintine Kennedie, a work cõmendit be sindry cunning men als weil of Ingland as of Scotland. And also laitlie I heif sein certane clatteris & I wate nocht quhat, nameit cõtumeliouslie in hie contempt of ye kirk of God, *A confutatioun of ye said M. Quintinis Papistical counselis*, put out be ane of our windfallin brether, laitlie snapperit in the cummerance of Caluin. M. Johne Dauidsone, Quha for his parte of the new padzeaneof his desperat brethir, wald behaldī a Dauidsone so doughtie yat with a puft of his mouth he micht be iudgeit to cleik fra ye counselis, als weil general as wtheris, al auctoritie: in yat he dar be sa temerarious as to call yame papistical: yat is, as he intendis contumeliouslie be yat terme, dissaitful, wickit, leing ād erroneous. And sua impudentlie dar he affirme few Godly coũselis to hef bene othir, sen Sylvestris days or afore:—zit he thinkis nocht al yat venum aneuch: bot affirmis als that yai hef bene few guid pastouris in ye kirk sen ye said Sylvester. *O ingentem confidentiam!* My toung treulie, Madame, failzeis me to express ye zele yat a faythful Christiane suld haif, for the house of God, aganis yir schameles learis, aganis ye folie, yea ye phrenesie of yir proud pestilent Protestantis, euery day descēding a step feryer to yair maister in hel." Epistle Dedicatory "To ye maist Catholik, Noble, and Gratious Souerane, Marie Quene of Scottis," prefixed to "Vincentivs Lirenensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the antiquitie and veritie of the catholik fayth, aganis ye prophane nouationis of all hæreseis, A richt goldin buke writtin in Latin about xi. C. zeiris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet, a catholik Preist—Antverpiæ Ex officina Ægidii Diest, 1 Decemb. 1563."

As a number of books in favour of the Roman Catholic religion were about this time translated into the Scottish language, so the Reformers procured the translation of the most useful writings of foreign Protestants. One of these appeared under the following title: "Ane Breif Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices, and Sacramentis Institutit of God sen the Creation of the Warlde. And of the trew originall of the sacrifice of the Masse. Translatit out of Frenche into Scottis be ane Faithful Brother. Math. 15, Euerie plant, &c. Imprentit at Edinbvrgh be Robert Lekprevik, M.D.LXV." 4to, 46 leaves. Judging from internal evidence, I would be disposed to conclude that the epistle of "The Translatovr to the Reader" was written by John Knox. "I finding the commoditie of sume zoung men weill acquentit with ye French toung quhais labouris releuit me mekle in yis behalf: I haue causit yis litle Bvike be set furthe in our Scottis toung to mak ye treuth knawin to all our countrie men, yat hes not ye knawledge of ye vther leid, and yat it may be

[1] A commission by the Bishop of Aberdeen was executed at Paris, Sept. 13, 1552: "coram his testibus—Magistris Joanno Davidson vicario de Nyg," &c. Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 74. But I cannot assert that this is the individual who was afterwards Principal of Glasgow College.

partely ane answer to Winzets Questiouns, quhil ye compleit answer be prepared for ye rest." It appears from the following entry that a pension was for some time assigned to an individual whom the General Assembly employed to translate foreign books.

"And of the soume of ane hundereth thretty thre pundis sex schillingis aucht pennies pait be ye comptare to Williame Stewart, Translator of ye werkis and buikis as is thot necessr be ye kirk to be translatit for edificatioun of ye people, Conforme to the appointment of ye said buke of modificatioun.

jc xxxiij li vj s viij d."

Accompt Coll. General of the Thridds of Benefices for the year 1651. Another entry in nearly the same terms is made in the accompt for 1562.

Note BBB, p. 374.

Davidson's Memorial of Kinyeancleugh.

The following is the title of this rare poem: "A Memorial of the life & death of two worthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English Meter. Edinbvrgh. Printed by Robert Walde-graue, Printer to the King's Maiestie. 1595. Cum privilegio Regali." Black letter, C in eights. The running title is: "A Memoriall of the life of two worthie Christians." The dedication "To his loving sister in Christ, Elizabeth Campbel of Kinyeanclevch," is dated "From Edinburgh the 24 of May, 1595. Your assured Friend in Christ, I. D."—"Finding this little Treatise (Sister, dearlie beloued in Christ) of late yeares amongst my other Papers, which I made about twentie yeares and one agoe, Immediatlie after the death of your godlie Parentes of good memory, with whome I was most dearlie acquainted in Christ, by reason of the troble I suffered in those daies for the good cause, wherein God made them chiefe comforters vnto me till death separated vs. As I vewed it over, and reade it before some godly persones of late, they were most instant with me, that I woulde suffer it to come to light, to the stirring vp of the zeale of God's people among vs, which now beginneth almost to be quenched in all estates none excepted. So that the saying of the worthie servaunt of God, *Iohn Knox* (among many other his fore-speakings), proueth true; that is, "*That as the gospel entred among vs and was receiued with fervencie and heat: so he feared it should decay and lose the former bewtie, through coldnes, and lothsomnesse, howbeit* (as he saide many times) *it should not be vtterlie overthrown in Scotland til the coming of the Lord Iesus to iudgment, in spite of Sathan & malice of all his slaues.*"—Elizabeth was the heiress of the *two worthie Christians*, "after the death of their onely Sonne, Nathaniel."

I have already given an extract from this Poem. See above, p. 404. After mentioning that poets in all ages had celebrated those who excelled in any "vertuous deid," or deed which appeared to them "like vertue," the author says:—

So we finde deeds of vassalage,
Set foorth by Poets in all age,
Even of *Gray-Steill*, wha list to luke,
Their is set foorth a meikle buke,
Yea for to make it did them gude
Of that rank Rouer *Robene Hude:*
Of *Robene Hude* and little *Iohne*,
With sic like Outlawes many one:
As *Clim* of the *Clewgh* and *Cliddislie*,
Because of their fine archerie.

. . . . .

Then to beginne but proces more,
We haue had worthie men before,
Of all degries these fyftene yeers,
As the *gude Regent* with his feeres:
Iohn Knox that valyant Conquerour,
That stood in many stalward stour:
For Christ his maister and his word,
And many moe I might record:
Some yet aliue, some also past,
Erle *Alexander* is not last,

Of *Glencarne*, but these I passe by,
Because their deeds are alreddy
By sundrie Poets put in write,
Quhilk now I neid not to recite.

Kinyeancleugh's zealous and active exertions at the commencement of the Reformation are commemorated thus:—

Sa priuatelie in his lodgeing,
He had baith prayers and preaching:
To tell his freinds he na whit dred,
How they had lang bene blindlins led:
By shaueling Papists, Monks, and Friers,
And be the Paipe these many yeares:
When some Barrones, neere hand him by,
And Noble men he did espie,
Of auld who had the truth profest,
To them he quicklie him addrest:
And in exhorting was not slak,
What consultation they would tak,
How orderlie they might suppresse
In their owne bounds that Idole messe:
In place thereof syne preaching plant,
To quhilk some noble men did grant.
. . . . . .
Quhilk they did soone performe in deede
And made them to the wark with speede:
And had some preaching publictlie,
Where people came maist frequentlie:
Whiles among woods in banks and brais,
Whiles in kirkyards beside their fais:
Thir Novells through the Countrie ran,
Quhilk stirred vp baith wife and man.
. . . . . .
When they puld down the Friers of *Air*,
Speir at the Friers gif he was thair:
The Lard of *Carnele* yet in *Kyle*,
Quha was not sleipand al this while,
And *Robert* wer made messengers,
Send from the rest to warne the Friers
Out of those places to deludge,
Howbeit the Carls began to grudge:
Either with good will or with ill,
The keyes they gave thir twa vntill:
After their gudes they had out tane,
So greater harme the Friers had nane:
Far vnlike to their crueltie,
In their massacring boutcherie.
. . . . . .
Then *Robert* like a busie Bie,
Did ride the post in all Countrie:
Baith North and Sowth, baith East and West,
To all that the gude cause profest:
Through *Angus*, *Fyfe*, and *Lawthaine*,
Late tournies had he many ane:
By night he would passe forth of *Kyle*,
And slip in shortly to *Argyle*:
Syne to *Stratherne* and to all parts,
Where he knew godly zealous harts,
Exhorting them for to be stoute,
And of the matter haue no doubt:
For although, said he, we be few,
Having our God we are anew.

Davidson praises Kinyeancleugh's lady for encouraging him in these disinterested expeditions, instead of grudging, as some wives did, the expense which he incurred. In describing the ungracious reception which the husband of one of these thrifty dames received at his home-coming, the poet informs us of the arrival in Scotland of a singular female colony, whose race, it is to be hoped, is now extinct among us; although, perhaps, some acute and keen-set antiquary may be able still to track

them, and, stoically fearless of "a rebegeaster," to point out some descendants of these Norwegian Amazons.

He might look as they tell the tail,
When he came hame for euill cooled kaill:
Ze haue sa meikle gear to spend
Ze trow never it will haue end:
This will make you full bare there ben,
Lat see (sayes she) what other men,
So oft ryding a field ye finde,
Leauing thair owne labour behinde.
This and farre mair had oft bene told,
Be many wiues, yea that we hold
Not of the worst in all the land,
I speak not of that balefull band:
That Sathan hes sent heir away,
With the black fleete of *Norroway:*
Of whome ane with her Tygers tong,
Had able met him with a rong:
And reaked him a rebegeastor,
Calling him many warlds weastor.

Kinyeancleugh, accompanied by Davidson, who was then under concealment, had gone to *Rusko*, a seat of the *Laird of Lochinvar*, where he sickened, and died on the 22d of April 1574. His wife died in the month of June following. Davidson praises his protector's piety, charity, lenity to his tenants, and his wisdom and integrity in settling private differences, on which account he was employed by rich and poor, both of the Popish and Protestant persuasion.

Note CCC, p. 375.

Bishop Reid's Legacy for Building a College in Edinburgh.

The following are the facts respecting this legacy, of which Maitland (Hist. of Edin. p. 356) has given an incorrect statement. Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney and Zetland (who died in 1558), "be his testament and lattr will left the sowme of aucht thousand merkis money of this realme—for bying of the landis and yairdis lyand in the said burgh (of Edinburgh) qlkis sumtyme pertenit to vmqle Sir Johnne Ramsay of Balmane, And for founding of ane college for exercise of learnīg thairinto, be the aduise, counsale, and discretioun of vmqle Maister Abraham Creightoun prouest of Dunglas, Maister James Makgill of Rankeloure Nether clerk of the registre, and vmqle Maister Thomas Makealzeane of Cliftonhall." As the money had not been applied according to the will of the disponer, and "all the three persons to whose discretion the accomplishing of the work was committed" were dead, the legacy was considered as having fallen to the king; and the town council, in 1582, supplicated the privy council, that his majesty's right in the matter should be conveyed to them, and that they might have full power to pursue Walter abbot of Kinloss, "ane of the executors testamentares of the said vmqle Robert bishop of Orkney," and others indebted for the said sum. This supplication was granted by the privy council, on the town council giving security that they would apply the money recovered to the support of a college. Record of Privy Council, April 11, 1582. On the 6th of July 1593, the town council had recovered the money in the hands of the Abbot of Kinloss, which amounted to 4000 merks. Record of Town Council, vol. ix. f. 207. There does not appear to have been any ground for the charge brought against the Regent Morton of having seized on the legacy, as stated in Gordon's Geneal. Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland, p. 176, and in Keith's Scot. Bishops, p. 134.

Note DDD, p. 379.

Resort of Foreign Students to Scotland.

The reputation of the university of St Andrews had extended to France in the year 1586, in consequence of which the father of the celebrated Andrew Rivet

purposed sending him to study at it. Dauberi Oratio Funebris, sig. * * 2. præfix. Riveti Oper. tom. iii. But the troubles of Scotland discouraged foreign students from visiting it between 1584 and 1586. The reader must not consider the following list as containing all the foreigners who studied at St Andrews. After the year 1579, the names of those who entered the New College (which was then appropriated to the study of theology) are not usually recorded in the books of the University. A separate list of them appears to have been kept; but during Melville's principality, from 1580 to 1607, the original list has been lost, and there remains only an imperfect copy of it, apparently taken by Robert Howie, his successor. Blanks are frequently left in it, and sometimes only a part of the name is given. During the time that Howie was Principal, the list, which is in his handwriting, may be considered as complete. The following names are collected from different records of the University. I have not included the names of students from England and Ireland. The greater part of the foreigners attended the University during several years; but, for the sake of brevity, their names are not repeated.

List of Foreign Students at St Andrews.

An. 1588.

Isaie Chevallier.[1]
Gulielmus Oustæus.

1591.

Jacobus Maceus, Gallus.
Petrus Thubinus, Gallus.

1594.

Joannes Burdigallæus.
Claudius Heraldus, Niortensis Gallus.
Georgius Rincoius, natione Gallus Rupellencis.
Isaacus Cuvillus, natione Gallus Sammaxantinus.
Daniel Couppeus, natione Gallus Andegavensis.
Daniel Chanelus, natione Gallus Rupellensis.
Joannes Vignæus, Gallus Nannetensis.

1595.

Andreas Swendius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Gombaldus.
Petrus Chevaltus.
Joannes Guivinellus.
Antonius Massonus.
Joannes Raymondus.
[Christophorus Johannides, Danus.][2]

1596.

Joannes Doucherus.
Jacobus Tholoscus.
Petrus Menancellus.
Goddæus, Belga.
Gallus.
Gallus.

1597.

Georgius Rouellus.
Jacobus Weland.

[1] This individual was made A.M. in 1592, under the designation of "Isaias Chevalerius, Francus Rupellensis."

[2] This name does not occur in the Records, but it is added on the authority of the following printed Thesis: "De Prædestinatione, sive De Cavsis Salvtis et Damnationis Æternæ Disputatio, in qua præside D. ANDRÆA MELVINO, Sacrar. Literarvm Professore, et rectore Academiæ Regiæ Andreanæ in Scotia, Deo volente, CHRISTOPHORVS JOHANNIDES DANVS respondebit. Edinburgi Excudebat Robertvs Waldegraue Typographus Regius. 1595."

1598.

Jacobus Rouellus.
Gerhardus Kreuterus, Germanus Hassus Herffendensis.

1599.

Jacobus Cokstochius (Kosteckj), Polonus.
Samuel Leonardus Rasseski, Polonus.
Joan. Casimirus Francisci Junii F Heidelbergensis Germanus.
Daniel Demetrius, Franckendalensis.
Joannes Schesessius.
Raphael Colinus.

1600.

Joannes Valace, Belga.
Tobias Merbeckius, Belga.[1]
Gulielmus Teellingius.
Samuel Gerobulus R.

1601.

Johannes Quada à Ravesteyn.
Isaacus Massilius.
Petrus à Scharlahen.
Jobus Danche, Dordracenus.
Andreas Michaell.
Guilielmus Latinus.

1603.[2]

Albertus Lothoffell, Regiomontanus Borussus.
Christianus Hoffmeister, Regiomontanus Borussus.
Hugo Trajanus.

1604.

Joannes Gascus.

1606.

Johannes Bochardus, Belga.
Jonas Charisius Severinus, Haffniensis Danus.
Petrus Petrejus, Hiennius Danus.
Johannes Rhodius, Danus.

1607.

Michael Parisius, Gallus, commendatus Collegio ab Ecclesia Diepens.
Martinus Claudius, Danus.
[Claudius, Danus.]
[Andreas Paulie.][3]

1609.

Ericus Julius, Nobilis Danus.
Petrus Magnus, Danus.
Andreas Claudius, Danus.
Magnus Martini, Danus.
David Bariandus.

1610.

Francisco à Parisiis, Italus Neapolitanus.
Dauid Barjon, Gallus Aquitanus.
Andreas Andreæ, Danus.

[1] See Ames Typ. Ant. p. 1521.

[2] The register of the New College from 1603 to 1607 is almost a blank.

[3] In the Testament of Walter Ramsay, œconomus of St Salvator's College, who deceased Sept. 12, 1611, are the following articles among "dettis awand to the deid."—"It. be Martine Claudii Dutchman for himself & his twa brether 40 lib. 6s. 8d.
It. be Androu Paulie Dutchman as rest of his buird 9 lib."

From 1610 to 1616, only one new foreign name occurs. From 1616 to 1633 there is a considerable number of them, including a Neapolitan.

Foreign Students at Glasgow.

1585.[1]

Isaac[s] Mazerius, Gallus.

1589.

Jeremias Barbæus, Celta.

1590.

Petrus Buybertus, Celta.
Honoratus Guibivit, Celta.
Josua Buybertus, Celta.

1593.

Johannes Riuetus, Celta.
Jacobus Chequetus, Celta.
Salomon Cailhaudus, Celta.
Renatus Pasquivius, Celta.
Joannes Blackivian, Celta.

1595.

Petrus Baalus, Celta.
Jacobus Thirellus, Celta.
Theodorus Thyrellus, Celta.
Renatus Osseus, Celta.
Carolus Ossœus, Celta.
Gulielmus Riuetus, Celta.

1598.

Petrus Pagodus, Celta.
Petrus Verngodus, Celta.

No other foreign names occur in the Records, unless in 1622—1624, when Cameron was Principal of the University.

Foreign Students at Edinburgh.

An. 1592.

Gulielmus Oustæus, minister verbi.
Daniel Platæus, Gallus provincia.
Gabriel Bounerin, Gallus.

1595.

Thomas Maserius, Gallus.

1597.

Joannes Olivarius, Gallus.
J. Baldoynus, Gallus.
[Mr Æolt.][2]

1598.

Joannes Argerius, Gallus.
Petrus Balloynus, Gallus.
Honorius Argerius, Gallus.
Stephanus Baldoynus.

[1] During this year Melville was at Glasgow. See p. 124.

[2] Mons. Æolt writes a letter from Edinburgh, April 5, 1597, to Mons. Tuile, minister at Mouchap, recommending Robert Boyd of Trochrig. He speaks of several of his countrymen having gone to study at Glasgow.

1600.

Joachimus Dubouchel, Gallus.
Theodorus Du Bouizet, Gallus.
Joannes Wardin, Xanctoniensis.

1614.

Petrus Cosselius, Gallus Diepensis.

1629.

Joannes Fabritius, Genevensis.

Note EEE, p. 381.

Parochial Schools.

The Record of the "Synod of that part of the Diocie of St Andrews q^{lk} lyeth benorth Forth" contains a report of the visitation of parishes in the years 1611 and 1613. This report affords, perhaps, one of the best means of ascertaining the exact state of schools within a short time before the first legislative enactment on this subject. It must be recollected, however, in any inferences that may be drawn from it, that the visitation by no means extended to all the parishes within the bounds of the Transforthian division of the diocese of St Andrews.

The parishes of Tannadice, Perth, Fettercairn, Straybrock, Falkland, Forgan, Abdie or Newburgh, Inverkeillor, Barrie or Panbride, Kinfauns, Kinnaird, Inchture and Benvie, Mains and Strathmartin, Burntisland, Inverarity, and Mathie, and Errol, were provided with schools. Those of Rescobie, Ferry-port-on-Craig, St Vigeans, Kilspindie and Rait, Liff, Logie and Invergowrie, Muirhouse or Murroes, and Monifieth, were destitute of schools. Thus the parishes which had schools were more than double in number to those which wanted them. Where they were wanting, the visitors ordered them to be set up, and where the provision for the master was defective, they made arrangements for remedying the evil. The following are extracts. "Forgound, August 14, 1611.—The skole entertained, and for the better provision of it thair is ordained that ilk pleuch in the paroche sall pay to the skolemaister xiijs. iiijd., and ilk bairne of the paroche sall pay vis. viijd. in the quarter. Strangers that are of ane uther paroche sall pay xx. or xxxs. as the maister can procuir: As it is agried in uther congregationis." This was "the common ordor."—"Straybrok, July 1, 1611. It is ordenit w^t cōmon consent that the parochineris sall give among them all for the maintenance of the scoole and scoolmaister yeirlie fyftie merkis, and the minister sall give iiij libs."—"April 1613.—It is reported that as yet y^r cannot be had ane grammer scole in Bruntisland, the councell of the toune being slaw y^{r}in, and contenting y^{m}selfis w^t ane q^o teiches y^r bairnes to reid and wreite. Forsameikle as it was anes concludit in ane visitatione that ane grammer scole salbe had w^{t}in that bruche, and it is most necess^r that it be so, y^{r}fore it is ordained that letters be raysed upon the act of visita^{o}n." I do not know on what authority these letters were raised unless it were the 7th act of the parliament 1593. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 16. The visitors tried the qualifications of the teachers. "Perth, Apr. 18, 1611. Mr Patrik Makgregor scolem^r found to have passed his course of philosophy in St Leonard's College—approved."

There is frequent reference to the trial and inspection of schoolmasters in all the registers of the church courts. "Andrew Dischington schoolm^r of Dunbar. The act of the last synodall assembly giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro Dischingtoun schoolmaster of Dunbar, not only in his hability to travell in the ministry but also to teache ane grammer schoole, being presentit to the presbyterie, the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first booke of the Georgyckes of Virgill, at the beginning y^{r}of to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not." Rec. of Presb. of Haddington, Sept. 4, 1594.—"It wes ordanit be the presbyterie that the haill schoolm^{rs} w^{t}in yair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befoir thame, that thay myt not only knaw how yai wer abill to instruct the yowt, Bot also charge thame to keip the exercise that yai myt be the better frequented with the heids of religioun." Ibid. June 2, 1596.

The following extracts from the Record of the Kirk-Session of Anstruther Wester convey curious information both as to the customs of the times, and as to the zeal with which the education of the youth was urged. "Oct. 26, 1595. Anent the complent given in by Henrie Cūningham doctor in the schooll, the Session thinks meit that all the yowth in the toun be caused com to the schooll to be teached, and that sic as are puir shall be furnished vpone the cōmone expenses; and gif ony puir refuiss to com to scholl, help of sic thing as thay neid and requir shall be refused to them. And as for sic as are able to sustein their barnes at the schooll & do their dewitie to the teacher for them, thay shall be commandit to put them to the school that they may be brought vp in the feir of God and vertue: qlk if thay refuse to do, thay shall be callit before the session & admonished of ther dewetie; and if efter admonition they mend not, then farther ordor shall be taken wt them at the discretion of the session. And the magistrates & counsale shall be desyred to tak fra them the quarter payments for ther child, and ane dewetie efter ther discretion for the dayes meat as it shall cō abovt vnto them, whidder they put ther bairnes to the schooll or not."—"18 of November. Anent the puirs it is thoght meit that a visitation shall be, and that sic help shall be maid to them that ar altogether vnable that may not travell to seik to them selfs and the yowng shall get na almess bot on condition that thay com to the schooll, qlk sa mony as does shall be helpit; and the manner of ther help shall be thay shall haif thrie hours granted to them everie day throw the town to seik ther meat, ane hour in the morning fra nyn to ten, at midday fra twell to ane, and at nyght fra sax hours furth, and the peiple are to be desyred to be helpful to sic as will give themself to any vertue, and as for others to deall lyardly wt them to dryve them to seik efter vertue."—"Apr. 18, 1596. Euerie man within the town that hes bairnes suld put his bairnes to the schoolle, and for everie bairne suld giv ten sh. in the quarter, and be fred of given meat bot at yr owning plesure."—"Sept 7, 1600. Item anent the schooll, agreid wt Henrie Cūnyngham that the pure of the town shall be put to the [school] and sa many of them as has ingyne and he takes paines upone shall giv fyv sh. in the quarter, qlk the session sall pay; he shall try out the bairnes, they sall be broght befoir the session be the elders of the quarters, the session sall enter them to the scoll and try their perfiting, & sa caus recompens according to his paines & ther prfiting; and as for vther yt are not able to prfit yt thay may reid or wret, whidder it be for want of ingyn or tym to await on, sic sall be caused to learn the Lordes prayer, the cōmādes & belev, the heades of the catechisme yt ar demanded on the examination to the communion, qlk travell also the session will acknowledge and recompense; and as for the standing yearlie dewetie, referes that to the counsell of the town to tak ordor wt." Record, *ut supra*.

Note F F F, p. 383.

Alexander Hume.

Three persons of this name studied in St Mary's College, St Andrews: one of them was laureated in 1571, another in 1572, and the third was made bachelor of arts in 1574.

1. *Mr Alexander Hume, Minister of Dunbar.*—He continued in this situation from the year 1582 to 1601. "Mr Alexander Home, minister, presented to the personage of Dunbar, vacand be demission of Mr Andro Symsoun, Sept. 13, 1582." Reg. of Presentations, vol. ii. f. 77. "Mr James Home, minister, resident at the kirk of Dunbar, presented to the personage of the same be demission of Mr Alex. Home, May 21, 1601." Reg. Sec. Sig. lib. lxxii. f. 56. The latter appears to have retained his designation. "Mr Alex. Home, persone of Dunbar," and "Mr James Home, minister at Dunbar," are witnesses to a deed, May 27, 1605. Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cix. "Mr Alexander Home of Houndwood, sumtyme person of Dunbar," died in December 1623. Testament in Rec. of Commissary Court of Edin. He appears to have been a half-brother of Sir George Home of Broxmouth. Test. of Janet Gibson, Lady Broxmouth, ibid. Dec. 1, 1589.

2. *Mr Alexander Hume, Minister of Logie.*—He was the author of "Hymnes or Sacred Songs," and is mentioned as "sone to umqle Pat. Home of Polwart." Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cxix., May 28, 1606. "Mr Alex. Home, minr at Logie,

and Marioun Duncansone, dochter of Jo^{n} Duncansone minister to the kingis Ma^{tie}, his spous." Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cvii. May 30, 1605. He was admitted minister of Logie in August 1597 ; and died on the 4th of December, 1609. Record of the Presbytery of Dunblane. "Mr Alex^{r} Home, minister at Logie, beside Stirling,—has left ane admonitione in write behinde him to the Kirk of Scotland, wherein he affirms that the bishops who were then fast rising up hes left the sincere ministers," &c. Row's Hist. pp. 94, 95.

3. *Mr Alexander Hume, the Grammarian.*—He, I am inclined to think, was the author of all the books which appeared under the name of Alexander Hume, with the exception of the *Hymns*. He has given an account of himself in the preface to his *Grammatica Nova*. To his Treatise on the Lord's Supper is prefixed an Epistle "to Mr John Hamilton, his olde regent." He was incorporated at Oxford, Jan. 26, 1580, as "M.A. of St Andrews, Scotland." Wood's Fasti, by Bliss, 217. Could he be the author of Humii Theses, Marpurgi, 1591? He was principal master of the High School of Edinburgh from 1596 to 1606, when he went to Prestonpans. He had left the latter place in 1615, and appears to have become master of the grammar school of Dunbar. Charters (Acco. of Scot. Writers, p. 3), and Sibbald (De Script. Scot, p. 3), call him schoolmaster of Dunbar. "Mr Alexander Home, schoolmaster of Dunbar," is a witness to a deed, June 24, 1623, (Gen. Reg. of Deeds, vol. cccxli.) ; and to another, Nov. 27, 1627, (Ibid. vol. cccxcix.)

His Grammar is entitled, "Grammatica nova in usum juventutis Scoticæ ad methodum revocata. Ab Alexandro Hvmeo *ex antiqua et Nobili Gente Humeorum, artium Magistro.* Et auctoritate senatus, omnibus Regni Scholis imperata. Edinburgi—1612." 12mo. Copy in the Library of the High School of Edinburgh. The words here printed in italics are not in the common copies. The author had previously published *Latin Rudiments.* Gram., Part. ii. p. 25. The tract entitled *Bellum Grammaticale* was not composed, but only revised by Hume. It is a humorous tragi-comedy, in which the different parts of speech are arrayed on opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the noun and verb to priority. It is probable that it was acted by the boys in schools. He left behind him in MS. a compend of Buchanan's History (in Bibl. Jurid. Edin.) and a grammatical tract, probably in defence of his own grammar. Ruddimanni Bibl. Rom. p. 61. Sibbald, De Script. Scot. p. 3. His Grammar was appointed to be used in all schools, both by the Privy Council and Parliament. Grammat., Part. ii. *Ad Lect.* Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 157, 374. Act. Secr. Concil. Feb. 1610—Oct. 1612. Minute Book of Processes before the Privy Council, Sept. 1611 and July 1612. Hume, in a letter to Melville, Dec. 6, 1612, gives an account of the opposition which his work had encountered. Melvini Epistolæ, p. 309. Casaubon, in a letter to Hume, denies having prepossessed the king against his Grammar, but does not conceal his disapprobation of it. Casauboni Epistolæ, ab Almeloveen, epist. 878. That learned man represents it as an imitation of Ramus. Hume expressly allows that Ramus had not succeeded in Grammar. Grammat., Part. i. *Ad Lect.*

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

Note GGG, pp. 375, 383.

Improvements on the High School of Edinburgh.

The following minutes of Town Council contain the earliest regulations for this seminary that I have observed.

"July 21, 1598. The samin day the forme and ordour of thair Grammer schole being presentit and red before thame, they ratifyet and approve the samin, And ordanis it to be registrat in thair Counsall buiks, quhairof the tenor followis.

"The opinioun, Counsall, and advyse of the rycht honorabill Mr John Prestoun of Barnis ane of the Senators of the College of Justice, M^{rs} Jhone Scherp, Thomas Craig, John Nicolsoun, John Russell, William Oliphant, & James Donaldsoun ad-

vocates, Mr Robert Rollock principall of the colledge of Edr, Henry Nesbit provost, Alex. Peirsoun, James Nesbit baillies of Edr, William Napier deyne of gild of the saymn, Mrs Walter Balcanquill, James Balfour, and William Watsoun ministers at Edr, Mr William Scott writter, convenit in the said colledge, 26 Dec. 1597, for provyding of Maisters to the Grammer schole of Edr as follows:

"In primis, Thay think best and expedient that thair be foure lernet and godlie men appointit regents to teache the Grammer schole of Edr in all time cumming be foure severall classes in manner following.

"The first clas and regent thairof sall teache the first and secund rudiments of Dumbar with the Colloques of Corderius, and on Sonday Catechesis palatinatus. The secund regent sall teache the rules of the first part of Pelisso with Cicerois familiar epistilles, And to mak sum version thryse in the oulk, And to teache thame on Sonday *the foresaid Catechise laitlie sett owt in Latine*[1] *with Ouid de tristibus.* The third regent sall teache the secund part of Pelisso with the supplement of Erasmus Sintaxis, Terence, the Metamorphosis of Ouide, with Buquhannanis psalms on Sonday.

"The ferd sall teache the third part of Pelisso with Buquhannanis Prosodia, Taleus figures & rhetorick figure, Constructionis Thome Linacri, Virgelius, Salustius, Cesaris Commentaria & Florus, Ouidij epistole, and the heroick psalmes of Buquhannane on Sonday.

"Ilkane of the foresaids four regentis sall teache thair clas in severall howssis, and to this effect the hie schole sall be devydit in four howssis be thre parpennis.

"Item, to the effect thair may be the better harmonye betwix the saidis four regentis in their procedour and teacheing, and that thai may the bettir answer for their dewtie, dischairges simpliciter maisters or others persons quhatsumevir of teacheing of ony rudiments or ony uther buik of Latine in ony of thair lecture scholis, Swa that the first regent may be the mair answerabill in grunding and instructing thame in Rudiments.

"It is alwayis provydit in favoures of the lecture scholis, That nane sall be resauet in the said first clas bot he quha can reid first perfectlie Inglis with sum writt, and the said first regent sall nawayes be sufferit to teache any the first a b c in reding.

"Item, the said ferd regent sall be principall of the said schole and regentis, and have the owersicht of thame all, viz. he sall sie and animadvert that every ane of the regents keip thair awin houres, maner and forme of teacheing presentlie sett doune, and that thai and ilkane of thame continuallie awaitt all the day lang upoun the schole in teaching & exemining thair bayrnis; And that all the saids regents, the principall as well as the other thrie infirceuris, ilkane of thame teache thair awin class, and that ilkane of thame use correction upoun thair awin disciples except in greit & notorious falts, all the foure to be assemblit in ane hous and have the principall regent to puneis the same.

"Item, the Regent of Humanitie erectit in the college sall teache zearlie ye Rhetorick of Cassander, The Oraciounis of Cicero, And sall caus his schollers owlklie mak schort declamatiouns.

"Item, he sall teache Horace, Juvenall, Plautus, The Greik grammer, with certane Greik authores, And as the bayrnis learnis ane Oracioun of Cicero he sall caus thame every ane of thame severally declame the samyn publictlie in the schole.

"Convenit in the Counsale hous, 9 Janrij 1597. Be directioun of the kirk and Counsell, zisderday, The provost, James Nesbit, Alexr Peirsoun baillies, with Mr Walter Balcanqull & Mr William Watsoun ministers, Mr James Donaldson & Mr William Scott, Agreyes that the persones following, Mr George Haisting sall be the first regent, Laurence Pacok secund, Mr Jhoun Balfour thrid, & Mr Alex. Home ferd and principall, & sall gif ane pruif of their teacheing, quhill Mertymes next allanerlie, And to begin at Candilmas next, And to publeis aucht dayes before be proclamatioun throw the town the provisioun of the Grammer schole with sufficient maisters, That the bayrnis may convene.

"Hes thocht guid to mak the feyis and quarter payments of the saids regents in this maner, viz., The first & secund regents sall haif quartorlie ilkane threttein schilling four penneis, The third fyfteen schillings, and the ferd and principall twenty shillings.

[1] "The Catechesis laitlie sett out in Latin verse." Minute of Oct. 19, 1598, fol. 206, b.

"Thair feyis the first and secund ilk ane twenty pund, The thrid fourty merks, and the principall twa hunder merks, The samin day the foresaids provests, baillies, and Counsall dischairges all masters, regents, and teachers of bayrnis in thair Grammer schole of all craving & resaving of any bleyis sylver of their barynis and scholers, As alswa of any bent sylver exceptand four penneis at ane tyme allanerlie." Register of Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. x. fol. 193, b.

The following minute shows that the Town Council were on the eve of destroying an institution which has done them so much honour. It is probable that the bad humour of some foolish individual had hurried them into the rash resolution, which is never afterwards alluded to in the minutes. "September 2d, 1601. The sam day, after lang deliberatioun, fynds guid yat yair hie schole be brocht to ye awld ordor of ane maister and ane schole, And to alter and discharge the last forme of four maisters & for scholes, in respect yat ye said maisters keippet nocht ye ordor gevin yame, Qrby many inconvenients hes followet; And ordanis Thomas Fyscheares & Patrk Sandelands to report ye sam to ye foure Sessiouns of ye kirk, That forder ordor may be tane wt the said schole." Ibid. vol. xi. f. 55.

"Nov. 9, 1614. The quhilk day the Provest, baillies, &c., Ordanis in all tyme cuming Mr Johnne Rea mr of thair hie scoole, To keip and observe the reullis and ordouris following, in teiching the schollers of the samine: Imprimis, that the Rudimentaris be all under ane *doctor;* And that Dumbar Rudiments be onlie teached as maist approved & ressavit in the cuntrie, the first pairt whairof is ane introduction to the first pairt of the Dispauteris grammer, and the uther part serveing as ane introductioun to the secund pairt of Despauter; And that thair be conjoynit thairwith the vocables of Stanisburgius for practise of declyning Dicta sapientum and the distiches of Cato, As for praxis to the wther pairt of the rudimentis.

"That the secund classe learn Despauters first pairt, and conjoyne thairwith Corderius Minora Colloquia Erasmi, The select epistles of Cicero Collectit be Sturmius; And quhowson thay enter into the thrid buik of the first pairt, That thai be exerceisit in theamis and versionis alternis.

"That the third classe learne Despauters secund pairt and thairwith the familiar epistles of Cicero his treatise de Senectute or de Amicitia, and that Terence be ever ane of their lessones; And gif it be fund gude to gif thame sum ingress in poesie for interpretatioun as of Ovides epistles or his tristis; As also to hald tham exerceisit in theamis and epistles.

"And that the ford classe learne the third and fourt pairtis of Despauter with some fables of Ovid his metamorphose or Virgill, adjoyning thairwith Quintus Curtius or Cesaris Commentaris, And gif thai be mair capable Suetonius, And that thair exercises be in versiounis, making of Theamis, braking and making of versis, as thair spirits servis thame.

"And that the hie classe learne the Rhetorique, some of Cicero his Oratiounes or de Oratore or de Claris Oratoribus, Salust, Plautus, Horace, Juvenale Persius, And that thai be exercised in Oratiounis, Compositiounis, versiouns, and in verse quhois gift serves thaim, And that prose and verse be taught alternative, And to teitche the Greik gramēr *Lyesiod* and *Theogius.* (*Hesiod* and *Theognis?*)

"And that thair be repetitiouns and disputes everie oulk, siclyk tuyse publict examinatiounis yeirlie, in presence of the ministeris and magistratis, The first to be in the begining of May, and the uther the twentie day of October quhen the hie classe passis to the College, And that nane be sufferit to assend in the schoole or pas to the College bot quha efter examination ar judgit worthie." Ibid. vol. xii. fol. 167, b.

Note H H H, p. 383.

Grammar School of Prestonpans.

The following is the account of Hume's admission to this school:—"At Hadintoun ye 25 of Junij 1606. The qlk day Mr Jon Ker, minister of ye Panis, producit ye prēntatone of Mr Alexr Hoome to be schoolmr of ye Schoole of ye Panis, foundit be Mr Jo Davedsone for instructioune of the youth in hebrew, greek, and latine, subscryvet be yais to quhome Mr Jon Davedsone gave power to noiāt ye man, qlk prēntatone ye prēbrie allowit and ordenit ye moderator & clerk to subscrive ye

samine in yr names, qlk yay ded. As also ordeanit yt ye said kirk of ye Panis suld be visited vpon ye eight day of Julij next to come for admissione of ye said Mr Alexr to ye said office. The visitors wer appoyntit, Mr Ard Oswald, Mr Robert Wallace, Mr George Greir, Mr Andro Blackhall, & Mr Andro Maghye, to teach."—"At Saltprestoun, July 8, 1606. The haill parischoners being poisit how yay lyckit of ye said Mr Alexr, wt vniformo consent, being particularly inqwyrit, schew yr guid lycking of him and yr willingnes to accept and receiv him to ye said office: Qrupon ye said Mr Alexr wes admittit to ye said office, & in token of ye approbacne both of visitors & of ye parischonēs prnt, both ye ane and ye vother tuik ye said Mr Alexr be ye hand, & ye haill magistratis, gentlemen, and remanēt parischoners prnt faithfullie prmisit to cōcurre for ye furtherāce of ye work yt yit restis to be done to ye said schoole, as also to keipt ye said Mr Alexr and his scholleris skaithlis; finallie, for farther authorizing of ye said [*sic*], it wes thought meitt yt ye haill visitors & parichonēs prnt suld enter ye said Mr Alexr into ye said schoole & yr heir him teache, qlk also wes doone." Rec. of Presb. of Haddington.

The parliament in the course of that year erected "in ane paroche kirk" the kirk builded "be the labouris, paynis, and expenss of umqle Mr Johne Dauidsoun," and ratified the school founded and doted by him "for teaching of Latin, Grek, and Hebrew toungis." Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 302.

In a charter, granted Nov. 19, 1615, by John Hamilton of Preston, as superior of the lands on which the kirk and school were built, it is narrated, that the late Mr John Davidson had deserved highly of the whole church and commonwealth, and particularly of the parish of Saltpreston, "he having preached for many years in this parish without any fee or reward, built at his own expense a splendid church, furnished with a large clock, a manse, garden, and other pertinents, with an acre of arable land for a glebe to the minister; and having resolved (as appears from his testament) to sell his whole patrimonial inheritance, consisting of valuable houses and lands in Dunfermline, and to devote the whole produce to the support of the church and ministry of the said parish, which purpose he would have carried into execution if he had not been prevented by death." It then goes on to state: "Dictus quondam Magister Joannes Dauedsoun Aream quondam vulgo vocat. Harlaw Hill," &c. "On an area which he purchased from me he finished an excellent house to serve as a school for the education of the youth of the parish in good letters, sciences, and virtue [a dwelling-house for the master is afterwards specified], and to furnish a stipend for the master of the school he bequeathed all his movables, to wit, his household furniture, his clothes, his library, consisting of a large collection of books of all kinds, his bills and obligations for debts owing him, and all the money in his possession, with the exception of certain legacies to his friends." Charter of Mortification, among the Papers of the Kirk-Session of Prestonpans.

It appears from this document that Davidson was a native of Dunfermline. "Magr Joannes Dalzel" was master of the grammar school when this charter was granted, and continued to hold that situation in 1623. Gen. Reg. of Decreets, vol. ccccIxvi. July 17, 1633.

Note III, p. 392.

Welwood's Experiments.

The patent was granted to him and John Geddy. "Knawing alsua that the advancement of curious and quick spreittis yat heirtofoir hes be their singulare ingyne inventit—ony perfyct art or deuise—is gretelie to be helpit, fauourd and supportit—thairfor vnderstanding yat his hienes belouit clerkis Mr Wm Walwode and Mr Johne Geddy—hes be yair awin singular moyen naturall industrie curious Ingynis and knawledge in sciences Inventit—an easie, perfite, and suddane way of eleuatioun of watteris out of coill pottis, sinkis, and vtheris low places, heirtofoir neuir hard, or at the liest neuir put in practize within this his hienes realme, &c. Gevand license, &c." Nov. 13, 1577. Record of Privy Seal, vol. xliv. f. 116.

The book in which he explains his plan is entitled, "Gvilielmi Velvod de Aqva in altum per fistulas plumbeas facile exprimenda apologia demonstratiua. Edinburgi apud Alexandrum Arbuthnetum, Typographum Regium, 1582." Six leaves in 4to. The dedication is dated "Andreapoli pridie nonas Nouembris, 1582." Prefixed to it is a copy of verses by Melville. If Welwood had persevered in his

experiments he might have accidentally made the discovery which afterwards occurred to Galileo. He proposed to produce the effect by means of a leaden pipe bent into a siphon and extended on the exterior so as to discharge the water at a point below the surface of the well. Having shut up the two extremities of the pipe, he introduces water into both its legs, by an aperture at the upper point or elbow of the siphon, till they are completely full ; and then closing this aperture with great exactness, and opening both ends of the siphon, he maintains that the water will flow out of the exterior or longer leg, as long as there is any in the well. It cannot, he argues, flow out of the short leg, for it has no head or difference of level to give it the power of issuing in that direction : It cannot flow out of both legs at the same time ; for then it behoved it to separate somewhere in the middle, which, according to him, is impossible, as *nature abhors a vacuum :* therefore, it must flow out of the well by the longer leg. The well is supposed to be 45 cubits deep ; for our author was not possessed of the important fact that water will not rise to a height above 33 feet. In other respects the principles of his demonstration are not more unscientifical than those which Galileo would have employed sixty years after the time of Welwood.

In the year 1598, the parliament granted to two individuals the sole right of making certain "pompis for raising and forceing of wateris—furth of mynes," &c. Act. Parl. Scot. iv. 176.

APPENDIX,

CONSISTING OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

No. I.—[Orig. Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MSS. num. 15, 24.]

LETTER FROM GEORGE BUCHANAN TO SIR THOMAS RANDOLPH.

To his singular freynd M. Randolph maister of postes
to the queines g. of Ingland. In London.

I RESAUIT twa pair of lettres of you sens my latter wryting to you. Wyth the fyrst I ressavit Marianus Scotus, of quhylk I thank you greatly, and specialy that your Ingles men are fund liars in thair cronicles, allegyng on hym sic thyngs as he never said. I haif beyne vexit wyth seiknes al the tyme sens, and geif I had decessit ye suld haif losit both thankis and recompens; now I most neid thank you: bot geif wear brekks vp of thys foly laitly done on the border, than I wyl hald the recompense as Inglis geir. Bot gif peace followis, and nother ye die seik of mariage or of the twa symptomes following on mariage, quhylks ar jalozie and cuccaldry, and the gut cary not me away, I most other find sum way to pay or ceis kyndnes, or ellis geifing vp kyndnes pay zou w^t^ evil wordis; and geif thys fasson of dealing pleasit me, I haif reddy occasion to be angry wyth you that haif wissit me to be ane Kentys man, quylk in a maner is aue centaur, half man, half beast. And yit for ane certaine consideration I wyl pas over that iniury, imputyng it erar to your new foly than to ald wisdome; for geif ye had beine in your ryt wyt, ye, being anis escapit the tempesteous stormes and naufrage of mariage, had never enterit agane in the samyng dangeris. For I can not take you for ane Stoik philosopher, having ane head inexpugnable w^t^ the frenetyk tormētis of Jalozie, or ane cairless [*margin*, skeptik] hart that taks cuccaldris as thyng indifferent. In this caise I most neidis præfer the rude Scottis wyt of Capitaine Cocburne to your Inglis solomonical sapience, quhylk wery of ane wyfe deliuerit hir to the queyne againe; bot you, deliuerit of ane wyfe, castis your self in the samyn nette, et *ferre potes dominam saluis tot restibus ullam*. And so Capitaine Cockburne is in better case than you, for his seiknes is in the feitte and zouris in the heid. I pray you, geif I be out of purpose, thynk not that I suld be maryit; bot rather consider your awyn dangerouse estait, of the quhylk the spoking has thus troublit my braine and put me so far out of the way. As to my occupation at this present tyme, I am besy w^t^ our story of Scotland, to purge it of sum Inglis lyis and Scottis vanite. As to Maister Knoks, his historie is in hys freindis handis, and thai ar in cōsultation to mitigat sum part the acerbite of certaine wordis and sum taintis quhairin he has followit to much sū of your Inglis writaris, as M. Hal et *suppilatorem eius* Graftono, &c. As to M. Beza, I fear y^t^ eild quhylk has put me from verses making sal deliure him sone a Scabie poetica, quhylk war ane great pitye, for he is ane of the most singular poetes that has beine thys lang tyme. As to your great prasyng gevin

to me in your lr̃e, geif ye scorne not I thank you of luif and kyndnes towart me, bot I am sorie of your corrupt iugement. Heir I wald say mony iniuries to you war not yat my gut cõmandis me to cesse, and I wyl als spair mater to my nixt writings. Fairweall, and God keip you. At Sterling the Sext of August,

Be youris at al power,

G. Buchanan.

No. II.—[Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 11.]

Extract of a Letter from Henry Woddrington to Secretary Walsingham. 1582, Maii 26.

Upon Wednesday evening the xxiii^{d} of this instant Mr John Dury preached in the Cathedrall church of Edenbroughe, where diuers noble men were present, the effect therof tending to the reproof of the bishop of Glasco, as playnly tearmyng him an apostate and maynsworne traytor to God and his churche. And that even as the Scribes and Pharises could fynd none so mete to betray Christ as one of his owne schollers & disciples, even so this duke with the rest of his faction can not fynd so mete an instrument to subuert the religion planted in Scotland as one of their owne nombre, one of their owne brethrine, and one nourished amonge their owne bowels.—And lykewise he touched the present sent by the Duke of Guyse to the K. in this maner of speaches.

I pray you what should move Guyse that bluddy prsecutor, y^{t} enemy vnto all treuth, that piller of the pope, to send this present, by one of his trustiest servants vnto o^{r} k. ? Not for any love ; no, no : his pretence is knowen. And I beseach the Lord the Church of Scotland feale y^{t} not ouersone. The k. mãtie was perswaded not to receave y^{t}. For why ? What amytie or freindshipp can we looke for at his hands who hath bene the bluddiest persccutor of the professors of the trothe in all France, neither was any notable murder or havock of God's, but he was at that in person. And yet for all this the duke and Arrain will nedes haue o^{r} king to take a present from him.

If God did threaten the captivitie and spoyle of Herusalem because that there king Hesekia did receave a lr̃e and present from the king of Babylon, shall we think to be free cõmytting the like or rather worse ? And because yo^{u} my ll^{s} w^{ch} both doe see me and even at this p^{r}nt heares me, I say because you shall not be hereafter excusable I tell yo^{u} that tho^{u} with teares. I feale such confusion to ensewe, y^{t} I feare me, will be the subuersion and ruyne of the preaching of Gods Evangile here in the Church of Scotland. I am the more playne wth you because I knowe their is some of yo^{w} in the same action wth the rest. I knowe I shalbe called to an accompt for thes words here spoken, but let them doe with this carkasse of myne what they will, for I knowe my sowle is in the hands of the Lorde, and therefore I will speake & that to yo^{r} condemnaõn vnlesse yo^{u} spedely returne.

And then in his prayers made he prayd vnto the Lord either to convert or confound y^{e} duke.

The sermon was very longe, godly, and plaine, to the great comfort and reioice of the most nombre that herd yt, or doe here of yt. And for thes points w^{ch} I am enformed of, I thought yt convenyent to signific the same vnto yo^{r} honor.

No. III.—[Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 3.]

Letter of Andrew Melville to T. Savile and G. Carleton.

Doctissimis adolescentibus et amicis integerrimis D. Th. Savile et G. Carletono Oxoniensibus. Oxonium.

Humanitas erga mè vestra incredibilis, et amor in vos meus singularis flagitabant a me iamdiu literas : easq ad singulos vestrum præcipuas potius, quam utrunq communes. Verum nec antea quidquam ad vos literarum dedj, iis de causis, quas facilius est vobis existimare quam mihi scribere : et nunc demũ, cum a me vt scribam impetro, non ausim disiungere epistolâ, quos tot interiores literæ, tanta morum

similitudo bonorum, tam præclara honestissimarum artium studia arctioribus amicitiæ vinculis coniungunt : nec distrahi patitur anteactæ vitæ iucundissima consuetudo. Quare vos, pro vestram istam veterem, et nuperam hanc inter nos amicitiam oro atq obtestor, vt præteritam cessationem meam mihi pro vestra humanitate condonetis : et has vnas ad vtrunq literas, binarum aut etiam plurum, ad singulos vestrum loco esse patiamini : Nec me propterea non virum bonum esse putetis, si vobis videar duos parietes de eadem fidelia dealbare : Quanquam pictorum mos est ; tamen finitimus pictori poeta nec pigmentorum arculis liberatior, quam liberior audendi licentia. Verum hæc parcius : ne dum me excuso, de Carletoni aut arte aut gloria detraham. Cuius spiritu in poesi nihil generosius, nihil ecloga dulcius, nihil cultius aut argutius epigrammate : adeo vt, si omnia hoc modo scripserit, non solum æquales omnes superare, sed etiam cum omni antiquitate certare videatur. De munere literario, qua me re de facie quidem antea ignotum vterque vestrum affecistis, habeo gratiam ; Vt cætera omittam humanitatis officia, tum ab vniversa fere academia in nos homines ignotos profecta, tum a vobis in me præcipue collata. Ita viuam vt nihil usquam viderem in omni vita splendidius aut magnificentius vestra academia : nihil gravius præceptoribus aut discipulis humanius : nihil vobis duobus aut amabilius aut amantius : *fortunati ambo : si quid mea carmina possunt*, etc. Immo tua Carletone potius, quæ plurimū atque adeo omnia possunt ad te et alios a mortalitatis et oblivionis iniuria vindicandos. Ad quam mirificā in pangendis versibus felicitatem accedit incredibilis rerum mathematicarum scientia. Diuinum, Sauile, ingenium, et eruditio tanta, quantam in istam ætatem credere nunquam putauj Quid multa? μηκετ' ἀλιου σκοτει ἀλλο θαλπνοτερον ἐυ ἀμερα ϛαινον ἀστερον ἐρημας δι αιθερος, &c. Verum de vobis alias et apud alios. Quod reliquum est, suauissime idemq doctissime Sauile, expectatione promissi tui fretus humanitate tua, moneor, vt admoneam te, non vt flagitem : quid est? fortasse inquis. Maniliana tua, vel, si mauis, Scaligerana, liceat mihi per te (vel tuo potius beneficio concedatur) ex interuallo regustata. Superiora tua in me beneficia hac etiam accessione (mihi crede) non parum cumulabis. Salutem a me et fratribus toti Academiæ et nominatim vestro collegii prefecto cæterisq amicis communibus. Valete ἐν κυριω. Raptim Londini, 15 Decemb. 1584.

Vestri Studiosissimus

AND. MELVINUS.

No. IV.—[Orig. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 2.]

ARCHBISHOP ADAMSON TO ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

Pleis your grace, īmediatle after my retourninge in Scotland the king his maieste held his parliamēt, where besides many loveable actis his hienes hath restored in integrū the estate of Bishops, and hath contramandet the seignoreis presbitereis not only be good reasoun of Scripture and antiquite, bot likwayis in respect his hienes had livelo experience, that they wer gret instrumētis of unquietnes and rebellioun be thero populare disordor. I doubt not your G. hathe beene sufficiētlie enformed of the late attemptatis moved be some of or nobilitie, whervnto many ministeris being prive and their seignoreis, and therefore not able to abyde the triall of the law are fugitive in England, where they pretext, as I am certeynle enformed, the caus of religioun, albeit it be of an vndoubted truth that they have no other caus bot there practizinge, counsellinge, and allowing of the last seditious factis, and the refusinge of the lawfull authoritie of there ordinareis the Bishops, wherevnto notwithstanding the godlo and quiet spirites w'in the realme hathe willingle aggreit and subscryved, The quhilk I have thoght most necessare to advertez your grace, vpon whose shoulderis the caro of the spirituall estate dothe cheflo repose, that your grace may be moste assured, that the king his maiestie or master his entention is with the sincerite of the word qlk his hienes in his heart dothe reverence, to conforme sik an police as may be an example to other cōmounwealthis, as I did show yor g. in particulare conferēc at yor awin hous of Lambeth. I am assured divers misreportis wilbe made vnto yor g. of the banishment of so many ministeris, bot your g. shall beleve that there is never one banished, nether have they abiddin that notable sentence of Johnne Chrisostome, Ego ex hoc throno non discedam nisi imperatoria vi coactus, for they are fugitive onele vpon

their awin guiltines, Swa that I am moste assured if her maieste be your g. shalbe sufficientlie enformed of the truthe, her hienes will not suffer sik slaunderous persounes vnder pretext of religioun to abyde in her countrey to infecte the estate of Englande wt their seditious practises qlk they have bene about to estabiiss in this countrey. And for my awn parte, your g. may assure her hienes, albeit her m. hathe bene otherwayis enformed at my being in England, that after my small credite and habilite I shall endevor my self to the preservaoun of the true religioun professit in the whole yle and comoun quietnes and mutuall amite of her m. and or master, In the qlk poynte if her m. had further employed me at that tyme I could have done what laye in me; But your g. knawis in what ielose my doings wer, albeit I protest afore God I ment nothing bot in sincerite of heart, wishing next or master best prosperitie to her hienes for the conservation of the truth in this ysland be there concorde. I shall not forgeit yor g. Galloway naig, in testimonie of mutuall favor, when any opportunit comodite shall present the self be any sufficiēt berar, wishing heartle your g. welfare, and to assist ws with your l. prayer, help and gudwill at her hienes hande in maynteininge of this goode work against the pretended seignoreis, the end whereof tendis to evert monarcheis and destroy the sceptor of princes, and to confounde the whole estate and iurisdictioun of the kirk qlk I should be verie sore after so longe continewance of tyme to see decaye in our dayis, Nostra secordia et ignauia qui ad clavum sedemus. It wilbe your g. pleasor to salute my lorde bishope of London in my name, and my lorde archbishop of York his grace for the goode entertenement I resaved at his house, thanking her hienes most humble therfore, committis your g. to the protectioun of God frome St Andross the 16 of Junij 1584.

Yor gracis verie lovinge and assured
brother symmyste and cooperare
in the lord his vyneyard,

PATRICK, Archbischop of St Sanctandross.

To my lorde his grace of Canterburie geove these.

No. V.—[Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 54, 63, 78.]

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM WILLIAM DAVISON TO SECRETARY WALSINGHAM, CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF ARRAN.

EDINB. *June* 15, 1584.

—— Upon a lr̃e written to the Magistrats of this towne by Mr Ja. Lawson, signifyinge the causes of his withdrawinge himself from his charge, the k. had caused an answere to be drawen & sent hether to the said Magistrats & Burgesses to be subsigned by them, charginge Mr Ja. and his fellow-ministers wth hereticall and seditious doctrine, wth other things verie hard in their reproche, wch beinge presented vnto them and redd in open counsell, the Provost, who hathe ben heretofore condempned as a man to plyable to the hard commandments of this courte, suddenlie brake forth into an exclamacon desireinge to lyve no longer as one that hadd alreadie seen too much of the miseryes to come vppon his country, and immediatelie beinge readie to swonne in the counsell, was conveiged home extreamlie sick, and now lieth verie hardlie and not like to escape. Notwithstanding both he and the rest thought it good to deput certen of their companie to repaire vnto the k. wth their humble excuse and petition that thei might not be forced against their consciences to slaunder thos against whos integritie of lief and soundnes of doctrine thei cold never take exception, but in fine the prsons and lr̃e are retorned with flatt charge to subscribe it in the forme it is or aunswer the contempt at their prills. The Secretary Mateland beinge appointed to see it don, and to take the names of soche as shall refuse the same.

At St Androwes the Bushopp hathe in the meantyme played his part so well in the pursute of good men as that both the professors and students in the Colledge of Theologie haue abandoned the place, and wthdrawen themselves for ther suerties. where thei can find safeest refuge.

EDINB. *July* 1584.

—— Mr James Skeene, the Jesuit of whome I haue heretofore aduertised your honor, had, as I credibly learne, previe access [to a con]ference with 40[1] at St Androwes. It is assured me that [he hath] secrett cōmission both from 20 and others, & hath desyred sorely for the home coming of diuers of his fellow Jesuitts, wch he hathe thus farr obteyned that they shall be ouirseen and not troubled by his Mate or his lawes so they will tak their hazard against the popular fury, & with this caution that they be not ouirhasty therein till matters be better settled, wch trafficque wth him & others of his sorte doth wonderfully increase the fear & suspicion of this k. desertion or careles accompt of religion.—Your honor may have some ghess of or good natures in Court by their sorrow for the murther of the poor pr. of Orenge, wch 40 hath openly confessed to be such an end as he deserued, & is generally allowed and reioyced at amongst the most part of our pollitiques theare. Having written thus farr this letter being vnclosed till this morning, by occasion of some expected aduyse from a friend or two, I haue in the mean tyme vnderstood that Mr John Howeson minister of Paslay is apprehended & to pass on assyse the XXIIth of this prnt at Perth, for inveighing against the late acts of prliament & course taken against religion, for wch he is lyk to be executed. And the whole Regents & others of the College of Glascow for the same opinion sumoned super inquirendis, so as yow may see we are afrayd of nothing les [than that] the world should be ignorant what mark we shoote at.

EDINB. *Aug.* 16, 1584.

On Thursday prclamçon was made here that all ministers should giue vpp the rentalls of their benefices into the exchequer, to th'end that none hereafter receave any prfitt of their livings but such only as shall submit themselues and subscrybe to their new framed pollicy. Mr Andrew Hay, who wth diuers others hath absolutely refused yt, is cōmaunded to deprt the country wthin xx dayes, wth speciall inhibition not to repayre into Ingland or Ireland, whose ayre they hold as contagious, and for the same cause the vniversity of Glascow is by the Bishopps diligence made vtterly vacant—the colledge was lockt vpp, the students dismissed, & the Regents and Mrs commytted, the lyk curtesie being exercised towards them of St Androwes and Abirdeene, as if theis bishopps thought their glory and surety to stand in bringing in ignorance and confusion into the schooles, & by the same degrees corruption & Atheisme into the church, wherein their labr hath great appearance of effect, if this course be longe continewed.

The B. of St Androwes hath addressed one Mr Archibald Harbishoune into England, aswell to call home some of countrymen wth vs, & of his own humor to occupy the roomes of honeste men as for some other purposes with the Fr. ambassador.—There is little appearance that the Bishopps here can longer brooke their newe empyre wth quiet, either in respect to thr cause or thr prsons, wch are gnēally condempned. At St Androwes there was the last week an alarm given to the Bishopp by certain of the students remayning there & others to the number of xx or xxx prsons, euery man with his harquebuzt, who bestowed the most prt of the night in shooting against the wyndowes both of the Castell where the B. laye and of his house in the towne, leaving a testimony behind them of their good meaning towards him. On the morrow, the Bishopp, thinking to haue gotten tryall of this fact, caused the few students of the colledge wch were remaning to be conveened in the public schooles, making very diligent inquisiçon of the former nights disorder, but found nothing, save that such as were suspect and examined, though they denyed their presence, confessed they wished the Bishopp so well as it was not so sclender a revenge as that could satisfie them for the publique hurt he had done; and willed him to remember how fatall that sea had been to his predecessours, & to looke for no better.

[1] It appears from another letter of Davison (Cal. C, viii. 78), that 40 is the cipher for the King of Scotland.

No. VI.—[Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 34.]

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR D. ANDERSONE TO CERTAIN MINISTERS IN SCOTLAND, CONVEYING INFORMATION RESPECTING SCOTCH PAPISTS IN GERMANY.

From Auspurgh in High Almanie the 27 of April 1596.

Right worshipfull and deare bretheren in Christ,—I foreseeing the storme imminent, and hearing of the pernicious intentions of the enemies, haue not desisted till I came to the knowledge (yf not of all) yet of the most part of ther intentions, actions, & purposes, by using the help of good Christians, abhorrers of idolatrie, men secrete, faythfull, and prudent. At Rome Tirie the Jesuit, and Archibald Hamilton the apostat, with great instance and manifold supplications, have sollicited the pope Clement the 8, and College of Cardinals to erect a Seminarie ther for the education in Romish impietie of such younglins as by their direction doe come from Scotland; who afterwards being made masse priests and Jesuits may be sent into Scotland for the propagation of popish religion, with the ruine of the present estate of that realme: but nothing as yet is determined; notwithstanding they are in hope that ther petition shall take effect, seeing Gregorie the 13 builded three seminaries in Rome for strangers—one for the English, another for the Dutche, and the third for the Mauretanians or Africanes: but the matter is not so hottlie prosecuted now as it was before, by reason of Hamilton's death, who departed at Rome the 30 of Januarie 1596. Leslie bishop of Rosse, John Hamilton popish priest and Ligeur; William Chrichton and James Gordon Jesuits, who remayne most commonlie in Brusels (except Gordon, who is most commonlie with Huntlie, and Arole, either at Leids with the bishop of Colen, or at Namur in the companie of Spaniards), are verie busie with Albert Cardinall of Austria, presentlie Lieutenant for the Spanish King in the Netherlands, for obtaining of sum aide to assist Huntlie and Arole with their complices in Scotland for the extermination of all the professors of the true reformed religion in that realme; I heare that Walter Lyndesay for the furtherance of ther matters is sent unto the King of Spaine; but I hope in God that they shall come short of ther expectations, seeing the Spaniard hath more yrnes in the fyre than he can well handle, and more mightie princes in Christendome justlie his enemies than he with all his forces is able to resist. The Spanish concile also taxeth the foresaid Earles of the breach of ther promise, who in the yeare 1592 (when the Spaniard concluded to aid the papists in Scotland with 20,000 men), after the recete of great summes of Spanish gold, not only then but at diverse other tymes, oblished themselves to take armes with all possible diligence agaynst all those of the reformed religion in Scotland, and also to advance the King of Spayns practizes not only ther, but also in England and Ireland, to the uttermost of ther power; which, nevertheless, according to promise they have not performed. But they to excuse themselves, first alledge the reveling of ther intentions; secondlie, that Robert Bruce (a principal trafficker in those treasonable affayres) delivered not those summes of money unto them which were promised, partlie for the hyring of souldiours, and partlie for the gratifying of gentlemen Romish Catholikes, and Clannes, to make them the more prompt and courageous in the Spanish service: for which cause Brusse is straitlie imprisoned, and sharply accused by the forenamed Earles. In High Germanie the Scottish Papists have some abbayes præsently in possession; as at Reusburgh in Bavaria, the abbots name is James Whyte borne neere Aberdene: the prior is called James Winniet (Ninian Winniets nephew Whits prædecessour); monkes ther, Lesslie cosin to Lesslie the bishop; Darnpull; James Bog, John Bogs sone one of his majesties porters; two novices are gone from thence to Rome, the one his name is Wddard borne in Edinburgh, he studied in Prage with the Jesuits: the other is one Lermonth borne neere Sanctandrōsse, the laird of Darsies brother sone. Ther is also another popish priest sent to Rome by the Scottish abbots as I suppose, to obtaine a license of the pope that some of them may return into Scotland, to traffick ther with the papists, and to bring some number of young boyes with them into Germanie (but more hereafter of this purpose). The popish priest that is sent to Rome is called Adame

Sympson borne in Edinburgh; he was long a servant in Newbattle, afterward in France he served Archibald Hamilton the apostat, and from him he went with the Earle of Westmorland into Spaine; lastlie he served George Carr, Trafficker for the Spaniards in Scotland. In the yeare of God 1594 and 1595 he said masse sometymes in the Lord Herise hous; sometymes in Arols hous, and in the young lord of Bonitons hous called Wodd: he came last out of Scotland in the companie of Huntlie; he is a verie craftie, cruel, and pestiferous papist, but unlearned. The second Scottish abbey in Germanie is at Wirtzburg in Frankland; the abbot ther is Richard Wrwin borne about Dumfrisse, he was sometymes servant to the old Lord Herise, and attended at Santandrosse in the old college on his sone Edward Maxwell now abbot of Dundrennen and lard of Lamington: he was sent from Parise by the popish bishop of Glasgow to Winiet abbot of Reusburg, and ther made a monke; he is a drunken, ignorant, subtill, and malicious fellow. The prior at Wirtzburg is called Frances Hamilton of the hous of Stanhouse, as he sayeth, but I rather thinke that he is one of the Hamiltons of Santandrosse; he was sometymes at Pont Mison in Loraine, and afterwards studied under the Jesuits at Wirtzburg and Reusburg: ther is not a more blasphemous, cruel, and vtragious enemie against the gospel of Christ of our nation then this Hamilton; but withall a proud unlearned bodie. The third Scotishman at Wirtzburgh his name is John Stuard borne about Glasgow, a boy of 18 years of age; more monkes Scotishmen they have not, because none of our nation that feareth God will enter into so infamous and idolatrous a societie. The third Scottish abbey is at Erfurd in the land of Thuringia, the abbots name is John Walker, borne I think about Disert in Fyfe; he is all alone for want of Scottish papists. The Scottish papists of the foresaid places have had a meeting at Wirtzburg the 19 of April 1596 according to the direction of the pops legat in Germanie, and the bishop of Wirtzburgh, called Julius Extar (one of the greatest enemies that the gospel of our Saviour hath in Germanie) for the electing of some of these Scottish papists to send into Scotland this yeare, and that for two causes cheiflie: first, that they may learne the whole state and condition of the countrey, and consult with the papists ther, what is to be done for the subversion of the present state of religion in Scotland; secondlie, to make a choice of childrene between the age of 12 and 18 years to be broght into Germanie, partlie for the furnishing of their abbays, not only which præsentlie they possesse, but also of those places which they are in hope to obtaine at the pops and Emperours hands; the abbayes are there, one in Vienna, two at Colen, one at Newstat, one at Ments, and another at Wormes: and partlie that these younglings may be educated with the Jesuits to be sent afterwards into Scotland for the effecting of ther purposes: the bishop of Wirtzburg hath promised to maintain at his charges threescore of these yong boyes, the Bishop of Saltzburg fortie, and the bishop of Reusburg twentie, till they be able to be made masse priests, Jesuits, or monkes. It is thought that either Wrwin or Hamilton shall be sent this summer into Scotland for that purpose. The lard of Lethington called Metalen departed from the Earles at Lieds about the 20 of August 1595 towards Rome, in all his journey he had long and serious conferences with the Jesuits: Gordon and Crichton Scots Jesuits, and one called Holt an English Jesuit, gave him letters of recommendation to all those places, as also a direction to receave of the Jesuits at everie neede three hundreth crownes for the better expedition of his affaires: what letters he had to the pope, college of Cardinals, or the Spanish Ambassadour at Rome, either from enemies at home or abroad, I know not: your wisdomes may judge that his going so long and tedious a journey was not for small trifles. Whiles he remayned in Scotland in the Lord Herise his father in laws house, he had great intelligence with many popish priests both English and Scottish, but namely with one Sicill an English priest that lurketh most commonlie in the Lord Herises hous or in the borders not farr from thence: they use commonlie the help of a poore craftie knave, unsuspected of any man because of his outward simplicitie, in carying and recarying of letters between the papists of England and Scotland, whose surname is Horsburgh, he hanteth in Dumfrisse and those quarters. Places most dangerous in Scotland are the Southwest and Northeast, where Gods, the kings, and whole realms enemies are receaved, harboured, and interteyned. In Scotland præsentlie (yf they be not of late departed out of the land) there are Jesuits, Mackwhinry, Mirton, Abercromie, and ane Murdoch, spies for the Spaniard, and noto-

rious traitors to God, his church, the kings majestie, and the whole land. There is also in Germanie one named Archibald Anderson who is my half-brother by the flesh, a professor of the Greke tongue in the Jesuits Colledge at Grats in the countrey of Stiria, whom I soght to reduce from that papisticall bondage; but he, knowing of my coming to Cramaw in Bohemia where then he remayned, was suddenlie transported from thence by the Jesuits to Vienna.

No. VII.—[Orig. in Bibl. Jurid. M. 6, 9, num. 32.]

LETTER FROM JOHN EARL OF GOWRIE.[1]

To my beloved brother, M. Jhone Malcome,
Minister at Perth.

Ευλογητον εστω το ονομα του θεου εις αιωνα.

Beloved brother,—Having taken occasione to wret to Scotland, wald not omitt my deutie to you in visiting you with this letter, that therby ye my^t vnderstand of my present estate quhilk continues as of before, praising God from my hairt that of the riche abundance of his gude grace and mere mercie hes maid the beames and licht of his countenance to shine upon me most fauorably to be ane guide to conduct me saiflie *per hunc Avernum*, quherin mony here (*quorum oculi densa caligine et nebulis obfuscati sunt*) *o miserum spectaculum!* are drouned in His justice. I meane not all, *absit;* for I am acquainted with diuers heir *qui etiam inter has paludes stigias* hes neuer boued ther kne to Baal: quhat ane maruell is this and quha can beleue it; and yet it is certanly true, *glorificetur igitur Deus in opribus suis ac eo magis quo sunt mirabiliora et παρα την φυσιν.* There was ane notable exemple of constancie not long ago in ane Silesian minister of some threscore yeares and mair, quha, efter he hes beine deteined in prisone about nyne yeares and the Jesuites had trauailed with him to recant, bot persaiffing that thei could prevaile nothing at his handis, caused bring him to the fyre lyke bludie dogges, quhere, efter he had maid ane excellent discours and harang to the people, shauing them the grat honor he was callit to in suffering for Christis sake, and exhorting them to conuersione, abode most patientlie without ony shrinking all tormentis, magnifeing Godis holy name, and praying that ther sinnes myt be forgiuen them. Efter he wes bront, not being yet satisfied of the crueltie that thei had usit against him quhen he wes liuing, did cast ane gret heap of stones vpon his ashes *multo sæviores quam erant Judæi adversus Stephanum.* Ther were vtheris quha for feare of death ett that same tyme maid filthie apostacie fra the true Religione to that damnable Idolatrie, and at that instant that ane of them begane to deny Christ in making defectione there isshued blude out of his nose in suche gret abundance that all did see him thout he sould haue dyed presentlie; this wes ane visibill signe of the hand of God that chopped on him quha hed done suche ane villanie against his conscience for to purchase his owen lyffe, quhilk he wes not worthee to bruik by the loss of his soule. Bot these renegates not the les escaped not ther awin punishment, for they all were send *ad triremes, ubi non vnius horæ spatio vitam finituri sed morientes semper nec tamen morientur.* Laitlie efter these thingis, ane certane Inglishe man being moved on zele to cast ther *sacra hostia* (as thei most falslie callis it) out of the priestis handis that wes careing it in processione to the grund, and to stramp on it with his fete, wes apprehendit and denudit of his clothes, therefter ane hude putt on his heade, quheron wes painted the deuilis image, and some with bleasis quha brunt him continually in the backe and brest as he walked fordwart; bot he in the meane tyme wes occupiet in shauing the people hou thei were schamfullie abused be there miscent Iddolers quha wer leading them to there auin damnatione. In end he spake with suche ane vehemencie that the enymies caused knett his toung, fearing some uprore to enseu if he had gottin ony forder libertie to speke; so he wes brot to the place of executione, quhere, lifting vp his eyis to heauen and on his knees kissing the chaine he wes bund with, they caused first cut of his hand

[1] This is the nobleman who is so well known, in consequence of his name having been given to that much contested and dark affair—the *Gowrie Conspiracy*.

for the fact he had committed with it, and nixt burne him quicke. All thir thingis were done in Rome, that mother of all vyce and hoorishe synagog of deuils. I am sory that my absence will not permitt me to kyth my mynd and gudwill in helping to sett furth Godis glorie ther, *cui totus ex animo incumberem;* bot quhen at His gude pleasure I returne, sall with his grace indeuore my self to amend quhatsomeuer is omitted for laike of my presence. I thank you most hartfully of your remembrance of me in your prayeris, desyring you earnestlie to contineu according to the loue ye cary to the salvatione of my soule. Thus remembering my very loving commendationis to yourselff with the haill nyᵗbouris of the toune, Committis you with them all to the protectione of the Omnipotent.

At Padoua the 28 of Nouember 1595.

Youris alwayis affectionat
GOWRYE.

I dout not bot ye haue hard long since of the Papes benedictione given to the king of France quhilk hes turned to ane maledictione. No vther neuis occurris heir for the present, bot now againe laitly ther is some Inglishmen put in the hous of inquisitione in Rome.

No. VIII.—[Melvini Epistolæ MSS. p. 29.]

MELVINUS AD SENATUM ANGLICANUM.

Artaxerxes cognomento memoriosus in veterem Judeorum ecclesiam ab exilio reducem Persarum Monarcha beneficentissimus, Legem de cultu divino et religione moderanda sanxit divinitus in hæc verba: *Quidquid est de sententia Dei cœlestis perficitur diligenter in domo Dei cœlestis: ut non sit fervens ira in regnum regem et filios ejus.* Hanc ego legem cum similibus sacræ scripturæ locis non negligentissime comparatam, multo antequam Angliam hac vice cogitassem, sæpe mecum et diu multumque pro muneris mihi divinitus mandati ratione, meditatus, tertio abhinc anno, Septembri mense vergente in æde Hamptoniana jussus sacris interesse, tam spectator quam auditor insolens, pro re nata carmen breve et Dramaticum, Regiæ majestati, invocato numine, recitandum feci. Cujus exemplum inscio me descriptum et depravatum et mutilum postea Novembri præcipite, mihi coram amplissimo senatu criminis loco objectum: et anni insequentis adulto vere denuo exacerbatum fuit. In hac causa dicenda sine fuco et fallaciis more majorum, et meis versicolis a criminis atrocitate cujus affinis non essem libere vindicandis, si quid mihi tam necessario tempore meo, minus decore pro hujus gentis indole et regni moribus respondenti humanitus excidit, quod quemquam mortalium jure offenderit, nedum Senatum amplissimum, ut ejus ego sive erroris sive rusticitatis pœnam biennali carcere adhuc luo: ita veniam supplex primum a Deo patre indulgentissimo, deinde a Britanniarum Rege Clementissimo, denique ab amplissimo Senatus singulari æquanimitate, etiam atque etiam peto.

No. IX.—[Orig. in Arch. Eccles. Scotic. vol. xxviii. num. 6.]

LETTER FROM ANDREW MELVILLE TO SIR JAMES SEMPILL OF BELTREES.

My dewtie humblie remembered, Please yor w. being prevented by yor undeserved kindness, I am emboldened to aske your counsel and good advice at this tyme. I heare that the Duke of Bullon hath requested his Ma. by letters and by my Lord Wotton Ambassadour, in my favour, and that his Ma. is not unwilling to shew me some gracious favour. Therfor I thought it my dewtie to offer my humble service unto the Prince Highnes as a naturall subject. And if bashfulnes wold suffer me to speak the truth, one come of those whome his royell progenitors hath acknowledged not only faithfull servants but also friendly kinsfolk. So that naturall affection should command me reverently to honor and faithfully to serve his Ma. and progeny, namely his highnes, whome the Lord advanceth to succeed in the royall throne, which is established by two ground pillars, Justice and Relligion, whereof

the last hath been my calling and exerceis these 36 years at the least in my owne native countrie, except so much as England hath broken off the course of my ordinarie traveles. I was transported thirtie yeers ago by the advice & authoritie both of Generall Assembly and three estats at his Ma. command from Glasco (where six yeers the Lord had blessed my labours in letters & relligion, to the comfort of the church & honour of the countrie) unto St Androis for reforming of the Universitie, and erecting a colledge of Divinitie for the profession of learned tongues & Theologie against the Seminaries of Rems and Rome: wherein I was placed by Commissionars both of Church and Counsell, authorized with his Ma. commission in most solemn manner. And I for my part, in modestie to utter the truth, I dare not say but I have been faithfull in my great weaknes notwithstanding mighty opposition: but these four yeers bypast and more I have been withholden from y^e^ doing of my dewtie to my countrie and church of God therein, as is notoriously knowen, to my great regrate. Now Reason and Conscience bind me to this obligation of my calling and discharge of my dewtie, if so it wold please his Ma. And I feare the necessitie of that holy work wold crave help, that the fontaines of Learning and Relligion be not dryed up in our barren country. And my old age doth no less crave, if not rest from travel, at the least an honest retreat from warefare within my own garison and corsgard, with hope of buriall with my ancestors. In the meanetyme I offer my humble service unto the Prince his highnes, if your w. think it expedient, with the advice of my two intire and speciall friends Sir James Fowlarton and Mr Thomas Murray, to whom these presents will make my heartie cōmendations. So, taking my leave, I recōmend you S^r^ to the grace of God till a joyful meeting at his good pleasour.

Yo^rs^ in y^e^ Lord to be commandit,

London Tower this first of December 1610.

AN. MELVINE.

No. X.—[Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6, 9, num. 42.]

LETTER FROM ANDREW MELVILLE TO ROBERT DURIE AT LEYDEN.

Right reverend and dearly beloved father in the Lord Jesus, your last letter was full of kyndly stuffe, and so was very sweet to me, namely your owne godly and constant resolution, quhareunto *adscribe me socium in utrumque tuum paratum, ad * * * aut manendum, arbitratu nostri* ἐραζεντου και αγωνοθετου. *Tecum ego viuere amem, etiam obeam ego libens.* Receave fra this bearar, your sone Johne, his oration with thanks, and great hope he shall be a good instrument after our departing. We have heard nothing farther of Scotts or Inglish newes, but only the returning of Mr Digbie ambassadar from Spaine, who be now adjoyned to the secret counsall for his faithfull service. So that we look to hear shortly of the L. Somerset & his la. and vyers [others] their complices. We expect the returning of our duke and prince from Parise this weeke at the farrest, the peace being ratified from the parliament of Parise. From Mr Johne Forbess neuer a word haue we yet receaved, and so remaine we in suspence: only the ministrie of Flissing as you wrait appears to say sumthing, whereof I gather litle comfort or gratious answer from the monarche, Lord be mercifull to his chosen and faithfull servants, *quibus vbi desinet humanum ibi incipit diuinum auxilium. In uno Christo sunt omnia ad bene beateque viuendum. Ipsa est lux, via, veritas et vita. Ab ipso est Paracletus,* και παρακλησις, και το παραμυθιον της αγαπης. I thank you for Roseus and Godartius. Things goes not euill as we haue heard. Bot we cannot bot feare the act from the state to the classes, howbeit we know not as yet the contents thereof. I thank you also for Mr Robert Bruce, that constant confessor and almost martyr of our Lord Jesus. The Lord [keep] him and his for ever. I never remember him and his w^t^out comfort and heart lift up to God, And so doe I when I remember or hears or speaks of any of you all that suffers for Christ and his church. Faine wold I heare good things from Mr William Scotte, Mr Johne Carmichell, & Mr Johne Dykes, whom I hope the Lord hath not left destitute of His good Spirit, but that they shine as burning lamps in the mids of that confused darkness. Mr Patrick Symsone triumphs, whose

ecclesiastick history I heare be cum furth bot not cum to our hands, *quam ego pretio duplicato redimam.* I cannot tell whats becum of Mr Jas. Carmichells labours, or whether he be yet aliue. Mr Johne Davidsone left sum nots behind of our tyme, and so did Mr Johne Jonstoun. I speak nothing of my cousing. I wold all were safe to mak out a true narratioun to the posterity. I left with my lufing and faithful gossep your father in law Mr Knox's letters. I wish them to be furthcuming. Mak my hartly commendations to him & his, and learne what you can of all. Let the bishops be mowdewarps, we will lay our treasure in the heavins quher they be sure. Fed niche nearer [?] to St Androis nor Darisie could not [saue] their fed sowe from the graue. My collect, grauell and gutte be messengers (bot not importune) to spoyle my patience, bot to exercise my faith. My health is better nor I wold looke for in this age, praised be the true mediator. To whose glory it may serue, to the benefitt of his church. My cummer and all the bairns be locked wp in my heart, whom I recommend with you to the grace of our heavenly Father in the bowels of the Lord Jesus. This in great haist, with commendations to all friends thair.

Tuus ut suus,

AN. MELUILL.

Sedani, 24 Maij 1616.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Note I.—Authorities referred to in the Life of Andrew Melville.

(See Preface.)

Amidst the mass of authorities quoted in the Life, the number and variety of which have so often excited surprise, and procured for its author the epithets of "learned and indefatigable," those mentioned in the Preface may be said to have served, in some respects, as the groundwork of the Life, without which, as may be affirmed of the "Letters of John Knox," in the Life of that Reformer, the work might probably never have seen the light. Most of these, when consulted by our author, were in manuscript, but have now been printed.

1. *James Melville's Diary.*—The original manuscript of this interesting work, from which Dr M'Crie made his quotations, is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and consists of 371 folio pages, closely written in the author's hand, in a small and distinct character. This manuscript had belonged to Mr David Calderwood, who, it is well known, drew largely on its contents in compiling his History of the Church of Scotland; and it is believed that it was presented to the Faculty of Advocates by Calderwood's grand-nephew, Sir William Calderwood of Polton, one of the Senators of the College of Justice. Two transcripts of this manuscript are known to exist, one in the possession of Adam Gib Ellis, Esq., W.S., and the other in the Signet Library, Edinburgh. The Diary of James Melville was first printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1829. This edition being, of course, confined to a very limited impression, the Diary was included among the Wodrow Society publications, and printed in 1842, under the careful editorship of the late Robert Pitcairn, Esq.

2. *History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland.*—This manuscript which, says Dr M'Crie, "I am satisfied was also composed by James Melville, and brings down the history of his times from 1600 to 1610," was printed in the Wodrow Society edition, along with the Diary of James Melville, of which it has always been considered a continuation. If any doubts existed on this point, they have been completely removed by the discovery of a small quarto manuscript volume, chiefly in the autograph of Mr James Melville, purchased by David Laing, Esq., at the sale of the library of George Chalmers, Esq., the author of "Caledonia." "The most satisfactory and gratifying circumstance in connection with the recovery of the manuscript," says Mr Pitcairn, in a postscript to his prefatory notice, "is, that it demonstrates that the *Continuation of the Diary* of Mr James Melville, which has been printed in the present volumes, proceeded from his pen. The question, therefore, of the authenticity of the sources whence the manuscripts of 'A True Narratioune of the Declyneing Aige of the Kirk of Scotland, from 1596 to 1610,' is thus for ever set at rest."

3. *Scot's Apologetical Narration.*—This work also, which was formerly confined to manuscript, forms a part of the Wodrow Society's publications, under the title of "An Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation. By William Scot, minister of Cupar." It was edited, in

1846, under the care of Mr David Laing, and is accompanied by a Life of Scot, by the Rev. James Anderson.

4. *Calderwood's History.*—The same remark applies to the larger History of the Church of Scotland by David Calderwood, which furnished a fruitful source of information to our author; and which, after lying buried in manuscript for two hundred years, appeared, under the auspices of the above-mentioned society, in 1842-1849, in eight volumes, edited by the Rev. Thomas Thomson.

These publications have opened up many of the stores out of which our author drew his materials, and which, so long as they lay scattered and hid from vulgar gaze under rare and dingy manuscripts, which few could discover, and still fewer decipher, afforded to him all the zest of the sportsman in the pursuit of his game —a zest which must have been lost had they been gathered together and made accessible to all, as they are now ranged on our shelves, in the form of goodly octavos, along with the domesticated productions of the modern school.

Note II.—Ante-Reformation in Scotland.

(See p. 4, Note D.)

In his Note on this subject (p. 404), Dr M'Crie expresses his surprise that so little has been done to illustrate the life of Wickliffe, and the influence which his opinions exerted in Britain and on the Continent. "And," he asks, "since the meritorious labours of the martyrologist Foxe, what has been done to connect the exertions of Wickliffe with those of Tindal and Cranmer? although there is scarce a city in England, I am persuaded, whose records would not furnish an accession to the materials for such a work already deposited in her public libraries." Since these words were penned something has been done to supply the desideratum. The popularly written Life of Wycliffe by Dr Vaughan, the Life of Archbishop Cranmer by the Rev. Henry John Todd, and the "Annals of the Bible" by the Rev. Christopher Anderson, might be mentioned as works lying in the direction indicated by our author. The materials, however, to which he refers have yet to be exhausted.

The reader will find a few additional particulars relating to Mark Duncan, mentioned in this note as a Scotsman of celebrity, who was doctor of medicine and professor of philosophy at Saumur in France, in Dr Irving's Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. i. p. 295-382.

Note III.—Dr M'Crie's Sentiments on Church Politics.

With regard to the independence of the church in the exercise of her spiritual jurisdiction, even under a civil establishment, and while patronage remained in full force as the law of the land, Dr M'Crie leaves us at no loss to guess his sentiments. He vindicates the procedure of the General Assembly in the famous case of Montgomery, who was presented by the King as Archbishop of Glasgow. P. 81. He applauds the "spirited remonstrance" of the Assembly, which complained, on this occasion, "that the authority of the church had been abrogated, her censures condemned and disannulled, and her ministers obstructed and shamefully abused in the discharge of their official duties; that his majesty had been persuaded by some of his counsellors to lay claim to a spiritual power, as if he could not be a complete king and head of the commonwealth, unless he was also head of the church; and that the two jurisdictions, which God had divided, were thus confounded, benefices conferred by absolute authority, and unworthy persons intruded into the ministerial office to gratify the will of men, and advance their worldly interest, to the great hurt of religion, and in direct opposition to the standing laws of the land." Speaking of "the bold carriage of the ministers" on this occasion, and the astonishment of "certain Englishmen" at it, he remarks, "Well might they be surprised; for more than forty" (he might have said *sixty*) "years elapsed before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity." Pp. 84, 85. And speaking of Melville's declinature, he says, "Even in that age, when the boundaries of the different jurisdictions were far from being accurately traced, it was not uncommon

for persons to decline the judgment of the Privy Council, and to bring their cause before the Lords of Session. They were not on that account thought to be guilty of treason, nor charged with impeaching the royal authority; and the assemblies of the church were judicatories acknowledged by law as much as any civil or criminal courts in the country." "The truth is, that the nation at large was interested in the question respecting the independence of the ecclesiastical courts; and every enlightened friend of justice and freedom at that time must have wished success to the struggle which the preachers were making in defence of their privileges." P. 96-99.

It is equally obvious that it was mainly the stand which Melville and his co-patriots made in behalf of these principles, that induced Dr M'Crie to write his Life; and that it was in subordination to these principles, which he regarded as based in Scripture, and therefore of permanent importance and universal application, that he advocates the various temporary measures adopted by the church at that period in their defence—including her contendings against Episcopacy (p. 45, &c.), the civil establishment of Presbytery (p. 147), the renovation of the National Covenant (p. 177), and the protests and declinatures of the General Assembly against the encroachments of the civil power.

On this latter point Dr M'Crie has been charged, even by those who hold his general views on church polity, with having gone too far in attempting to vindicate the declinature of Melville and his brethren of the right of the civil courts to sit in judgment on ministerial freedom *in the first instance.* Among others, Dr Irving, who sympathises with the struggles which the church made for her independent jurisdiction, finds himself obliged to enter his caveat against the plea which Dr M'Crie sets up for the right of the church to judge in the first instance where ministers were charged with uttering seditious and treasonable speeches from the pulpit, which he identifies "with the claim which the popish clergy made to exemption from the civil jurisdiction." Lives of Scottish Writers, vol. i. 190, 191. The question is not unencumbered with difficulties, practical and theoretical; and the reader may be left to form his own judgment upon it after reviewing what Dr M'Crie has advanced, (p. 95-100). I may only add here that the author does not seem to have contended, as Dr Irving puts the case, that the civil judicatory must "suspend its right of investigating so grave a charge as this, and pause till the ecclesiastical judicatory had duly deliberated whether any or what censure was to be pronounced," if by this is meant that the civil is to defer its judgment entirely to the spiritual court. All he pleads for is, that in a country where both courts are established by law, and their respective jurisdictions are duly defined, the ministrations of the pulpit come properly under the cognisance of the spiritual tribunal, before which any charge *affecting these ministrations* should be first remanded for investigation before the civil court takes it up as a civil offence. On the supposition that both tribunals are acting in friendly co-operation, and equally anxious to promote the public good and common order, it is not easy to see what great disadvantage would flow from such an arrangement.

Note IV.—Robert Bruce.

(See pp. 138, 387.)

Of Robert Bruce, one of the noblest and most distinguished sons of the Church of Scotland, we still want a good Life. His Sermons were reprinted by the Wodrow Society in 1843, with Wodrow's Collections for his Life, under the superintendence of the Rev. William Cunningham, D.D., now Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. The Sermons have been given in the original Scottish dialect, and even in this form, now become so obsolete as almost to act as a disguise, they have commanded much admiration. But Wodrow has merely gathered the materials for his Life, which, it is to be hoped, may yet be attempted by some congenial spirit. That life, which extended from the commencement of the first Reformation down to that of the second, embraces a period of which comparatively little is known. He may be said to form the link between Melville and Henderson, of whose conversion Bruce was the instrument. No man stood so high in the esteem and veneration of his contemporaries. Even Calderwood, who was anything but an enthusiast, speaks in high terms of Bruce's "majestic countenance," and ventures to utter the

wish, "May my soul be in his soul's stead!" "Robertus Brucius, vir genere et virtute nobilis, majestate vultus venerabilis, qui plura animarum millia Christo lucrifecit, cujus anima, si ullius mortalium, absit verbo invidia, sedet in cœlestibus, ex ecclesia Edinburgena 23 abhinc anno extrusus, et in hunc usque diem terris jactatus et undis. Anima mea cum anima tua, Bruci, si ex aliena fide esset pendendum!" Alt. Damasc. Prefatio.

Note V.—Robert Rollock.

(See p. 387.)

Two volumes of the works of Robert Rollock were issued by the Wodrow Society in 1849, under the editorship of the late talented William M. Gunn, LL.D., one of the masters of the High School. They are preceded by the Narrative of his Life and Death by Henry Charteris, translated and enriched with notes by the editor, who has also taken great pains in annotating the treatise of God's Effectual Calling. Speaking of this Treatise, Dr Gunn takes occasion to notice Dr M'Crie's remark, that "Rollock's Commentaries are not distinguished for critical learning, nor do they discover deep research," which he says may lead the reader "to form the idea, (though the sagacious biographer of Melville makes no such assertion) that from none of Rollock's works do we gather that he was a man of research. The editor is anxious to remove any impression so erroneous." Preface, xvi. Dr M'Crie's remark applied only to the "Commentaries" of Rollock, of which Dr Gunn himself has said, "not that the author is critical, or writes for learned men." Vol. ii. Pref. xii.

Note VI.—Additional Notices of Mr James Melville.

(See p. 331.)

James Melville's Character.—It has been matter of regret as well as surprise that no portraits of men so distinguished as Andrew Melville or his amiable nephew should have come down to us. Of the external appearance of the former, Dr M'Crie had not ever met with any description, except that given by James VI., who has informed us that he was "a little man." P. 175. James Melville tells us with a feeling of pride that he was thought to resemble his uncle. "Wald to God," he says, "he war als lyk to Mr Andro in gifts of mynd as he is thought to be in proportion of bodie and lineaments of face." Diary, p. 15, Wod. edit. Beyond the family likeness, one would hardly suppose there could have been much similarity of expression in persons of such opposite dispositions. Calderwood informs us that James was "as mild in countenance as in disposition"—*et vultu et ingenio mansuetus.* Alt. Damasc. Pref. The extreme meekness of his look and manners indeed, combined with his modesty in shunning public controversy, were misconstrued by the enemies of the cause which he espoused, into timidity and vacillation of character. On one occasion, it is said, when he had come from an audience with King James, Mr William Row, minister of Strathmiglo, who had been waiting for access, overheard his majesty saying to one of his attendants, "This is a good simple man. I have streaked cream in his mouth! I'll warrant he will procure a number of votes for me to-morrow." Row lost no time in communicating this to the person whom it concerned, who having next day given his vote against the court, the king could not believe it till the clerk of the Assembly had called his name twice over. Livingstone's Characteristics, art. William Row. His whole conduct showed very forcibly how the utmost possible gentleness of disposition, and the most indomitable courage, may sometimes meet in the character of the same Christian man, when aroused to action in times of trial and persecution.

James Melville's Second Marriage.—The name of the lady whom James Melville, so much against the judgment of his uncle, married as his second wife, does not occur in the Life. The name uniformly given by Andrew Melville to his niece, in their correspondence on this subject, is the poetical one of Melissa, which led to the conclusion that such was indeed the lady's Christian name. The late Mr Robert Pitcairn, however, has succeeded, after an indefatigable search, in proving that her real name was Debora Clerke. She seems to have been the daughter

of Richard Clerke, a deceased vicar of Berwick. This appears from the Testament of James Melville, discovered by the same gentleman, and which, as a curious document, is given below. Prefatory Notice to Melville's Diary, xv-xvii.

His Undying Attachment to his Uncle.—An additional proof of the strong affection of James to his uncle, so many examples of which occur in the Life, is brought out in the interesting fact (mentioned in the same Prefatory Notice, xxi.) that, feeling an overwhelming anxiety to see Mr Andrew before he died, he had made preparations to embark for France. In the Minutes of the Presbytery of Linlithgow, 7th July 1613, it is stated that Mr Andrew Balfour, a nephew of James, and the minister of Kirknewton, applied for leave of absence, because his uncle, "Mr James Melwin," had written to him to visit him at Berwick, "as he was purposed to pass to France shortlye, that he might meet with him before his remuiffing from Berwick: quhilk being considered, licens was granted to him upon that respect." "It would appear from the above quotation," says Mr Pitcairn, "that Mr James Melville had contemplated a permanent residence abroad. His uncle had formerly held out the prospect of a respectable living from a professor's chair at Sedan, or elsewhere abroad, if the state of public affairs in Scotland precluded the probability of his being restored to his church and parish, and to the quiet enjoyment of his theological chair at St Andrews. The increasing infirmities, and the death of our author, within half a year after that proposal had been made, prevented the accomplishment of his wishes, in this respect.

Note VII.—Last Will and Testament of Mr James Melville.

Berwick upon Tweed.—In the name of God, Amen. I James Melvine, precher of God's Word, sick of body, but in perfitt memory, do make this my Last Will and Testament in mannour and forme followeing, viz.

First, I comend my soule into the hands of Almightye God, my Maker, surelye trusteing, throughe the mirrets of his Sonn, Jesus Christ, my Redeamer, that all my sinns ar washed away and pardoned; and my body to be buryed at the discretion of my executrix.

Imprimis, I give unto Debora Melvine, my wife, all that my house and tenement, wherein I now dwell at Berwick, together with all my goods and moveables whatsoever therein contained.

Item, I give to the said Debora, my wife, the some of one hundreth pounds sterlinge, which is oweing unto me, by Henry Maddison of Necastle upon Tyne, marchant, appeareing by his bill, beareing date the xvith of Maye, 1610.

And also the some of ten pounds, which he, the said Henry Maddison, is oweing unto me, dew in May nexte insueing the date hereof, for which I have no spetialty. Desireing my said wife, at her departure from this life (if God so inable her), to despose the foresaid to such of my children as she shall best like.

Item, Whereas there is given unto me a yearly anewety by my worshipfull, godly, and well disposed frends, to witt, Mr Adam Newton, Deane of Durham, five pounds by year, Sir James Follerton, ten pounds, and by Mr Thomas Murey, Tuttor to the Prence, five pounds; I trust in ther godly desposissions they will pay the same to my said wife, for and towards the satisfieing of my debts and credits, and as it shall pleas God to move them to consider further on her as my wife.

Item, My will also is, that whatsoever lands, goods, or tenements I have in Scotland, my wife shall not medle therewith, nor have any parte therof, for that I have desposed of them to my children.[1] Nether shall any of my children medle with any of the estate before mentioned givin to my said wife, nor have anye parte thereof.

Item, I do give and bequeath to Isabell Clerke, my mother-in-law, ten pounds sterlinge.

Item, I do mak my said wife, Debora Melvin, my full and sole executrix of this my Last Will and Testament. Witnes my hand and seall, the xiiijth day of Januarye, 1613, [1614], according to the computacon of the Church of England.

Signed, sealled, and delivered in presents of Michaell Sanderson, James Lanye, William Fenwick.

[1] After every care has been bestowed on the subject, no trace of our author's disposition and settlement of these "lands, goods, or tenements," can be discovered. The Inventory, for the time, displays considerable wealth.

A TREW INVENTORY OF THE GOODS OF MR JAMES MELVEN, DECEASED, TAKEN BY US WHOSE NAMES AR HER UNDR WRITTEN, THE XXIIIJTH OF FEB. 1613, [1614.]

	£	s.	d.
In the Hall.			
It. i. Fir table and frame,	00	03	04
ij. Litle small fir tables,	00	02	00
j. Litle old corr. cubbert,[1]	00	01	04
ij. Shorte fir formes,	00	01	00
ij. Old litle gren chares,	00	00	8
j. Scots needle-worke carpett,	00	06	8
j. Old screane,	00	01	00
Six thrume cushens,	00	06	00
1 02 00			
In the Citchen.			
j. Bras pott,	00	04	00
j. Iron pott,	00	02	00
ij. Small pans,	00	03	4
ix. Pewter dishes,	00	09	00
iiij. Small saucrs.	00	01	00
ij. Hand basons,	00	02	6
ij. Pewter candlesticks,	00	02	00
j. Old quart pot,	00	01	04
j. Pottle pot,	00	03	04
ij. Chamber pots,	00	02	00
j. Chaffing Dishe,	00	00	10
01 11 4			
In the Chamlr. and Parler.			
j. Short table and frame,	00	05	00
j. Cornr. cubbert,	00	02	6
vj. Leather chares,	01	00	00
x. Scots nedle-work quishens,[2]	00	15	00
vj. Gren carsey quishens,	00	05	00
ij. Picklers,	00	02	00
j. Standing bedsted, wth. curtens and vallence,	01	00	00
ij. Fethr. Bedds, j. bolster, and ij. pillowes,	03	00	00
j. Tooll twilte,	00	06	8
j. Grean rugg,	01	05	00
j. Pr. of blankets, and j. Scots plad,	00	08	00
ij. Othr. bedsteads wth. the furnisheing,	01	06	8
j. Small trunke,	00	03	00
j. Othr Scots nedle-worke carpett,	00	06	08
ij. Small cabenets,	00	08	00
Certaine books worth,	02	00	00
His apparrell,	05	00	00
Linen sheets, table clothes, pellebrs,[3] and napkins,	03	10	00
vj. Silver spounes,	02	00	00
j. Silver kñn,[4]	01	10	00
24 13 6			
It. Mrs Henry Maddison of Newcastle is oweing by spetialty,	100	00	0
And more, the said Henrye Maddison is oweing whout spetialty,	010	00	00
Smā. totalis,	137	06	10

JAMES LANY.
WILLM. FEWNE.

Will proved 25th February 1613, [1614.]

Duly compared and examined this twenty-sixth day of October 1842.
JOSEPH DAVISON, *Depy. Regr.*

Extracted by
ROBERT BURRELL, *Proctor.*

[1] Corner cupboard. [2] Cushions. [3] Pillowberes. [4] Can, tankard.

Note VIII.—Charles Ferme and the College of Fraserburgh.

(See pp. 376, 377.)

The Rev. Dr W. Lindsay Alexander of Edinburgh edited a translation of Ferme's "Logical Analysis on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans," for the Wodrow Society in 1850. In his Life of the author prefixed to that work, he says that "Fairholm appears to have been his proper name." It was contracted into "Ferme," and was thus generally written. At the beginning of the present century there still stood at the west end of the town of Fraserburgh an old quadrangular tower of three storeys, which is said to have formed part of the building erected for the college by Sir Alexander Fraser. This tower can scarcely be said to be still extant. It has been reduced to a heap, and is almost covered with soil and herbage, with goats feeding on the top of it. These seem to be the only remains of the college of Fraserburgh. Another old house in the neighbourhood, pointed to as having been built for the professors, appears to be of more modern construction. See Life of Ferme, *ut sup.* p. xix. Ferme, after his confinement in the castle of Doune, was banished to the Highlands for about three years. The Highlands were at that time the Siberia of Scotland. Calderwood speaks of the ministers at that period being "confynned in *barbarous parts*, as the Lewes, the Isles, Kintyre, Ireland, Caithness." Hist. vol. vi. p. 590.

Note IX.—William Robertson, or Robertoun.

(See p. 362.)

The proper name of this person, who was head master of the Grammar or High School of Edinburgh, appears to have been *William Robertoun*. Dr Steven has shown that this orthography corresponds with his own signature, and with several public deeds. History of the High School of Edinburgh, p. 7. According to the slovenly practice then so common in the spelling of proper names, he is written down in the Town Council Records, *Robertsoun* and *Robertoun* alternately. From these records it appears that Robertoun was "ane obstinat papeist," who gave great annoyance to the town council; and it seems he had become obnoxious to the community by his repeated attempts to corrupt the boys with his religious tenets. Ib. App. p. 2.

Note X.—Alexander Hume, the Grammarian.

At p. 473, Dr M'Crie asks in regard to Alexander Hume, the grammarian, "Could he be the author of Humii Theses, Marpurgi, 1591?" Upon this Dr Steven has remarked: "That Alexander Hume was never in any way connected with Marburg, clearly appears from the work of Tilemann, Vitæ Prof. Marpurgensis (p. 147-160: Marb. 1727, 4to), where it is stated that Egidius Hunnius, one of the professors of the university, was the writer of the Theses in question. The supposition may be easily accounted for from the Latinised surname of the head-master resembling that of the learned German." History of the High School of Edin. pp. 29, 30. The reader is referred to this work for further illustrations of several of the learned men mentioned in the Life of Melville, which Dr Steven, in his admiration of Dr M'Crie's writings, has frequently referred to.

Note XI.—Melville's Latin Poetry.

Alluding to Melville's literary recreations in the Tower, the author has said (p. 290), "Men of real genius often defraud the public by the desultory nature of

their studies, or by the injudicious choice which they make of subjects on which to exert their talents. This was one of Melville's faults, of which his nephew frequently admonished him." In making this reflection, Dr M'Crie, I have no doubt, had specially in his eye the case of his venerable friend the late Professor Bruce of Whitburn, for whom, both as a theologian and a writer, he entertained the highest admiration; but who, unhappily, by falling into the faults above mentioned, never produced anything worthy of the high talents and profound acquirements which he possessed. In the judicious remarks which occur at the close of the Life (p. 397), on the advantages to be derived from the cultivation of the learned languages, the enlightened reader will cordially agree; but, notwithstanding the author's commendations of some of Melville's poetical pieces, it is very apparent that he sympathised with the regret expressed by honest James Melville, that his uncle should have devoted his fine intellect so pertinaciously to the classical and elegant, but rather barren and unprofitable amusement of Latin versification. He confesses that, "although his poems were admired at the time when they appeared, they have not transmitted his reputation to posterity." P. 344.

Whatever may be thought, however, of Latin verse as a recreation, or of Melville's success in the prosecution of it, it is interesting to trace in the persons to whom his poetical pieces are inscribed, the character of his private friendships and partialities. Among those not alluded to in the Life, there are two which show that, though Andrew Melville continued a bachelor to the last, he was not insensible to the charms of the fair sex, when these were seen in combination with learning and genius. We quote them from Ballard's Memoirs of Learned Ladies (pp. 205, 269.) The first is an epitaph on Katherine Killigrew, one of the four daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, who were so celebrated for their learned attainments:—

EPITAPHIUM PRÆSTANTI FEMINÆ, KATHARINÆ KILIGREIÆ. AUTHORE ANDREA MELVINO.

Palladis et Phœbi comes una, et Pieris una,
Pieridumque soror, Pieridumque parens.
Gratia, suada, lepos, gravitas, constantia, candor,
Relligio, pietas, et pudor et probitas,
Atque Palestinæ, et Latiæ, Graiæque Camenæ,
Clausit olim uno omnes pectore, nunc tumulo.

Of this epitaph Ballard has appended a translation, which can hardly be called an improvement on the original:—

AN EPITAPH ON THE MOST EXCELLENT K. K., BY ANDREW MELVIN.

Apollo's favorite, and to Pallas dear,
Adorned by every art her works appear.
Parent and sister of the harmonious nine,
All Greece and Rome did in her numbers shine.
The sacred language, too, she made her own,
Nor eastern learning was to her unknown.
Each grace that love or admiration gains
Her bosom once, and now, her tomb contains.

The other piece, which is still more curious, is an epigram by Andrew Melville on one Esther Inglis, who was celebrated for her caligraphy. In the archives of the Bodleian Library, two of her manuscripts are preserved with great care. One of these is the Proverbs of Solomon, of which Ballard says, "This delicate performance gains the admiration of all who see it: every chapter is wrote in a different hand; as is the dedication, and some other things at the beginning of the book, which makes near forty several sorts of hands. In the fifth leaf is her own picture done with the pen, in the habit of that time. In her right hand a pen, the left resting upon a book opened; in one of the leaves of which is written, *De l'Eternel le bien, de moi le mal, ou rien.* On the table before her there is likewise a music-book lying open, which perhaps intimates that she had some skill in that art. Under

From mr Andro Melvin the 16 of febr. 1617.

Euery Baron

Melvin

the picture is an epigram in Latin, made by Andrew Melvin; and on the next page another, composed by the same author, which is as follows:—

Æmula naturæ manus exprimit una figuras
Mille, animans pictis signa pusilla notis,
Signa creans animata, polûm spirantia signa:
Quæ picturata margine limbus obit.
Mirum opus: at mage mira manus; mira omnia vincit
Mens manui moderans, dum manus urget opus."

It may be mentioned as a curious fact, that the lady thus introduced in connection with Melville, writes herself "Esther Anglois, Gallam. A Lislebourge en Escosse, 1599." From this it would appear that Esther Inglis (or English) was a Frenchwoman by birth, and had resided for some time in Edinburgh. *Lislebourg*, it may not be generally known, was an old French name for Edinburgh, probably derived from the aspect it presented when the Castle was surrounded by the North Loch and that of the Boroughmuir. The name is frequently applied to the city by the French ambassadors in their despatches during the reign of the Queen-Regent, about the year 1559. Papiers d'Etat relatifs à l'Histoire de l'Ecosse au xvi. Siecle. Publiés pour le Bannatyne Club d'Edimbourg, par A. Teulet. Tom. ii. p. 313, &c. Ballard, who wrote in 1752, states what will no doubt occasion some surprise, that some of Esther's pieces of caligraphy "are remaining in the Castle at Edinburgh."

Note XII.—Andrew Melville's Commentary on the Romans.

In his list of the writings of Andrew Melville (Note PP, pp. 447-450), Dr M'Crie refers to this work, along with another Latin Commentary, as mentioned by Charters and Wodrow; but adds, "Neither of these MSS. is now to be found." The MS. of his Commentary on the Romans came into the possession of David Laing, Esq., of the Signet Library, and was printed in the original Latin for the Wodrow Society in 1850, under the editorship of the Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, D.D. It is entitled, "Commentarius in Divinam Pauli Epistolam ad Romanos, Auctore Andrea Melvino, Scoto." The Commentary bears to have been transcribed by Daniel Demetrius, who tells us he "followed the copy of Andrew Melville, and completed his task in eight days, at St Andrews, 26th July, 1601." Demetrius was a native of Frankenthal, near Heidelberg, and was one of Melville's students at St Andrews in 1599. See Note DDD, p. 469. He seems to have been one of the many foreigners who were attracted to Scotland by the fame of Melville, of whom he expresses his admiration in a Latin epigram at the close, apparently written by himself, in which we find the play upon his name under the words *melle* and *vinum*, which so often occurs in similar productions. The Commentary itself contains a brief but pertinent explanation of the Epistle, displaying great learning and acuteness of remark, as well as a manly independence of thought. The style is terse, and the mode of handling the text natural and easy, without being burdened by those logical distinctions, and attempts to make the apostle speak in syllogisms, which disfigure other commentaries of that and the succeeding age.

Note XIII.—Letter of Andrew Melville to James Pringle of Whytbank.

(See Frontispiece.)

Suavissime fili,—I have receavit your sweit and loving letre, quherof I thank you, quhoubeit I acknawlege not any benefit that ether you or your cusing hes receavit of me, except a deuetie quherunto I was and am oblisit, as a man, as a Scottisman, and last of all, as a sincere Christian, and therfore sine summo scelere a me pretermitti non potuit. Your honest and godlie behavour, and so eftir your exemple of your cusin the lyke also, craves of me, Jure merito, quhat I can do for you and him, and that to the honour and avancement of our native countrey and the kirk of God therin, that our nighbouris of England may understande that nether honestie nor religioun be their gift, bot that from God In Christ Scotland receavit the sinceritie of religione before ther pestied ceremonies now urged under pretence of conformitie

with disgrace of God's ordonnance quhilk was established be law and practise in the calling and function of the halie ministerie befoir theis 3 wanschepin Bischopes[1] war market with the bestis mark at London, in the Bischopes chappell, and then forsuith send hame to gif ordouris prelaticallie, as gif thair hede not bein a lawfull ministerie in Scotland before the 1610 yeare of Christis incarnation. As for his Majestys voiage, I wishe from my hart and humblie besekis of God it be for his glorie, and mendement of thingis done amisse rather than to burden the consciencis with wnprofitable and dangerous superfluites of Papisticall drogis to encourage the enemeis, quhois number as we heir so increases that one durst saye that in England ther be a hundreth thousand Catholik Romanes that gif thay plaisit thai durst put vpe thair names enrollit in Paules churche, gif thai plaisit (I saye), and quhat in Scotland Is the bruite of mariage of our Prince with the dochter of Spain speakes Latine messe langage, averruncet hoc malum Deus optimus maximus. I am sorie yow want the exercise of religione, with so many good youthes their of our natione, as also of the deidlie disease of Rosbrughe, of quhom I hawe hard good. Be you as a minister unto them, and in your meittings at tymes call upon the name of God and reid a chaptre or twa. Christ wilbe amongs you and blisse your endevouris. I wishe from the rutes of my hart all blessing unto all and evrie ane of you their and heir. I end with hartie salutations in the Lord Jesus. At Sedan not besegit the 24 day of Januare, 1617. Yours in the Lord,

AN. MELVIN.

A Monsieur,
Monsieur Pringle of Quhytbanks,
gentlehomme escossois.

For the following particulars relating to Melville's correspondent, I am indebted to the kindness of Alexander Pringle, Esq. of Whytbank, the present worthy representative of that ancient family:—

James Pringle of Whytbank, to whom Andrew Melville's letter is addressed, was the fourth Laird of Whytbank of that name from the time when the Whytbank family branched off from the senior stock of Smailholm and Galashiels, and which they now represent in the male line. Mr Scott of Gala is the heir of line, his ancestor having married a daughter of the last Sir James Pringle of Galashiels.

At the time when the letter was written (in 1617), Whytbank appears to have been sojourning at Berne, and must then have been a young man of about twenty; for it is recorded on his tomb in Melrose Abbey that he was born in 1597, and died in 1667, at the age of 77. He was the eldest son of James Pringle younger of Whytbank by his marriage with Christian Lundie, a daughter of William Lundie of that Ilk. For a short time in his early life he had been in the French service, in a corps of Scottish Guards, and might probably have been so at the period in question. In 1622 he married Sophia Schoner, a maid of honour to Queen Anne, and daughter of Dr Martin Schoner, a Danish physician, who had accompanied the Queen from Denmark, and remained attached to her household till his death. Her mother was a daughter of Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, Lord President of the Court of Session. Their union was brief; for it appears from her tomb in Melrose Abbey that Sophia Schoner died in the year 1626, at the age of 22; and her husband never married again, but lived on his estate, a widower, through the remainder of his long life, discharging his duties as a country gentleman. During the civil wars he was attached to the royal cause; and though he does not seem to have taken a very active part in them, he was heavily fined as a Royalist by Oliver Cromwell. In ecclesiastical matters, he and his son were always found supporting the interests of Presbytery.

James Pringle was succeeded by Alexander Pringle of Whytbank, the only son of his marriage with Sophia Schoner, who died in 1689, at the age of 66, having been twice married, first to a Pringle of Torwoodlee, and afterwards to a Murray of Philiphaugh, but without issue by either union. The estate then passed to his cousin John Pringle, grandson of George Pringle of Balmungo, who was the next brother of James, the correspondent of Andrew Melville. George Pringle had been an officer in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, and married Elizabeth Ruthven, daughter of Sir Patrick Ruthven, a general in the same service, who was afterwards created Earl of Forth and Brentford. From them the present Whytbank is descended.

[1] *Wanschepin*—unshapen, monstrous. The persons alluded to were, Archbishop Spotswood, the Bishop of Brechin, and the Bishop of Galloway, who went to London to be re-ordained.

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Note XIV.—Specimens of Alterations and Additions in the Second Edition of the Life of Melville.

First Edition.	*Second Edition.*
The fact of the first preachers of the Christian religion, and the converts to their doctrine, being found chiefly among the lower and middle ranks of society, is connected with its miraculous propagation. And it does not follow from this that it should always be propagated in the same way. Vol. i. p. 9.	The fact of the first preachers of the Christian religion, and the *early* converts to their doctrine, being found chiefly among the lower and middle ranks of society, is connected with its miraculous propagation. And *we are not entitled to infer from this, either that it would have spread in this way if it had been left to the operation of natural causes, or that Providence would always follow the same plan in its subsequent extension.* Vol. i. p. 9.
We are extremely apt to transfer to a former period ideas which belong only to our own. If we duly attend to the state of society in Scotland at that time, &c. Vol. i. pp. 9, 10.	We are extremely apt, *if not on our guard against the bias of our thoughts, to form an opinion of a former period according to ideas borrowed from our own, without adverting duly to the points of difference between them.* If we attend to the state of society in Scotland at that time, &c. Vol. i. pp. 9, 10.
And, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to their people. Nor is the conservation of this privilege (for why should not the pulpit have its privileges as well as the senate, the bench, and the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. Despotism has rarely been established in any nation, without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. Vol. i. p. 301.	And, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to the people of *their charge. Is not this to chain them up like the animal to keep sentry, when the family are asleep, which alarms passengers by its noise, licks the hand that feeds it, and is let loose at its master's pleasure? Who would undertake such a degrading office but hirelings, parasites, or dastardly, grovelling, and slavish souls?* Nor is the conservation of this privilege (and why should not the pulpit have its privileges, as well as the senate, the bench, the *bar*, or the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. *The beneficial influence which religion exerts over the minds of an intelligent people, politically considered, depends in a high degree on the proof which its teachers give of their honesty and independence. This is the savour of their salt, without which they are good for nothing, and soon become worse than nothing, corrupting and being corrupted.*[1] Despotism has rarely, &c. Vol. ii. pp. 112, 113.

[1] These sentences were added after having seen, and of course partly in answer to, the strictures made on his vindication of Melville's declinature of the civil courts, to judge of alleged treason in the pulpit, *in the first instance.*

First Edition.

Whatever may be in this, it cannot be doubted that the presbyterial exercises were useful in sharpening the judgment, and served to excite the ministers, and particularly the younger part of them, to diligence in their private studies.

During the Tulchan Episcopacy a number of persons had been inducted, &c. Vol. ii. p. 16.

To gain the greater credit to his narrative, Spotswood says he was one of the delegates appointed by the Synod of Lothian to reconcile the parties. The minute of that appointment is now before me. It mentions, &c. But Spotswood was none of them, nor does his name occur in the minute. The archbishop does not conceal, &c. Vol. ii. p. 19.

He is *perfectly* aware that where all things are *subjected* to the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows also that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion, and even uproar, by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken, to the appalling tranquillity and *death*-stillness which *reign* in the courts of despotism. Vol. ii. p. 20.

Who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetuous, independent spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantish, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft? The minute of council committing him to the Tower has, it seems, perished, &c. Vol. ii. p. 267.

Second Edition.

Whatever may be in this, &c. *The exertions made at this time show that the fathers of our church, in seeking to substitute Presbytery in the room of Prelacy, stretched their views beyond the establishment of a mere form of ecclesiastical polity; and that it was their grand object to provide an evangelical ministry which should be efficient for the purposes of diffusing the knowledge and promoting the power of religion.*

During the period of the Tulchan Episcopacy, &c. Vol. i. p. 341.

To gain the greater credit to his narrative, *after it was contradicted,* Spotswood states in his History that he was one of the delegates, &c. The minute of that appointed is now before me. It mentions, &c. But Spotswood was not one of them, nor does his name occur in the minute. *It is possible that the archbishop might be present at St Andrews on the occasion referred to; but it is also possible that, owing to the multiplicity of secular employments in which he was afterwards involved, his memory deceived him, and that he imagined he had been a witness of what he had only heard by report.* The archbishop does not conceal, &c. Vol. i. p. 344.

He is aware that where all things are *decided* by the arbitrary will of an individual, dissension and dissent are alike precluded. But he knows also that this is the harmony and peace which is to be found in the prison and the grave; and he would prefer the disunion and even uproar by which a deliberative assembly is sometimes shaken *and convulsed,* to the appalling tranquillity and *death-like* stillness which *reigns* in the courts of despotism. Vol. i. p. 345.

Who does not prefer the open, ardent, impetuous, independent, *irascible* spirit of a Melville, to the close, cold, sycophantish, intriguing, intolerant spirit of a Barlow or a Bancroft? *Who would not have taken the place of the prisoner at the bar, with all his errors on his head, rather than have been detected as a crowned spy, listening at the door of a closet, or skulking behind its tapestry?* The minute of council committing him, &c. Vol. ii. pp. 181, 182.

N.B.—The alterations made on the portion of the work relating to the state of literature in Scotland (see Editorial Preface) are too numerous to mention, a great part of it having been re-written.

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